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PHILO

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PHILO

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

F. H. COLSON, M.A.
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AND

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IN TEN VOLUMES

II

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ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

This fine treatise divides itself into two parts, the first (1-39) a homily on Genesis iii. 24—

" And He cast forth Adam and set over against [a] the Garden of Pleasure the Cherubim and the sword of flame which turns every way."

The second (40—end) on Genesis iv. 1—

" And Adam knew Eve, his wife, and she conceived and bare Cain, and he [b] said ' I have gotten a man through God.' "

I. In the first part we open (1-10) with a disquisition on the difference between the phrases " cast forth " and " sent forth," which was used in Genesis iii. 23 : the former indicates a permanent, the latter a temporary expulsion (1-2). These different meanings are illustrated (3-9) by the earlier expulsion of Hagar, as described in Genesis xvi., and the later and permanent expulsion of Genesis xxi. In this, as often in Philo, Hagar stands for the lower and secular education, and Sarah for philosophy.[c]

We then have a discussion (11-20) of the meaning of " over against." While it is pointed out that the phrase may sometimes indicate hostility (12-13), and

[a] For Philo's reading of the text see note on § 1.

[b] For Philo's view that " Adam " is the subject of " said " see note on § 40.

[c] See General Introduction, pp. xvi, xvii.

sometimes the position of the accused before his judge (14-17), in which the text "the priest shall set the (accused) woman before the Lord and uncover her head" leads to an interpretation of the last three words as meaning "reveal the real motives," it is decided that the words in Genesis are used in the same sense of friendliness, as in the text "Abraham was standing before (opposite to) the Lord" (18-20).

From 21-39 we have mainly a discussion of what is intended by the two Cherubim and the Flaming Sword. Two physical explanations are suggested: (*a*) the planetary sphere on the one hand, with its seven zones in which each of the planets move, and that of the fixed stars on the other, the revolution of the whole heaven being the sword (21-24); (*b*) the two "hemispheres" of the heaven, with the sun as sword (25-26). But Philo's personal preference is for a more profound interpretation (27-30), which finds in the Cherubim the two chief 'Potencies' of God, His 'goodness' or lovingkindness, and His majesty or sovereignty, while the sword is the reason or Logos which unites the two. This last leads to the reflection that Balaam, the foolish one, was rightly made swordless, as is shown in his words to the ass, "if I had a sword, I would have pierced thee" (32). And these particular words in their turn suggest a short meditation on those who, when disappointed in worldly affairs lay the blame on the affairs themselves (33-38). The whole homily concludes with a section emphasizing reason as the source of human happiness (39).

II. The main idea that runs through the second part is that Adam signifies mind, Eve sense (*i.e.* sense-perception), and Cain (whose name means 'posses-

sion ') the impious idea engendered by Mind and Sense, that what we have is our own and not God's. But we must first consider the words " Adam knew his wife." The absence of any such phrase in connexion with the great saints of the Pentateuch indicates that their wives (unlike Adam's) are Virtues which receive seed *from* God Himself, though they bear offspring *to* the persons who possess them, a lesson which is declared to be one for higher understandings, and too spiritual for profane ears (40-52). Next we have to ask why " Cain " is not more fully described as ' first-born son ' (53-55), and the explanation of this point [a] merges into an exposition of the way in which Mind, helpless in itself, by mating with Sense, comes to comprehend phenomena and supposes that this comprehension is its own doing (56-64). The folly of this supposition is emphasized (65-66), and illustrated first from the words of Laban, " The daughters are my daughters, the sons my sons, and the cattle my cattle, and all that thou seest are mine." The allegorizing of daughters, sons, and cattle as arts or sciences, reasonings, and sense-perceptions respectively, leads to an impassioned outburst on human fallibility and its slavery to delusions (67-71), a slavery which resembles that of the slave of Ex. xxi. who " loved his master " and rejected freedom (72-74). A second illustration is drawn from the vain boasting of Pharaoh, as described in Moses' song in Ex. xv. (74-76). The failure of the Pharaoh mind to realize that God alone acts, while it is for man to be passive (77), leads to a remarkable digression on the right form of human passiveness—not, that is, a helpless passiveness, but

[a] For this see note to § 53, App. pp. 483, 484.

one which braces itself to accept and co-operate with the Actor (78-83).

In contrast with the idle claims of the Mind, we have the Divine claim that " all things are Mine . . . in My feasts." The last few words suggest a meditation on the sense in which God keeps feast, how His resting is an eternal activity, which unlike the activity of the world knows no weariness (84-90). Man indeed can in no true sense feast, and there follows a powerful denunciation of the vanity, licence, and sinfulness of the popular festivals (91-97). The last few words of this denunciation deplore the pagan blindness to the truth that God sees into the recesses of the soul, and thus we pass, by a somewhat forced transition, to the thought of the soul as God's house, and the nature of the preparations needed to fit it for His reception is described in a fine passage, in the course of which Philo gives a signal example of the high value he sets on the secular education and culture of his day [a] (98-105).

The soul thus fitted for God's reception will inevitably find its chief joy in acknowledging God's sovereignty and ownership (106-107). Thus we return to the main theme, which is once more illustrated by the text " The land shall not be sold . . . for all the land is Mine, because ye are sojourners and aliens before Me." Spiritually the " land " is the world of creation, every part of which is a loan from Him to every other part, and here Philo dwells eloquently on the interdependence of created things (108-113). It is also ourselves, for, inconstant creatures that we are (113-114), ignorant of our whence and whither (114-115), our minds ever subject to

[a] See General Introduction, p. xvi.

delusion and seduction (116-117), we cannot be said to own ourselves, a thought which may well teach us resignation (118-119). The last words of the text, "ye are sojourners," suggest the thought of God as the true 'citizen,' in contrast to ourselves who are at best immigrants (120-121), and once more the phrase "shall not be sold" reminds us that the benefits men exchange are at bottom a matter of sale and purchase, and that God alone is the real giver (121-123).

Finally we have a disquisition on the error involved in the words "I have gotten a man *through* God." Philo, on the lines of Aristotle, names four causes of things, and shows that the "by whom," or agent, and not the "through whom," or instrument, is applicable to God (124-127); and this he illustrates by comparing the erroneous use by Joseph of the latter with the right use of the former by Moses (128-130).

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΧΕΡΟΥΒΙΜ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΦΛΟΓΙΝΗΣ ΡΟΜΦΑΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΤΙΣΘΕΝΤΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΥ ΕΞ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ ΚΑΙΝ

1 [138] I. “ Καὶ ἐξέβαλε τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ κατῴκισεν ἀπέναντι τοῦ παραδείσου τῆς τρυφῆς [καὶ ἔταξε][1] τὰ Χερουβὶμ καὶ τὴν φλογίνην ῥομφαίαν τὴν στρεφομένην, φυλάσσειν τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς ” (Gen. iii. 24). νῦν μὲν “ ἐξέβαλε ” φησί, πρότερον δ' εἶπεν “ ἐξαπέστειλεν ” (ib. 23), οὐ παρέργως
2 τὰ ὀνόματα θείς, ἀλλ' εἰδὼς ἐφ' ὧν κυρίως καὶ
[139] εὐθυβόλως | πραγμάτων αὐτὰ τάττει. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀποστελλόμενος ἐπανόδου τυχεῖν οὐ κεκώλυται, ὁ δ' ἐκβληθεὶς ὑπὸ θεοῦ τὴν ἀίδιον φυγὴν ὑπομένει· τῷ μὲν γὰρ μήπω κραταιῶς ὑπὸ κακίας καταληφθέντι δέδοται μετανοήσαντι καθάπερ εἰς πατρίδα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀφ' ἧς ἐξέπεσε κατελθεῖν, τὸν δὲ πιεσθέντα καὶ ὑποβεβλημένον σφοδρᾷ καὶ ἀνιάτῳ νόσῳ φέρειν ἀνάγκη τὰ δεινὰ μέχρι τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος ἀθάνατα σκορακισθέντα εἰς ἀσεβῶν χῶρον, ἵν' ἄκρατον καὶ συνεχῆ βαρυδαιμονίαν ὑπομένῃ·
3 ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν μέσην παιδείαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις χορεύουσαν ὁρῶμεν Ἄγαρ δὶς μὲν

[1] Cohn excludes καὶ ἔταξε on the grounds that though they appear in the text of the LXX., it is assumed in § 11

ON THE CHERUBIM, AND THE FLAMING SWORD, AND CAIN THE FIRST MAN CREATED OUT OF MAN

I. " And he cast forth Adam and set [him] over against the Garden of Pleasure [and posted] the Cherubim and the sword of flame which turns every way, to guard the way of the Tree of Life " (Gen. iii. 24). Observe the word " cast forth " instead of the earlier " sent forth " (*ib.* 23). The words are not set down at random, but chosen with a knowledge of the things to which he applies them in their proper and exact sense. He who is sent forth is not thereby prevented from returning. He who is cast forth by God is subject to eternal banishment. For to him who is not as yet firmly in the grip of wickedness it is open to repent and return to the virtue from which he was driven, as an exile returns to his fatherland. But to him that is weighed down and enslaved by that fierce and incurable malady, the horrors of the future must needs be undying and eternal : he is thrust forth to the place of the impious, there to endure misery continuous and unrelieved.
And thus we see that Hagar or the lower education, whose sphere is the secular learning of the schools,[a]

[a] See General Introduction, pp. xvi, xvii.

that the Cherubim and not Adam are placed opposite the Garden.

ἐξιοῦσαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχούσης ἀρετῆς Σάρρας, ἅπαξ δὲ τὴν προτέραν ὁδὸν ὑποστρέφουσαν, ἣ τότε μὲν ἀποδρᾶσα, οὐ φυγαδευθεῖσα, κατάγεται ὑπαντήσαντος ἀγγέλου, ὅς ἐστι θεῖος λόγος, εἰς τὸν δεσποτικὸν οἶκον (Gen. xvi. 6 ff.), αὖθις δὲ κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ἀνεπάνακτος ἐκβάλλεται (Gen. xxi. 14).

4 II. Τὰς δὲ αἰτίας καὶ τοῦ προτέρου δρασμοῦ καὶ τῆς αὖθις ἀιδίου φυγῆς λεκτέον. μέχρι μὲν οὔπω μετωνομάσθησαν, ὅπερ ἦν μετεχαράχθησαν τοὺς ψυχῆς πρὸς τὸ ἄμεινον βελτιούμενοι χαρακτῆρας, ἀλλ' ἔτι ἦν ὁ μὲν Ἀβρὰμ πατὴρ μετέωρος τὴν μετάρσιον τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα συμβαινόντων καὶ τὴν μετέωρον τῶν κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν ὑπαρχόντων φιλοσοφίαν μετιών, ἣν φυσιολογίας τὸ
5 κράτιστον εἶδος ἀποτέτμηται μαθηματική, Σάρα δὲ σύμβολον ἀρχῆς ἐμῆς· καλεῖται γὰρ ἀρχή μου· γενικὴ μὲν οὐκ ἔφθη μεταβαλοῦσα ἀρετὴ γενέσθαι —γένος γὰρ πᾶν ἄφθαρτον—, ταῖς δὲ ἐν μέρει καὶ κατ' εἶδος ἐξητάζετο, ἡ δὲ αὐτὴ φρόνησίς τ' ἦν ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ δικαιοσύνη τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, φθαρταὶ δὲ αὗται, ὅτι καὶ τὸ
6 δεξάμενον αὐτὰς χωρίον ἐγὼ φθαρτός, Ἄγαρ ἡ μέση καὶ ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία, κἂν τὸν αὐστηρὸν καὶ σκυθρωπὸν τῶν φιλαρέτων ἀποδρᾶναι βίον σπουδάσῃ, πάλιν ὑποστρέψει πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν μήπω τὰς γενικὰς καὶ ἀφθάρτους ἀκρότητας ἔχειν δυνάμενον, ἀλλ' ἔτι τῶν ἐν μέρει καὶ κατ' εἶδος ἐφαπτόμενον,

[a] Philo draws a distinction between μετάρσιος (perhaps deriving it from ἀήρ) and μετέωρος.

[b] Or "which astronomy, the noblest branch of nature-study, claims as its own."

while she twice departs from sovereign virtue in the person of Sarah, does once retrace her steps. On this first occasion hers was a voluntary flight, not a banishment, and when she met the angel or divine reason, she returned to her master's house (Gen. xvi. 6 ff.). The second time she is cast forth utterly, never to return (Gen. xxi. 14).

II. Here we must speak of the reasons for this first flight and that second eternal banishment. On the first occasion Abraham and Sarah had not yet received their change of names, that is they had not yet been changed in character to the betterment of soul, but one was still Abram "the uplifted father," pursuing the philosophy of the super-terrestrial, the philosophy which treats of air and the ways in which it is affected, pursuing too the sublimer [a] philosophy of the heaven and the beings existing therein, which mathematics claims as the noblest branch of "physic" or nature-study [b]; and Sarah was still Sarai, the type of personal sovereignty (her name means "my sovereignty"); she had not yet undergone the change to generic virtue; for all that is generic must be imperishable. She still had her place with the particular and specific virtues. She was still [c] prudence, as shown in the "I," and similarly temperance, courage, justice, all perishable, because the sphere in which they move is the perishable "I." And therefore Hagar the lower or secular culture, though she has hastened to escape the stern and gloomy life of the virtue-seekers,[d] will return to that same life which as yet is unable to hold the heights of the generic and imperishable, still clinging to the particular and specific region in which the

[c] Or "in her single self." [d] See App. p. 481.

ἐν οἷς πρὸ τῶν ἄκρων τὰ μέσα αἱρετά.
7 ὅταν δὲ ἤδη ὁ μὲν Ἀβρὰμ ἀντὶ φυσιολόγου γένηται
σοφὸς καὶ φιλόθεος μετονομασθεὶς Ἀβραάμ, ὃς
[140] ἑρμηνεύεται πατὴρ | ἐκλεκτὸς ἠχοῦς—ἠχεῖ μὲν γὰρ
ὁ γεγωνὸς λόγος, πατὴρ δὲ τούτου ὁ νοῦς ἐπειλημ-
μένος τοῦ σπουδαίου[1]—, Σάρα δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς
μου γένηται Σάρρα, ἧς ἐστιν ἡ κλῆσις ἄρχουσα,
ὅπερ ἦν ἴσον τῷ ἀντὶ εἰδικῆς καὶ φθαρτῆς ἀρετῆς
8 γενικὴν καὶ ἄφθαρτον γενέσθαι, ἐπιλάμψῃ δὲ καὶ τὸ
εὐδαιμονίας γένος, ὁ Ἰσαάκ, ἐκλιπόντων τὰ γυναικεῖα
(Gen. xviii. 11) καὶ ἀποθανόντων[2] τὰ πάθη χαρᾶς
καὶ εὐφροσύνης, καὶ παιδιάς, οὐ τὰς παίδων, ἀλλὰ
τὰς θείας οὐκ ἄνευ σπουδῆς μεταδιώκων, ἐκβληθή-
σεται μὲν τὰ ἐπώνυμα τῆς Ἄγαρ προπαιδεύματα,
ἐκβληθήσεται δὲ καὶ ὁ σοφιστὴς αὐτῶν υἱὸς ἐπί-
9 κλησιν Ἰσμαήλ. III. ἐνδύσονται δὲ τὴν
φυγὴν ἀΐδιον, βεβαιοῦντος τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἔλασιν
αὐτοῖς, ὅταν κελεύῃ τῷ σοφῷ ὑπακούειν τῶν λεγο-
μένων ὑπὸ Σάρρας· λέγει δὲ ἄντικρυς "ἐκβαλεῖν
τὴν παιδίσκην καὶ τὸν υἱόν" (Gen. xxi. 10).
ἀρετῇ δὲ πείθεσθαι καλὸν καὶ μάλιστα τοιοῦτον
εἰσηγουμένῃ δόγμα, ὅτι αἱ τελειόταται φύσεις τῶν
μέσων ἕξεων πάμπολυ διεστᾶσι καὶ ὅτι σοφία σοφι-
στείας ἀλλότριον· ἡ μὲν γὰρ τὰ πιθανὰ ἐπὶ κατα-
σκευῇ ψευδοῦς δόξης, ἥτις λυμαίνεται ψυχήν, ἐκ-

[1] So mss., but perhaps read according to a citation of the passage in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 1. 8 ἐξειλεγμένος δὲ ὁ τοῦ σπουδαίου, *i.e.* "the chosen mind is that of the good man"; *cf. De Gig.* 64.

[2] Perhaps read ἀπομαθόντων. For other suggestions see App. pp. 481, 482. *Cf. L.A.* iii. 236.

[a] An allusion to Gen. xxvi. 8 where Isaac "sported" with Rebecca. See also App. p. 482.

lower is preferred to the highest. But at the later stage Abram leaves the study of nature for the life of the wise, the lover of God. His name is changed to Abraham, meaning "the chosen father of sound," for to "sound" is the function of the uttered word or reason, whose father is the mind when it has grasped the good. Sarai again quits personal sovereignty to become Sarah, whose name is "sovereign," and this means that instead of being specific and perishable virtue she has become generic and imperishable. Then too there shines upon them the light of Isaac—the generic form of happiness, of the joy and gladness which belongs to those who have ceased from the manner of women (Gen. xviii. 11) and died to the passions—Isaac, whose heart is in the pursuit of no childish sports, but those which are divine.[a] When all this is come to pass, then will be cast forth those preliminary studies which bear the name of Hagar, and cast forth too will be their son the sophist named Ishmael. III. The banishment on which they enter will be for ever, for the sentence of expulsion is confirmed by God when he bids the wise man hearken to the words of Sarah, who charges him expressly to cast forth the bondwoman and her son (Gen. xxi. 10). It is well to listen to the voice of virtue, above all when she sets before us such a doctrine as this, because the most perfect types of being and the secondary acquirements[b] are worlds apart, and wisdom has no kinship with the sophist's culture. For the latter has for the fruits of all its labour only those persuasions which tend to establish the false opinion, which destroys the soul; but wisdom

[b] See note on § 62.

πεπόνηκε, σοφία δὲ διὰ μελέτης τῶν ἀληθῶν τὸ μέγα διανοίας ὄφελος, ἐπιστήμην ὀρθοῦ λόγου, πεπόρισται.

10 Τί οὖν θαυμάζομεν, εἰ καὶ Ἀδὰμ τὸν νοῦν ἀφροσύνην ἀνίατον νόσον κτησάμενον ἐκβέβληκεν εἰσάπαν ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τοῦ τῶν ἀρετῶν χωρίου μὴ ἐπιτρέψας ἔτι κατελθεῖν αὐτῷ; ὁπότε καὶ <κατὰ> πάντα[1] σοφιστὴν καὶ μητέρα αὐτοῦ, τὴν τῶν προπαιδευμάτων διδασκαλίαν, ἐλαύνει καὶ φυγαδεύει ἀπὸ σοφίας καὶ σοφοῦ, ὧν ὀνόματα Ἀβραάμ τε καὶ Σάρραν καλεῖ.

11 IV. Τότε καὶ ἡ φλογίνη ῥομφαία καὶ τὰ Χερουβὶμ ἀντικρὺ τοῦ παραδείσου τὴν οἴκησιν ἴσχει. λέγεται δὲ "ἀντικρὺ" τὸ μὲν ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἀντιστατοῦν, τὸ δὲ ἁρμόττον τοῖς εἰς ἐπίκρισιν, ὡς ὁ κρινόμενος τῷ δικαστῇ, τὸ δὲ ὡς φίλον τοῦ κατανοηθῆναι χάριν καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀκριβεστέρας προσόψεως μᾶλλον οἰκειωθῆναι, ὡς γραφαί τε καὶ ἀνδριάντες
12 ἀρχέτυποι γραφεῦσι καὶ πλάσταις. τοῦ μὲν οὖν ἀντιτεταγμένου παράδειγμα τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ Κάιν εἰρημένον, ὅτι "ἐξῆλθεν ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ᾤκησεν ἐν γῇ Ναὶδ κατέναντι Ἐδέμ" (Gen. iv. 16)· ἑρμηνεύεται δὲ Ναὶδ μὲν σάλος, Ἐδὲμ δὲ τρυφή, τὸ μὲν κακίας κλονούσης ψυχὴν [141] σύμβολον, τὸ δὲ | ἀρετῆς εὐπάθειαν αὐτῇ περιποιούσης καὶ τρυφήν, οὐχὶ τὴν δι' ἀλόγου πάθους ἡδονῆς θρύψιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μετὰ πολλῆς εὐμαρείας

[1] Perhaps with Mangey ὅποτε καὶ παῖδα σοφιστήν.

studies truth and thus obtains that great source of profit to the mind, knowledge of right reason.

Since then the sophist, who is ever sophist, and his mother, the instruction in the preliminary learning, are expelled and banished by God from the presence of wisdom and the wise, on whom he confers the titles of Sarah and Abraham, can we wonder that he has cast forth Adam, that is the mind, which is sick with the incurable sickness of folly, from the dwelling-place of virtue for ever and permits him not to return?

IV. Then too it is that the flaming sword and the Cherubim find their dwelling-place "over against" Paradise. The word "opposite" or "over against" may be used in three senses. First there is a hostile sense; a thing placed "over against" may be in opposition; and there is also a sense applicable to persons who are so placed to be judged, as when the accused is placed over against the juror. And thirdly there is the friendly sense. An object may be so placed to be fully observed, and, in consequence of this more accurate inspection, to be brought into closer connexion, just as painters and sculptors have the picture or statue which serve them as models.

Of the first sense, that of hostility, we find an example in what is said of Cain that "he went out from the face of God and dwelt in Nod over against Eden" (Gen. iv. 16). The meaning of Nod is "tossing" and Eden is "delight." The former is the symbol of the vice that creates tumult in the soul; the latter of the virtue which wins it well-being and delight, not the weak and wanton sort, which the brute passion pleasure brings, but that sense of profound content and joy, which knows

13 ἄπονον χαρὰν καὶ ἀταλαίπωρον. ἀνάγκη δέ, ὅταν ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φαντασίας ἐξέλθῃ διάνοια, ᾗ καλὸν καὶ συμφέρον ἦν ἐπερηρεῖσθαι, νεὼς αὐτίκα θαλαττευούσης τρόπον, ἀντιστατούντων βιαίων πνευμάτων, ὧδε κἀκεῖσε φέρεσθαι πατρίδα καὶ οἰκίαν λαχοῦσαν <σάλον καὶ> κλόνον, ἅπερ ἐναντιώτατά ἐστι βεβαιότητι ψυχῆς, ἣν περιποιεῖ χαρὰ συνώνυμος Ἐδέμ.

14 V. Τοῦ δὲ εἰς ἐπίκρισιν ἐναντίου παράδειγμα τὸ τῆς ζηλοτυπουμένης μεμοιχεῦσθαι. "στήσει" γάρ φησιν "ὁ ἱερεὺς τὴν γυναῖκα ἐναντίον κυρίου καὶ ἀποκαλύψει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς" (Num. v. 18). τί δὲ βούλεται διὰ τούτου παριστάνειν, ἐρευνήσωμεν. τὸ δέον πολλάκις δεόντως οὐκ ἐνεργεῖται καὶ τὸ μὴ καθῆκον ἔστιν ὅτε δρᾶται καθηκόντως· οἷον ἡ μὲν τῆς παρακαταθήκης ἀπόδοσις ὅταν μὴ ἀπὸ γνώμης ὑγιοῦς γίγνηται ἀλλ' ἢ ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τοῦ λαμβάνοντος ἢ ἐπ' ἐνέδρᾳ τῆς περὶ μείζονα πίστιν ἀρνήσεως, καθῆκον ἔργον οὐ δεόντως ἐπιτελεῖται·
15 τὸ δὲ τῷ κάμνοντι μὴ ἀληθεῦσαι τὸν ἰατρὸν κενοῦν ἢ τέμνειν ἢ καίειν διεγνωκότα ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τοῦ νοσοῦντος, ἵνα μὴ προλαβὼν τὰ δεινὰ φύγῃ τὴν θεραπείαν ἢ ἐξασθενήσας ἀπείπῃ πρὸς αὐτήν, ἢ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους τὸν σοφὸν ψεύσασθαι ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς πατρίδος σωτηρίᾳ, δείσαντα μὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἀληθεῦσαι ῥωσθῇ τὰ τῶν ἀντιπάλων, οὐ καθῆκον ἔργον δεόντως ἐνεργεῖται. παρὸ καί φησι Μωυσῆς "δικαίως τὸ δίκαιον διώκειν" (Deut. xvi. 20), ὡς ἐνὸν καὶ ἀδίκως, ὅταν μὴ ἀπὸ γνώμης ὑγιοῦς ὁ

[a] See App. p. 482.

not toil or trouble. But when the mind goes forth from the vision of God, whereon it was good and profitable for it to be anchored, it must needs, like a ship at sea, battling with boisterous winds, straightway be borne hither and thither, and its only home and country is wild commotion, the very opposite of that constancy of the soul, which is the gift of the joy that bears the name of Eden.

V. For the second sense when the word means set opposite for judgement, we have an example in the account of the woman suspected by her husband of adultery. "The priest," so he says, "shall place the woman in front of, or 'over against,' the Lord and uncover her head" (Numb. v. 18). What scripture would indicate by these last words, let us investigate. An action right in itself may often be wrong in the doing, and things contrary to duty in themselves may be done in the spirit of duty. For instance the restoration of a deposit when it is done not from any honest motive but either to injure the recipient, or to lead up treacherously to the repudiation of a greater trust, is a duty in itself, yet in its actual execution wrong. On the other hand, if the physician who purposes to use purge or knife or hot iron to benefit his patient, conceals the truth from him, that he may not shirk the treatment through anticipation of its terror, or collapse and faint when exposed to it, we have an action contrary to duty in itself yet in its actual execution right. So too with the wise man who, fearing that the truth may strengthen the enemy's position, gives them false information to save his country.[a] And thus Moses says "follow justice justly" (Deut. xvi. 20), implying that it is possible to do so unjustly, when the judge brings no

16 δικάζων προσέχῃ. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τὸ μὲν λεγόμενον
ἢ πραττόμενον φανερῶς γνώριμον πᾶσιν, ἡ δὲ
διάνοια οὐ γνώριμος, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα
λέγεται καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα πράττεται, ἀλλ' ἄδηλον
εἴτε ὑγιαίνει καὶ καθαρεύει εἴτε νοσεῖ μιάσμασι
κεχρωσμένη πολλοῖς, γενητὸς δὲ οὐδεὶς ἱκανὸς
γνώμης ἀφανοῦς κατιδεῖν ἐνθύμημα, μόνος δὲ ὁ
θεός, παρὸ καὶ λέγει Μωυσῆς ὅτι "τὰ κρυπτὰ
κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ, τὰ δὲ φανερὰ γενέσει γνώριμα"
(Deut. xxix. 29), προστέτακται τῷ ἱερεῖ καὶ
17 προφήτῃ λόγῳ, τὴν ψυχὴν "ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ
στῆσαι" ἀποκαλύφῳ τῇ κεφαλῇ (Num. v. 18),
τουτέστι τὸ κεφάλαιον δόγμα γυμνωθεῖσαν καὶ
τὴν γνώμην ᾗ κέχρηται ἀπαμφιασθεῖσαν, ἵν' ὄψεσι
ταῖς ἀκριβεστάταις ἐπικριθεῖσα τοῦ ἀδεκάστου |
[142] θεοῦ ἢ τὴν ὑποτυφομένην εἰρωνείαν, κίβδηλον
νόμισμα, διελεγχθῇ ‹ἢ› πάσης οὖσα κακίας ἀμέτ-
οχος ἐκνίψηται τὰς καθ' αὑτῆς διαβολὰς μάρτυρι
χρησαμένη τῷ μόνῳ γυμνὴν ψυχὴν ἰδεῖν δυνα-
μένῳ.

18 VI. Τὸ μὲν οὖν εἰς ἐπίκρισιν ἐναντίον τοιοῦτόν
ἐστι· τὸ δ' εἰς οἰκείωσιν, ὃ ἐπὶ τοῦ πανσόφου
λέλεκται Ἀβραάμ· "ἔτι," γάρ φησιν, "ἦν
ἑστηκὼς ἐναντίον κυρίου" (Gen. xviii. 22)· καὶ
τεκμήριον τῆς οἰκειώσεως τὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον ὅτι
"ἐγγίσας εἶπεν" (ib. 23)· ἀλλοτριουμένῳ γὰρ
ἀφίστασθαι καὶ διαζεύγνυσθαι, οἰκειουμένῳ δὲ
19 συνεγγίζειν ἁρμόττει. τὸ δὲ στῆναι καὶ ἄτρεπτον
κτήσασθαι διάνοιαν ἐγγύς ἐστι βαίνειν θεοῦ
δυνάμεως, ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὲν θεῖον ἄτρεπτον, τὸ δὲ

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[a] Literally "smouldering."

honest mind to bear upon the case. Now words spoken openly and deeds done openly are known to all, but the inward thought which prompts them in either case is not known. We cannot tell whether it is wholesome and pure, or diseased and stained with manifold defilement. No merely created being is capable of discerning the hidden thought and motive. Only God can do so, and therefore Moses says "things hidden are known to the Lord God, but things manifest are known to the Creature" (Deut. xxix. 29). Now we see the cause why Reason, the priest and prophet, is bidden to set the soul "over against the Lord" with her head uncovered (Numb. v. 18), that is with the dominant principles, which constitute her head, laid bare, and the motives which she has cherished stripped of their trappings, so that, being judged by the all-penetrating eye of God the incorruptible, she may either like counterfeit coinage have her lurking [a] dissimulation revealed, or being innocent of all evil may, by appealing to the testimony of Him who alone can see the soul naked, wash away the charges brought against her.

VI. So much for the second sense of "over against." But the third where the object sought is closer intimacy we find in the words used of the wholly-wise Abraham, "He was still standing before (or over against) the Lord" (Gen. xviii. 22). And a proof of this closer intimacy is the further saying that "he drew nigh and said" (*ibid.* 23). Those who desire estrangement may stand aloof and separate themselves; it is for those who seek intimacy to draw nigh to each other. To stand fast and acquire an unswerving mind is to be stepping nigh to the power of God. For with the divine there is no

γενόμενον φύσει μεταβλητόν. εἴ τις οὖν τὴν γενέσεως οἰκείαν φορὰν ἔρωτι ἐπιστήμης ἐγχαλινωσάμενος ἐβιάσατο στῆναι ποιήσας, μὴ λανθανέτω
20 θείας εὐδαιμονίας ἐγγὺς ὤν. τοῖς δὲ Χερουβὶμ καὶ τῇ φλογίνῃ ῥομφαίᾳ τὴν ἀντικρὺ τοῦ παραδείσου πόλιν οἰκείως δίδωσιν, οὐχ ὡς ἐχθροῖς μέλλουσιν ἀντιστατεῖν καὶ διαμάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὡς οἰκειοτάτοις καὶ φιλτάτοις, ἵν' ἐκ τῆς ὁμοῦ προσόψεως καὶ συνεχοῦς περιαθρήσεως πόθον αἱ δυνάμεις ἴσχωσιν ἀλλήλων, καταπνέοντος εἰς αὐτὰς τὸν πτηνὸν ἔρωτα καὶ οὐράνιον τοῦ φιλοδώρου θεοῦ.

21 VII. Τίνα δέ ἐστιν ἃ διὰ τῶν Χερουβὶμ καὶ τῆς στρεφομένης ῥομφαίας φλογίνης αἰνίττεται, νῦν ἐπισκεπτέον. μήποτε οὖν τὴν τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ φορὰν δι' ὑπονοιῶν εἰσάγει· κίνησιν γὰρ αἱ κατ' οὐρανὸν σφαῖραι τὴν ἐναντίαν ἔλαχον ἀλλήλαις, ἡ μὲν τὴν ἀπλανῆ ταὐτοῦ κατὰ δεξιά, ἡ δὲ τὴν
22 πεπλανημένην θατέρου κατ' εὐώνυμα. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐξωτάτω, τῶν λεγομένων ἀπλανῶν, μία, ἣ καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἑῴων ἐπὶ τὰ ἑσπέρια εἱλεῖται περίοδον, αἱ δ' ἐντὸς ἑπτά, τῶν πλανήτων, ἐθελούσιόν τε καὶ βεβιασμένην, ὑπεναντίους ἅμα καὶ διττὰς ἴσχουσαι κινήσεις· καὶ ἔστιν αὐταῖς ἡ μὲν ἀκούσιος ὁμοία τῇ τῶν ἀπλανῶν, φαίνονται γὰρ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπ' ἀνατολῆς ἐπὶ δύσιν ἰοῦσαι, ἡ δὲ οἰκεία ἀπὸ τῶν ἑσπερίων ἐπὶ τὰ ἑῷα, καθ' ἣν συμβέβηκε τὰς περιόδους τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀστέρων καὶ μήκη χρόνων προσειληφέναι, τὰς

[a] Or "with fitness"; there is a play on the double sense of the word.

[b] Philo takes these terms, and indeed the whole passage, from Plato, *Timaeus* 36, on which see Archer-Hind's notes as also on *ib.* 38 D.

turning: variableness belongs to the nature of the created. He then, who with the love of knowledge as his bridle checks the onward course which is natural to created being and compels it to stand still, may be sure that he is not far from the divine happiness. It is with this thought of intimacy [a] that he assigns to the Cherubim and the flaming sword the abode in front of Paradise, not as to foes destined to contend in hostility with each other, but as to the dearest and closest of friends; that thus the Potencies ever gazing at each other in unbroken contemplation may acquire a mutual yearning, even that winged and heavenly love, wherewith God the bountiful giver inspires them.

VII. We must now examine what is symbolized by the Cherubim and the sword of flame which turns every way. I suggest that they are an allegorical figure of the revolution of the whole heaven. For the movements assigned to the heavenly spheres are of two opposite kinds, in the one case an unvarying course, embodying the principle of sameness,[b] to the right, in the other a variable course, embodying the principle of otherness,[b] to the left. The outermost sphere, which contains what are called the fixed stars, is a single one and always makes the same revolution from east to west. But the inner spheres, seven in number, contain the planets and each has two motions of opposite nature, one voluntary, the other under a compelling force. Their involuntary motion is similar to that of the fixed stars, for we see them pass every day from east to west, but their own proper motion is from west to east, and it is in this that we find the revolutions of the seven governed also by certain lengths of time. These lengths are

μὲν ἰσοδρόμους ἴσα, ἡλίου καὶ ἑωσφόρου καὶ στίλβοντος ἐπίκλησιν — τρεῖς γὰρ τῶν πλανήτων | [143] ἰσοταχεῖς οὗτοι —, τὰς δὲ ἀνισοδρόμους[1] ἄνισα μέν, ἀναλογίαν δ' ἔχοντα πρός τε ἀλλήλας καὶ τὰς τρεῖς ἐκείνας.

23 γίνεται οὖν τὸ μὲν ἕτερον τῶν Χερουβὶμ ἡ ἐξωτάτω, τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ ‹ὁ› ἔσχατος, ἁψὶς ἐν ᾗ τὴν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχουσαν οἱ ἀπλανεῖς θείαν ὡς ἀληθῶς χορείαν χορεύουσι τάξιν οὐ λείποντες, ἣν ὁ γεννήσας πατὴρ αὐτοὺς ἔταξεν ἐν κόσμῳ· θάτερον δ' ἡ ἐντὸς περιεχομένη σφαῖρα, ἣν ἑξαχῇ σχίσας ἑπτὰ κύκλους ἀναλογοῦντας ἑαυτοῖς εἰργάζετο τῶν πλανήτων ἕκαστον εἰς αὐτοὺς ἁρμοσάμενος·

24 καὶ καθάπερ ἔποχον ἐν ὀχήματι ἀστέρα ἐν οἰκείῳ κύκλῳ θεὶς τὰς ἡνίας ἐπίστευσε τῶν ἐπόχων οὐδενί, πλημμελῆ δείσας ἐπιστασίαν, ἁπάσας δ' ἐξήρτησεν ἑαυτοῦ, νομίσας ἐναρμόνιον τῆς κινήσεως μάλιστα οὕτως τάξιν γενήσεσθαι· τὸ γὰρ σὺν θεῷ πᾶν ἐπαινετόν, τὸ δ' ἄνευ θεοῦ ψεκτόν.

25 VIII. Τὰ μὲν δὴ Χερουβὶμ καθ' ἕνα τρόπον οὕτως ἀλληγορεῖται· ῥομφαίαν δὲ φλογίνην καὶ στρεφομένην τὴν κίνησιν αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ τὴν ἀίδιον φορὰν ὑποτοπητέον λέγεσθαι. μήποτε δὲ καθ' ἑτέραν ἐκδοχὴν τὰ μὲν Χερουβὶμ δηλοῖ τῶν ἡμισφαιρίων ἑκάτερον· καὶ γὰρ ἀντι-

[1] mss. μεσοδρόμοις or μὴ μεσοδρόμους.

[a] *i.e.* of the heaven. Thus in *De Decalogo* 56, 57, Philo speaks of the two hemispheres, one above the earth and one below it. "For as the heaven is ceaselessly revolving, the two hemispheres daily take their position in turn one above

the same in the case of three whose course is equal, and these three which have the same rate of speed are known as the Sun, the Morning-star, and the Sparkler (or Mercury). The others have unequal courses and different lengths of time in revolution, though these too preserve a definite proportion to each other and the above-named three.

One of the Cherubim then symbolizes the outermost sphere of the fixed stars. It is the final heaven of all, the vault in which the choir of those who wander not move in a truly divine unchanging rhythm, never leaving the post which the Father who begat them has appointed them in the universe. The other of the Cherubim is the inner contained sphere, which through a sixfold division He has made into seven zones of regular proportion and fitted each planet into one of them. He has set each star in its proper zone as a driver in a chariot, and yet He has in no case trusted the reins to the driver, fearing that their rule might be one of discord, but He has made them all dependent on Himself, holding that thus would their march be orderly and harmonious. For when God is with us all we do is worthy of praise ; all that is done without Him merits blame.

VIII. This then is one interpretation of the allegory of the Cherubim, and the flaming turning sword represents, we must suppose, their movement and the eternal revolution of the whole heaven. But perhaps on another interpretation the two Cherubim represent the two hemispheres.[a] For we read that the Cherubim stand face to face with their

the earth and the other below it, as it seems, though in reality there is no 'up' or 'down' in the spherical heaven." See App. pp. 482, 483.

πρόσωπά φησιν εἶναι νεύοντα πρὸς τὸ ἱλαστήριον
πτεροῖς (Exod. xxv. 19), ἐπειδὴ καὶ ταῦτα ἀντικρὺ
μέν ἐστιν ἀλλήλων, νένευκε δὲ ἐπὶ γῆν τὸ μέσον
26 τοῦ παντός, ᾧ καὶ διακρίνεται· ἡ δὲ μόνη τῶν τοῦ
κόσμου μερῶν ἑστῶσα παγίως Ἑστία πρὸς τῶν
παλαιῶν εὐθυβόλως ὠνόμασται, ἵνα περί τι
βεβαίως ἱδρυμένον ἡ ἑκατέρων τῶν ἡμισφαιρίων
ἐμμελεστάτη γίγνηται περιπόλησις. ἡ δὲ φλογίνη
ῥομφαία σύμβολον ἡλίου· φλογὸς γὰρ ὢν πίλημα
πολλῆς ὠκυδρομώτατον γέγονε τῶν ὄντων, ὡς
ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ τὸν σύμπαντα περιδινεῖσθαι κόσμον.
27 IX. Ἤκουσα δέ ποτε καὶ σπουδαιοτέρου λόγου
παρὰ ψυχῆς ἐμῆς εἰωθυίας τὰ πολλὰ θεοληπτεῖσθαι
καὶ περὶ ὧν οὐκ οἶδε μαντεύεσθαι· ὅν, ἐὰν δύνωμαι,
ἀπομνημονεύσας ἐρῶ. ἔλεγε δέ μοι κατὰ τὸν ἕνα
ὄντως ὄντα θεὸν δύο τὰς ἀνωτάτω εἶναι καὶ πρώτας
[144] δυνάμεις | ἀγαθότητα καὶ ἐξουσίαν, καὶ ἀγαθότητι
μὲν τὸ πᾶν γεγεννηκέναι, ἐξουσίᾳ δὲ τοῦ γεν-
28 νηθέντος ἄρχειν, τρίτον δὲ συναγωγὸν ἀμφοῖν
μέσον εἶναι λόγον, λόγῳ γὰρ καὶ ἄρχοντα καὶ
ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τὸν θεόν· ἀρχῆς μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀγα-
θότητος τῶν δυεῖν δυνάμεων τὰ Χερουβὶμ εἶναι
σύμβολα, λόγου δὲ τὴν φλογίνην ῥομφαίαν· ὀξυ-
κινητότατον γὰρ καὶ θερμὸν λόγος καὶ μάλιστα
ὁ τοῦ αἰτίου, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸ πάντα φθάσαν παρ-
ημείψατο καὶ πρὸ πάντων νοούμενον καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι
φαινόμενον.
29 Ἑκατέρου δὴ τῶν Χερουβίμ, ὦ διάνοια, δέξαι
τύπον ἀκιβδήλευτον, ἵνα περί τε ἀρχῆς τοῦ αἰτίου
καὶ ἀγαθότητος ἐναργῶς ἀναδιδαχθεῖσα καρπώσῃ
κλῆρον εὐδαίμονα· γνώσῃ γὰρ εὐθὺς καὶ τὴν τῶν

[a] See App. p. 483.

wings inclining to the mercy-seat (Exod. xxv. 19). And so, too, the hemispheres are opposite to each other and stretch out to the earth, the centre of all things, which actually parts them. And as this alone in all the universe stands firm, it has been rightly named by men of old the standing-place,[a] and it stands thus, that the revolution of each of the hemispheres may circle round one fixed centre and thus be wholly harmonious. The flaming sword on this interpretation is the Sun, that packed mass of flame, which is the swiftest of all existing things and whirls round the whole universe in a single day.

IX. But there is a higher thought than these. It comes from a voice in my own soul, which oftentimes is god-possessed and divines where it does not know. This thought I will record in words if I can. The voice told me that while God is indeed one, His highest and chiefest powers are two, even goodness and sovereignty. Through His goodness He begat all that is, through His sovereignty He rules what He has begotten. And in the midst between the two there is a third which unites them, Reason, for it is through reason that God is both ruler and good. Of these two potencies sovereignty and goodness the Cherubim are symbols, as the fiery sword is the symbol of reason.[a] For exceeding swift and of burning heat is reason and chiefly so the reason of the (Great) Cause, for it alone preceded and outran all things, conceived before them all, manifest above them all.

O then, my mind, admit the image unalloyed of the two Cherubim, that having learnt its clear lesson of the sovereignty and beneficence of the Cause, thou mayest reap the fruits of a happy lot. For

ἀκράτων δυνάμεων σύνοδόν τε καὶ κρᾶσιν, ἐν οἷς
ἀγαθὸς μὲν ὁ θεὸς ἐμφαινομένου τοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς
ἀξιώματος, ἐν οἷς δὲ ἄρχων ἐμφαινομένης τῆς
ἀγαθότητος· ἵνα τὰς ἐκ τούτων ἀπογεννωμένας
ἀρετὰς φιλοφροσύνην καὶ εὐλάβειαν θεοῦ κτήσῃ,
μήτε ἐν οἷς εὖ πάσχεις ὑψηγοροῦσα διὰ τὸ τῆς
ἡγεμονίας τοῦ βασιλέως μέγεθος μήτε ἐν οἷς
ὑπομένεις τι τῶν ἀβουλήτων ἀπογινώσκουσα τὰς
ἀμείνους ἐλπίδας δι' ἡμερότητα τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ
30 *φιλοδώρου θεοῦ.* *φλογίνη δὲ ῥομφαία,*
διότι χρὴ τούτοις παρακολουθεῖν τὸν μέτρον ὄντα[1]
τῶν πραγμάτων ἔνθερμον καὶ πυρώδη λόγον, ὃς
οὐδέποτε λήγει κινούμενος σπουδῇ πάσῃ πρὸς
αἵρεσιν μὲν τῶν καλῶν, φυγὴν δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων.
31 X. *οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ Ἀβραὰμ ὁ σοφός, ἡνίκα*
ἤρξατο μετρεῖν κατὰ θεὸν πάντα καὶ μηδὲν
ἀπολείπειν τῷ γενητῷ, λαμβάνει τῆς φλογίνης
ῥομφαίας μίμημα " *πῦρ καὶ μάχαιραν* " (Gen. xxii.
6), *διελεῖν καὶ καταφλέξαι τὸ θνητὸν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ*
γλιχόμενος, ἵνα γυμνῇ τῇ διανοίᾳ μετάρσιος πρὸς
32 *θεὸν ἀναπτῇ;* *τὸν δέ γε Βαλαὰμ μάταιον*
λαὸν ὄντα ἐξωπλισμένον εἰσάγει Μωυσῆς ἀστρά-
τευτον καὶ λιποτάκτην, εἰδὼς πόλεμον ὃν ἁρ-
μόττει ψυχῇ περὶ ἐπιστήμης ποιεῖσθαι· λέγει γὰρ
ὄνῳ, τῇ ἀλόγῳ προαιρέσει τοῦ βίου, ᾗ πᾶς ἄφρων
ἐπιβέβηκεν, ὅτι " *εἰ μάχαιραν εἶχον, ἤδη ἂν*
ἐξεκέντησά σε " (Num. xxii. 29)· *καὶ μεγίστη*

[1] *μέτρον ὄντα* conj. Trs.; *cf.* *μετρεῖν*, 31 : MSS. *μέτα* : Cohn *μέσον*.

[a] See App. p. 483.

straightway thou shalt understand how these unmixed potencies are mingled and united, how, where God is good, yet the glory of His sovereignty is seen amid the beneficence, how, where He is sovereign, through the sovereignty the beneficence still appears. Thus thou mayest gain the virtues begotten of these potencies, a cheerful courage and a reverent awe towards God. When things are well with thee, the majesty of the sovereign king will keep thee from high thoughts. When thou sufferest what thou wouldest not, thou wilt not despair of betterment, remembering the loving-kindness of the great and bountiful God. And for this cause is the sword a sword of flame, because in their company reason the measure of things must follow, reason with its fierce and burning heat, reason that ever moves with unswerving zeal, teaching thee to choose the good and eschew the evil. X. Remember how Abraham the wise, when he began to make God his standard in all things and leave nothing to the created, takes a copy of the flaming sword—"fire and knife" it says (Gen. xxii. 6)—desiring to sever and consume the mortal element away from himself and thus to fly upward to God with his understanding stripped of its trammels. And thus too Balaam ("foolish people" that is) is represented by Moses as disarmed, one who neither fights nor keeps the ranks,[a] for Moses knew well that war which the soul should wage for knowledge as its guerdon. Balaam says to the ass, who signifies the unreasoning rule of life, which is ridden by every fool: "If I had a sword I would have ere now pierced thee through" (Numb. xxii. 29). Well may we thank the great

χάρις τῷ τεχνίτῃ, ὅτι τὴν ἀφροσύνης λύτταν εἰδὼς οὐκ ἐνέδωκεν αὐτῇ, καθάπερ ξίφος μεμηνότι, δύναμιν λόγων, ἵνα μὴ πολλὴν καὶ ἄδικον ἅπασι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἐνεργάσηται φθοράν.

33 [145] ἃ δὲ Βαλαάμ, | ταῦθ᾽ ἕκαστος τῶν μὴ κεκαθαρμένων ἀεὶ ματαιάζων αἰτιᾶταί πως, ἐμπορικὸν ἢ γεωργικὸν ἤ τιν᾽ ἄλλον τῶν ποριστικῶν ἐπιτηδεύσας βίον· ἕως μὲν αἴσια ἀπαντᾷ τὰ ἀφ᾽ ἑκάστου, γεγηθὼς ἐπιβέβηκε καὶ ἐποχεῖται καὶ ἐνειλημμένος ἀπρὶξ ἔχεται μεθέσθαι τὸ παράπαν οὐ δικαιῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀφίστασθαι λέγουσι καὶ μέτρα ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις περιθεῖναι διὰ τὸ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀτέκμαρτον βασκανίαν ὀνειδίζει καὶ φθόνον, οὐκ ἀπ᾽ εὐνοίας εἰσηγεῖσθαι ταῦτα φάσκων·

34 ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀβούλητος κακοπραγία συμβῇ, τοὺς μὲν ὡς ἀγαθοὺς μάντεις ἀποδέχεται καὶ προφυλάξασθαι δυνατωτάτους τὰ μέλλοντα, τὰ δ᾽ οὐδενὸς αἴτια κακοῦ τὸ παράπαν αἰτιᾶται, τὴν γεωργίαν, τὴν ἐμπορίαν, τὰς ἄλλας ἐπιτηδεύσεις, αἷς πρὸς

35 ἀργυρισμὸν ἠξίου χρῆσθαι· XI. αἱ δὲ καίτοι φωνητηρίων ὀργάνων ἀμοιροῦσαι τὴν δι᾽ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων ῥήξουσι φωνὴν ἐναργεστέραν οὖσαν τῆς διὰ γλώττης "Ἆρά γε, ὦ συκοφάντα, οὐχ ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν ἐκεῖναι" λέγουσαι "αἷς καθάπερ ὑποζυγίοις ὑψαυχενῶν ἐπεβεβήκεις; μὴ καθ᾽ ὑπεροψίαν ἄλλως εἰργασάμεθά σοι κακοπραγίαν; (cf. Num. xxii. 30) ἴδε τὸν ἀνθεστῶτα ἐξεναντίας θεοῦ λόγον ἐνωπλισμένον ἄγγελον (ib. 31), παρ᾽ ὃν τό τε εὖ καὶ τὸ μὴ συμβέβηκε τελειοῦσθαι·

[a] Or "applaud as . . ."

Contriver, that, knowing the madness of folly, he did not put into its hands, as into the hands of a madman, the sword of the power of words, to wreak widespread and unrighteous carnage among all who came in his way. And this angry cry of Balaam is ever the cry of each of the unpurified in his vanity, if he has followed the life of the merchant or the farmer or other business that men pursue for gain. Each, while good fortune encounters them in their several walks of life, sits his beast with cheerful mood and keeps a tight grip of the reins and scouts the thought of letting them drop from his hands. And all those who bid him desist, and set limits to his desires, because the future is uncertain, he charges with malice and envy, and will have it that their warning is not of goodwill. But when disappointment and misfortune befall him he does indeed recognize [a] that these were true prophets, fully competent to guard against the chances of the future, but he lays all the blame on wholly guiltless objects, the farming, the trading, the other pursuits, which of his own judgement he followed for lucre.

XI. And these pursuits, though they have no vocal organs, will utter the language which speaks in the reality of facts, a language which is plainer than the language of the tongue. "False slanderer," they will cry, "are we not they on whom you rode proud-necked as on some beast of burden? Have we ever in mere insolence [b] brought disaster on you? (Numb. xxii. 30). Behold the armed angel, the reason of God, standing in the way against you (*ibid.* 31), the source through whom both good and ill

[b] Or "heedlessness." In the LXX. the ass asks Balaam *μὴ ὑπεροράσει ὑπεριδοῦσα ἐποίησά σοι οὕτως;*

36 οὐχ ὁρᾷς; τί οὖν νῦν ἡμᾶς αἰτιᾷ πρότερον, ὅτε εὐώδει σοι τὰ πράγματα, οὐχὶ μεμψάμενος; μένομεν γὰρ αἱ αὐταὶ μηδὲ[1] τῆς ἑαυτῶν φύσεως μεταβάλλουσαι τὸ παράπαν στιγμήν· σὺ δὲ κριτηρίοις χρώμενος οὐχ ὑγιέσιν ἀλόγως σφαδάζεις· εἰ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔμαθες, ὅτι οὐχ ἅττ' ἂν ἐπιτηδεύῃς ἀγαθῶν μετουσίας ἢ κακῶν ἐστιν αἴτια, ἀλλ' ὁ δίοπος[2] καὶ κυβερνήτης τοῦ παντὸς λόγος θεῖος, ῥᾷον ἂν ἔφερες τὰ συμπίπτοντα παυσάμενος τοῦ συκοφαντεῖν καὶ ἐπιγράφειν ἡμῖν ἃ μὴ δυνάμεθα.

37 ἐὰν οὖν πάλιν καθελὼν ἐκεῖνος τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὰς ἐπ' αὐτῷ συννοίας[3] καὶ κατηφείας σκεδάσας εἰρήνην ἐπικηρυκεύσηται βίου, φαιδρὸς καὶ γεγηθὼς τὴν δεξιὰν ἐμβαλεῖς ἡμῖν ταῖς ἐν ὁμοίῳ μενούσαις· ἡμεῖς δ' οὔτ' εὐμενείᾳ τῇ σῇ φυσώμεθα οὔτ' ἐὰν δυσμεναίνῃς ἐπιστρεφόμεθα, ἴσμεν γὰρ ἑαυτὰς μήτ' ἀγαθῶν μήτε κακῶν αἰτίας οὔσας, κἂν σὺ περὶ ἡμῶν τοιαῦτα δοξάζῃς, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὴν θάλατταν εὐπλοίας ἢ τῶν συμβαινόντων ναυαγίων ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τὰς τῶν πνευμάτων διαφορὰς τοτὲ μὲν ἐπιεικῶς τοτὲ δὲ μετὰ βιαιο-
38 τάτου συρμοῦ καταπνεόντων αἰτιατέον· φύσει γὰρ παντὸς ὕδατος | ἠρεμίαν ἐξ αὑτοῦ λαχόντος, ὅταν
[146] μὲν πνεῦμα οὔριον κατ' οἰάκων ἐπιγένηται, παντὸς ἀνασεισθέντος κάλου, πλησίστιοι μέχρι λιμένων αἱ νῆες καταίρουσιν, ὅταν δὲ αἰφνίδιον κατὰ πρῴρας ἐξεναντίας κατασκήψῃ, πολὺν σάλον καὶ κλόνον ἐγείρει καὶ ἀνατρέπει· καὶ τοῦ συμβαίνοντος ἡ μηδὲν αἰτία θάλαττα τὴν πρόφασιν ἴσχει, φανερῶς

[1] MSS. μηδέν.

[2] So Cohn from δίοπτος of F. The other MSS. have πηδαλιοῦχος.

[3] MSS. ἐννοίας.

come to fulfilment. See where he stands. Why then blame us now, on whom you cast no blame before, when things fared well with you? We stay the same, we change not a jot of our nature. But the tests you use are false and your impatience is without reason. If you had learnt from the first that it is not your life-pursuits which bring your share in good or ill, but the divine reason, the ruler and steersman of all, you would bear with more patience what befalls you, and cease from slandering and ascribing to us what we have no power to bring about.

If then that ruler should in turn subdue those warring elements,[a] scatter the thoughts of disheartenment which war brings, and send a message of peace [a] to your life, you will give us the hand of friendship with a bright and cheerful face, though we are what we ever were. But we are not elated at your goodwill, nor care we for your anger. We know that we cause not good or ill, though you imagine such things of us. It were as foolish to lay a prosperous voyage or the disasters of shipwreck to the charge of the sea itself instead of to the changes of the winds, which sometimes blow gently, sometimes in fiercest riot. For stillness is the natural self-engendered quality of all water, but when the favouring breeze follows behind the rudder and every reef is let out, the ship with full sail goes safely to the harbour, and again when a head-wind swoops suddenly down against the prow it raises a wild commotion, and overturns the bark. And all this is laid to the charge of the guiltless sea, though

[a] Or "put an end to the war . . . and proclaim peace."

ταῖς ἀνέσεσι καὶ σφοδρότησι τῶν ἀνέμων ἢ γαληνιάζουσα ἢ κυμαίνουσα."

39 Διὰ τούτων οὖν ἁπάντων ἱκανῶς οἶμαι δεδηλῶσθαι, ὅτι λόγον ἡ φύσις δυνατώτατον σύμμαχον ἀνθρώπῳ δημιουργήσασα τὸν μὲν αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι δυνάμενον ὀρθῶς ἀπέδειξεν εὐδαίμονα καὶ λογικὸν ὄντως, τὸν δὲ μὴ δυνάμενον ἄλογόν τε καὶ κακοδαίμονα.

40 XII. "Ἀδὰμ δὲ ἔγνω τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ· καὶ συνέλαβε καὶ ἔτεκε τὸν Κάιν, καὶ εἶπεν Ἐκτησάμην ἄνθρωπον διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ προσέθηκε τεκεῖν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἄβελ" (Gen. iv. 1, 2). οἷς ἀρετὴν μεμαρτύρηκεν ὁ νομοθέτης, τούτους γνωρίζοντας γυναῖκας οὐκ εἰσάγει, τὸν Ἀβραάμ, τὸν Ἰσαάκ, τὸν Ἰακώβ, τὸν Μωυσῆν,
41 καὶ εἴ τις αὐτοῖς ὁμόζηλος· ἐπειδὴ γάρ φαμεν εἶναι γυναῖκα τροπικῶς αἴσθησιν, ἀλλοτριώσει δ' αἰσθήσεως καὶ σώματος ἐπιστήμη συνίσταται, τοὺς σοφίας ἐραστὰς αἴσθησιν[1] ἀποδοκιμάζοντας μᾶλλον ἢ αἱρουμένους ἐπιδείξεται· καὶ μήποτ' εἰκότως· αἱ γὰρ τούτοις συνοικοῦσαι λόγῳ μὲν εἰσι γυναῖκες, ἔργῳ δὲ ἀρεταί, Σάρρα μὲν ἄρχουσα καὶ ἡγεμονίς, Ῥεβέκκα δὲ ἐπιμονὴ τῶν καλῶν, Λεία δὲ ἀνανενευμένη καὶ κοπιῶσα ἐπὶ τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς ἀσκήσεως, ἣν ἐκνένευκε καὶ ἀποστρέφεται πᾶς ἄφρων ἀρνούμενος, Σεπφώρα δὲ ἡ Μωυσέως ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνατρέχουσα καὶ τὰς ἐκεῖ θείας καὶ εὐδαίμονας φύσεις κατανοοῦσα, καλεῖται δὲ ὀρνίθιον.

42 Ἵνα δὲ τὴν ἀρετῶν κύησιν καὶ ὠδῖνα εἴπωμεν,

[1] MSS. ἔστησεν.

[a] That Philo perversely takes the subject of εἶπεν to be

plainly it is calm or stormy according to the lightness or the violence of the winds."

Surely all this is sufficient proof that nature who has provided for men a mighty champion in reason makes him who can use this champion aright a truly happy and reasonable being. Him who cannot use it aright she leaves to unreason and misery.

XII. " And Adam knew his wife and she conceived and bare Cain, and he said, 'I have gotten a man through God,' and He added to this that she bore his brother Abel" (Gen. iv. 1, 2).[a] The persons to whose virtue the lawgiver has testified, such as Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Moses, and others of the same spirit, are not represented by him as knowing women. For since we hold that woman signifies in a figure sense-perception, and that knowledge comes into being through estrangement from sense and body, it will follow[b] that the lovers of wisdom reject rather than choose sense. And surely this is natural. For the helpmeets of these men are called women, but are in reality virtues. Sarah "sovereign and leader," Rebecca "steadfastness in excellence," Leah[c] "rejected and faint" through the unbroken discipline, which every fool rejects and turns from with words of denial, Zipporah, the mate of Moses, whose name is "bird," speeding upwards from earth to heaven and contemplating there the nature of things divine and blessed.

The virtues have their conception and their birth-

Adam and that of προσέθηκε to be God appears from § 124 and *De Sac.* 10.

[b] Literally "it" or "he" will show. If "it," the subject is either "the fact that women symbolize sense," or perhaps "knowledge"; if "he," the legislator.

[c] See App. p. 483.

ἀκοὰς ἐπιφραξάτωσαν οἱ δεισιδαίμονες τὰς ἑαυτῶν
ἢ μεταστήτωσαν· τελετὰς γὰρ ἀναδιδάσκομεν
θείας τοὺς τελετῶν ἀξίους τῶν ἱερωτάτων μύστας,
οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ τὴν ἀληθῆ καὶ οὖσαν ὄντως
ἀκαλλώπιστον εὐσέβειαν μετὰ ἀτυφίας ἀσκοῦντες·
ἐκείνοις δὲ οὐχ ἱεροφαντήσομεν κατεσχημένοις
ἀνιάτῳ κακῷ τύφῳ, ῥημάτων καὶ ὀνομάτων
γλισχρότητι καὶ τερθρείαις ἐθῶν ἄλλῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ
[147] τὸ εὐαγὲς καὶ ὅσιον | παραμετροῦσιν.
43 XIII. ἀρκτέον οὖν τῆς τελετῆς ὧδε. ἀνὴρ μὲν
γυναικί, ἄνθρωπος δ' ἄρρην ἀνθρώπῳ θηλείᾳ τὰς
ἐπὶ γενέσει παίδων ὁμιλίας ἐπακολουθῶν τῇ φύσει
συνέρχεται ποιησόμενος· ἀρεταῖς δὲ πολλὰ καὶ
τέλεια τικτούσαις θέμις οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνδρὸς ἐπιλαχεῖν
θνητοῦ· μὴ δεξάμεναι δὲ παρά τινος ἑτέρου γονήν,[1]
44 ἐξ ἑαυτῶν μόνον οὐδέποτε κυήσουσι. τίς οὖν ὁ
σπείρων ἐν αὐταῖς τὰ καλὰ πλὴν ὁ τῶν ὄντων
πατήρ, ὁ ἀγένητος θεὸς καὶ τὰ σύμπαντα γεννῶν;
σπείρει μὲν οὖν οὗτος, τὸ δὲ γέννημα τὸ ἴδιον, ὃ
ἔσπειρε, δωρεῖται· γεννᾷ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς οὐδὲν αὑτῷ,
χρεῖος ἅτε ὢν οὐδενός, πάντα δὲ τῷ λαβεῖν
45 δεομένῳ. παρέξω δὲ τῶν λεγομένων
ἐγγυητὴν ἀξιόχρεων τὸν ἱερώτατον Μωυσῆν· τὴν
γὰρ Σάρραν εἰσάγει τότε κύουσαν, ὅτε ὁ θεὸς
αὐτὴν μονωθεῖσαν ἐπισκοπεῖ (Gen. xxi. 1), τί-
κτουσαν δ' οὐκέτι τῷ τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν πεποιημένῳ,
ἀλλὰ τῷ σοφίας τυχεῖν γλιχομένῳ, οὗτος δὲ
46 Ἀβραὰμ ὀνομάζεται. γνωριμώτερον δ'
ἐπὶ τῆς Λείας ἐκδιδάσκει λέγων, ὅτι τὴν μὲν

[1] MSS. ἐπιγόνην.

[a] See App. p. 483.

pangs, but when I purpose to speak of them let them who corrupt religion into superstition close their ears or depart. For this is a divine mystery and its lesson is for the initiated who are worthy to receive the holiest secret, even those who in simplicity of heart practise the piety which is true and genuine, free from all tawdry ornament. The sacred revelation is not for those others who, under the spell of the deadly curse of vanity, have no other standards for measuring what is pure and holy but their barren words and phrases and their silly usages and ritual.[a] XIII. Thus then must the sacred instruction begin. Man and Woman, male and female of the human race, in the course of nature come together to hold intercourse for the procreation of children. But virtues whose offspring are so many and so perfect may not have to do with mortal man, yet if they receive not seed of generation from another they will never of themselves conceive. Who then is he that sows in them the good seed save the Father of all, that is God unbegotten and begetter of all things? He then sows, but the fruit of His sowing, the fruit which is His own, He bestows as a gift. For God begets nothing for Himself, for He is in want of nothing, but all for him who needs[b] to receive. I will give as a warrant for my words one that none can dispute, Moses the holiest of men. For he shows us Sarah conceiving at the time when God visited her in her solitude (Gen. xxi. 1),[a] but when she brings forth it is not to the Author of her visitation, but to him who seeks to win wisdom, whose name is Abraham. And even clearer is Moses' teaching of

[b] Or "prays."

μήτραν ἀνέῳξεν αὐτῆς ὁ θεός (Gen. xxix. 31)—
ἀνοιγνύναι δὲ μήτραν ἀνδρὸς ἴδιον—, ἡ δὲ συλ-
λαβοῦσα ἔτεκεν οὐ θεῷ—ἱκανὸς γὰρ μόνος καὶ
αὐταρκέστατος ἑαυτῷ—, ἀλλὰ τῷ κάματον ἀνα-
δεχομένῳ ὑπὲρ τοῦ καλοῦ Ἰακώβ, ὥστε τὴν
ἀρετὴν δέχεσθαι μὲν παρὰ τοῦ αἰτίου τὰ θεῖα
σπέρματα, τίκτειν δέ τινι τῶν ἑαυτῆς ἐραστῶν,
ὃς ἂν τῶν μνηστήρων ἁπάντων προκριθῇ. πάλιν
47 Ἰσαὰκ τοῦ πανσόφου τὸν θεὸν ἱκετεύσαντος, ἐκ
τοῦ ἱκετευθέντος ἔγκυος ἡ ἐπιμονὴ Ῥεβέκκα
γίνεται (Gen. xxv. 21). χωρὶς δὲ ἱκετείας καὶ
δεήσεως τὴν πτηνὴν καὶ μετάρσιον ἀρετὴν Σεπ-
φώραν Μωυσῆς λαβὼν εὑρίσκει κύουσαν ἐξ
οὐδενὸς θνητοῦ τὸ παράπαν (Exod. ii. 22).
48 XIV. ταῦτα, ὦ μύσται κεκαθαρμένοι
τὰ ὦτα, ὡς ἱερὰ ὄντως μυστήρια ψυχαῖς ταῖς
ἑαυτῶν παραδέχεσθε καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἀμυήτων
ἐκλαλήσητε, ταμιευσάμενοι δὲ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς φυ-
λάττετε θησαυρόν, οὐκ ἐν ᾧ χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος,
οὐσίαι φθαρταί, κατάκεινται, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὄντων
κτημάτων τὸ καλλιστεῦον, ἡ περὶ τοῦ αἰτίου καὶ
ἀρετῆς καὶ τρίτου τοῦ γεννήματος ἀμφοῖν ἐπι-
στήμη. ἐὰν δέ τινι τῶν τετελεσμένων ἐντυγχά-
νητε, λιπαρῶς ἐγκείμενοι περιέχεσθε, μή τινα ἄρα
καινοτέραν εἰδὼς τελετὴν ἐπικρύπτηται, μέχρις ἂν
49 αὐτὴν σαφῶς ἀναδιδαχθῆτε. καὶ γὰρ
ἐγὼ παρὰ Μωυσεῖ τῷ θεοφιλεῖ μυηθεὶς τὰ μεγάλα
[148] μυστήρια ὅμως αὖθις Ἱερεμίαν τὸν | προφήτην
ἰδὼν καὶ γνούς, ὅτι οὐ μόνον μύστης ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ
καὶ ἱεροφάντης ἱκανός, οὐκ ὤκνησα φοιτῆσαι πρὸς
αὐτόν· ὁ δ' ἅτε τὰ πολλὰ ἐνθουσιῶν χρησμόν τινα

Leah, that God opened her womb (Gen. xxix. 31). Now to open the womb belongs to the husband. Yet when she conceived she brought forth not to God (for He is in Himself all-sufficing for Himself), but to him who endures toil to gain the good, even Jacob. Thus virtue receives the divine seed from the Creator, but brings forth to one of her own lovers, who is preferred above all others who seek her favour. Again Isaac the all-wise besought God, and through the power of Him who was thus besought Steadfastness or Rebecca became pregnant (Gen. xxv. 21). And without supplication or entreaty did Moses, when he took Zipporah the winged and soaring virtue, find her pregnant through no mortal agency (Exod. ii. 22).

XIV. These thoughts, ye initiated, whose ears are purified, receive into your souls as holy mysteries indeed and babble not of them to any of the profane. Rather as stewards guard the treasure in your own keeping, not where gold and silver, substances corruptible, are stored, but where lies that most beautiful of all possessions, the knowledge of the Cause and of virtue, and, besides these two, of the fruit which is engendered by them both. But, if ye meet with anyone of the initiated, press him closely, cling to him, lest knowing of some still newer secret he hide it from you; stay not till you have learnt its full lesson. I myself was initiated under Moses the God-beloved into his greater mysteries,[a] yet when I saw the prophet Jeremiah and knew him to be not only himself enlightened, but a worthy minister of the holy secrets, I was not slow to become his disciple. He out of his manifold inspiration gave forth

[a] See App. p. 483.

ἐξεῖπεν ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ λέγοντα πρὸς τὴν
εἰρηνικωτάτην ἀρετὴν ταῦτα· "οὐχ ὡς οἶκόν με
ἐκάλεσας καὶ πατέρα καὶ ἄνδρα τῆς παρθενίας
σου;" (Ier. iii. 4) ἐμφαντικώτατα παριστὰς ὅτι
ὁ θεὸς καὶ οἶκός ἐστιν, ἀσωμάτων ἰδεῶν ἀσώματος
χώρα, καὶ τῶν συμπάντων πατήρ, ἅτε γεγεννηκὼς
αὐτά, καὶ σοφίας ἀνὴρ σπέρμα τῷ θνητῷ γένει
καταβαλλόμενος εὐδαιμονίας εἰς ἀγαθὴν καὶ παρ-
50 θένον γῆν. ἀμιάντῳ γὰρ καὶ ἀψαύστῳ καὶ καθαρᾷ
φύσει, τῇ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν παρθένῳ, διαλέγεσθαι
πρεπῶδες θεόν, ἐναντίως ἡμῖν· ἀνθρώπων μὲν γὰρ
ἡ ἐπὶ γενέσει τέκνων σύνοδος τὰς παρθένους
γυναῖκας ἀποφαίνει· ὅταν δὲ ὁμιλεῖν ἄρξηται
ψυχῇ θεός, πρότερον αὐτὴν οὖσαν γυναῖκα παρθένον
αὖθις ἀποδείκνυσιν, ἐπειδὴ τὰς ἀγεννεῖς καὶ
ἀνάνδρους ἐπιθυμίας, αἷς ἐθηλύνετο, ἐκποδὼν
ἀνελὼν τὰς αὐθιγενεῖς καὶ ἀκηράτους ἀρετὰς
ἀντεισάγει· Σάρρᾳ γοῦν οὐ διαλέξεται, πρὶν
ἐκλιπεῖν ἐκείνην τὰ γυναικεῖα πάντα (Gen. xviii.
11) καὶ ἀναδραμεῖν εἰς ἁγνευούσης παρθένου
51 τάξιν. XV. ἀλλ' ἐνδέχεται τάχα που
καὶ παρθένον ψυχὴν πάθεσιν ἀκολάστοις μιανθεῖσαν
αἰσχυνθῆναι· διόπερ ὁ χρησμὸς πεφύλακται θεὸν
ἄνδρα εἰπὼν οὐ παρθένου—τρεπτὴ γὰρ ἥδε καὶ
θνητή—ἀλλὰ "παρθενίας" (Ier. iii. 4), τῆς ἀεὶ
κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἐχούσης ἰδέας· γένεσιν
γὰρ καὶ φθορὰν ἐνδεχομένων φύσει τῶν ποιῶν,
ἄφθαρτον αἱ τυποῦσαι δυνάμεις τὰ[1] ἐν μέρει
52 κλῆρον εἰλήχασι. τὸν οὖν ἀγένητον καὶ ἄτρεπτον

[1] So Wendland: MSS. τῶν (which Cohn retains), or τόν. The former, which makes the ideas belong to the particulars, seems hardly intelligible.

an oracle spoken in the person of God to Virtue the all-peaceful. "Didst thou not call upon Me as thy house, thy father and the husband [a] of thy virginity?" (Jer. iii. 4). Thus he implies clearly that God is a house, the incorporeal dwelling-place of incorporeal ideas, that He is the father of all things, for He begat them, and the husband of Wisdom, dropping the seed of happiness for the race of mortals into good and virgin soil. For it is meet that God should hold converse with the truly virgin nature, that which is undefiled and free from impure touch; but it is the opposite with us. For the union of human beings that is made for the procreation of children, turns virgins into women. But when God begins to consort with the soul, He makes what before was a woman into a virgin again, for He takes away the degenerate and emasculate passions which unmanned it and plants instead the native growth of unpolluted virtues. Thus He will not talk with Sarah till she has ceased from all that is after the manner of women (Gen. xviii. 11), and is ranked once more as a pure virgin. XV. Again even a virgin soul may perchance be dishonoured through the defilement of licentious passions. Therefore the oracle makes itself safe by speaking of God as the husband not of a virgin, for a virgin is liable to change and death, but of virginity, the idea which is unchangeable and eternal. For particulars within a class are of their nature such as to come into being and pass out of it again, but to the potencies which give their form to these particulars is allotted an existence indestructible. It is meet and right therefore that

[a] See App. p. 483.

θεὸν ἀθανάτων καὶ παρθένων ἀρετῶν σπείρειν
ἰδέας μηδέποτε εἰς γυναικὸς μεταβαλλούσῃ σχῆμα
παρθενίᾳ πρεπῶδες. τί οὖν, ὦ ψυχή,
δέον ἐν οἴκῳ θεοῦ παρθενεύεσθαι καὶ ἐπιστήμης
περιέχεσθαι, τούτων μὲν ἀποστατεῖς, αἴσθησιν δὲ
ἀσπάζῃ τὴν ἐκθηλύνουσάν σε καὶ μιαίνουσαν;
τοιγάρτοι γέννημα πάμφυρτον καὶ πανώλεθρον
ἀποτέξῃ τὸν ἀδελφοκτόνον καὶ ἐπάρατον Κάιν,
κτῆσιν οὐ κτητήν· λέγεται γὰρ ὁ Κάιν κτῆσις.
53 XVI. Θαυμάσειε δ᾽ ἄν τις τὸν τῆς ἑρμηνείας
τρόπον, ᾧ πολλάκις ἐπὶ πολλῶν ὁ νομοθέτης
[119] χρῆται | τὸ σύνηθες ἐξαλλάττων. μετὰ γὰρ τοὺς
φύντας ἐκ γῆς ἀρχόμενος δηλοῦν τὸν γεννηθέντα
πρῶτον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, περὶ οὗ τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν
εἴρηκεν, ὡς ἤδη πολλάκις τοὔνομα αὐτοῦ προειπὼν
ἀλλὰ μὴ νῦν αὐτὸ κατατάττων εἰς τὴν ἐν λόγῳ
χρῆσιν, φησὶν ὅτι ἔτεκε τὸν Κάιν. ποῖον, ὦ
τεχνῖτα; περὶ οὗ τί μικρὸν ἢ μέγα πάλαι δεδή-
54 λωκας; καὶ μὴν οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς τὴν οἰκείαν θέσιν
τῶν ὀνομάτων· ἤδη γοῦν προελθὼν ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
δηλώσεις προσώπου φάσκων, ὅτι "ἔγνω Ἀδὰμ
Εὕαν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ· καὶ συλλαβοῦσα ἔτεκεν
υἱὸν καὶ ἐπωνόμασε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Σήθ" (Gen.
iv. 25). οὐκοῦν πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐχρῆν ἐπὶ τοῦ
πρωτοτόκου, ὃς ἦν ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐξ ἀλλήλων γενέσεως
ἀνθρώποις, τήν τε φύσιν τοῦ ἀποκυηθέντος δηλῶσαι
πρῶτον ὅτι ἄρρεν, εἶτα τὸ οἰκεῖον ὄνομα θέσθαι,
55 Κάιν εἰ τύχοι. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν οὐκ ἀπειρίᾳ τρόπων,

[a] See App. pp. 483, 484.

God the uncreated, the unchanging, should sow the ideas of the immortal and virgin virtues in virginity which changes not into the form of woman. Why then, soul of man, when thou shouldst live the virgin life in the house of God and cling to knowledge, dost thou stand aloof from them and embrace outward sense, which unmans and defiles thee? For this thou shalt bring forth that thing of ruin and confusion, Cain, the fratricide, the accursed, the possession which is no possession. For the meaning of Cain is "possession."

XVI. We may note[a] with surprise the form of expression, which, contrary to the usual practice, the lawgiver often employs and in the case of many persons. For when after speaking of the earth-born pair he begins the story of the first-born child of man, though he has said nothing at all of him hitherto, he says simply "she brought forth Cain." It is as though the name had been often mentioned before, instead of being now for the first time introduced for use in the narrative. We may ask the author "Who or what is this Cain?" What has he told us small or great about him in the past? Surely he is not ignorant how the names of persons should be given. We see indeed that later on he will show his knowledge plainly in speaking of this same person Eve. "Adam knew Eve his wife; and she conceived and brought forth a son, and called his name Seth" (Gen. iv. 25). Surely it was far more necessary in the case of the firstborn, who was the beginning of human generation through two parents, first to state the male sex of the child, and then to give his personal name, Cain, as it might be. Since then it was clearly not because he was ignorant how

καθ' οὓς ὀνόματα δεῖ τίθεσθαι, φαίνεται τὴν συνήθη χρῆσιν ἐπὶ τῶν περὶ Κάιν ἀνελών, σκεπτέον ἂν εἴη, τίνος αἰτίας ἕνεκα οὕτως ἐκάλεσε τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πρώτων παραδιηγήσεως μᾶλλον ἢ θέσεως ὀνομάτων τύπῳ χρησάμενος. ἔστι δ', ὡς ἔμοιγε στοχαζομένῳ καταφαίνεται, ἡ αἰτία ἥδε.

56 XVII. ὁ μὲν ἄλλος ἅπας ἀνθρώπων ὅμιλος ὀνόματα τίθεται πράγμασι διαφέροντα τῶν πραγμάτων, ὥσθ' ἕτερα μὲν εἶναι τὰ τυγχάνοντα, ἑτέρας δὲ κλήσεις τὰς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς· παρὰ Μωυσεῖ δὲ αἱ τῶν ὀνομάτων θέσεις ἐνάργειαι[1] πραγμάτων εἰσὶν ἐμφαντικώταται, ὡς αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐξ ἀνάγκης εὐθὺς εἶναι τοὔνομα καὶ <τοὔνομα καὶ> καθ' οὗ τίθεται διαφέρειν μηδέν. μάθοις δ' ἂν σαφέστερον κἀκ τοῦ προτεθέντος ὃ λέγω.

57 ὅταν ὁ ἐν ἡμῖν νοῦς—κεκλήσθω δὲ 'Αδάμ—ἐντυχὼν αἰσθήσει, παρ' ἣν ζῆν δοκεῖ τὰ ἔμψυχα (Gen. iii. 20) καλεῖται δὲ Εὔα—, [συνουσίας ἴσης ὀρεχθεὶς][2] πλησιάζῃ, ἡ δὲ συλλαμβάνῃ καθάπερ δικτύῳ καὶ θηρεύῃ φυσικῶς τὸ ἐκτὸς αἰσθητόν, διὰ μὲν ὀφθαλμῶν τὸ χρῶμα, διὰ δὲ ὤτων φωνήν, διὰ δὲ μυκτήρων ἀτμόν, χυλόν γε μὴν διὰ τῶν γεύσεως ὀργάνων, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἁφῆς ἅπαν σῶμα, συλλαβοῦσα ἐγκύμων τε γίνεται καὶ εὐθὺς ὠδίνει καὶ τίκτει κακῶν ψυχῆς τὸ μέγιστον, οἴησιν· ᾠήθη γὰρ αὐτοῦ πάντ' εἶναι κτήματα, ὅσα εἶδεν, ὧν ἤκουσεν, ὧν ἐγεύσατο, ὧν ὠσφρήσατο, ὧν ἥψατο, καὶ πάντων ὑπέλαβεν εὑρετὴν καὶ τεχνίτην ἑαυτόν.

58 XVIII. ἔπαθε δὲ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀλόγως· ἦν γάρ ποτε χρόνος, ὅτε νοῦς οὐ διελέγετο αἰσθήσει οὐδ' εἶχεν αἴσθησιν, πάμπολυ διεστὼς τῶν συννόμων καὶ

[1] MSS. ἐνέργειαι. [2] Bracketed by Cohn as otiose.

names should be given, that he rejects the usual method in the case of Cain, we must consider why he speaks thus of the children of our first parents and uses the form natural to an incidental mention of the names, rather than that which is usual when names are originally assigned. I conjecture that the reason is as follows. XVII. Elsewhere the universal practice of men as a body is to give to things names which differ from the things, so that the objects are not the same as what we call them. But with Moses the names assigned are manifest images of the things, so that name and thing are inevitably the same from the first and the name and that to which the name is given differ not a whit. My meaning will be seen more clearly from the case before us. The Mind in us—call it Adam—having met with outward Sense, called Eve, the source, we hold, of life to all living bodies (Gen. iii. 20) approaches her for their mutual intercourse. She for her part takes in and catches as in a net the external objects of sense, as nature bids. Through the eyes comes colour, through the ears sound, through the nostrils smell, through the organs of taste flavours and through the touch all solid matter. Thus conceiving and being made pregnant, she straightway becomes in labour and bears the worst evil of the soul, vanity of thought. For the Mind thought that all these were his own possessions, all that he saw or heard or smelt or tasted or touched—all his own invention and handiwork.

XVIII. That it should have been so with the Mind was not strange. For there was a time when Mind neither had sense-perception, nor held converse with it, but a great gulf divided it from associated inter-

[150] ἀγελαίων, ἐοικὼς τοῖς | μονοτρόποις καὶ μονωτικοῖς ζῴοις· τότε δὴ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐξεταζόμενος σώματος οὐκ ἐφήπτετο, ἀθρόον[1] <οὐκ> ἔχων ὄργανον περὶ ἑαυτόν, ᾧ θηρεύσει τὸ ἐκτός, ἀλλ' ἦν τυφλὸς καὶ ἀδύνατος, οὐχ ὃν οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν, ὅταν πηρωθέντα τὰς ὄψεις θεάσωνται· μίαν γὰρ οὗτος αἴσθησιν ἀφαιρεθεὶς τῶν ἄλλων ἄγει πολλὴν
59 περιουσίαν· ἐκεῖνος δὲ πάσας τὰς αἰσθητικὰς δυνάμεις περικεκομμένος, ἀδύνατος ὄντως, ἥμισυ ψυχῆς τελείας, ἐνδέων δυνάμεως, ᾗ καταλαμβάνεσθαι σώματα πέφυκε, τμῆμα καθ' ἑαυτὸν στερόμενον τοῦ συμφυοῦς οὐκ εὐτυχές, [οὐκ] ἄνευ βάκτρων τῶν αἰσθητικῶν ὀργάνων ἐτύγχανεν, οἷς ἱκανὸς ἦν σκηρίπτεσθαι κραδαινόμενος· παρ' ἣν αἰτίαν καὶ πολὺ σκότος πάντων κατεκέχυτο τῶν σωμάτων, οὐδενὸς φανῆναι δυναμένου· ᾧ γὰρ γνωρίζεσθαι ἔμελλεν, αἴσθησις οὐκ ἦν.
60 βουληθεὶς οὖν ὁ θεὸς μὴ μόνον τῶν ἀσωμάτων ἀλλὰ καὶ στερεῶν σωμάτων κατάληψιν αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν, ἐξεπλήρου τὴν ὅλην ψυχὴν τὸ ἕτερον τῷ προειργασμένῳ τμῆμα συνυφαίνων, ὃ κέκληκε προσηγορικῶς μὲν γυναῖκα ὀνομαστικῶς δὲ Εὔαν
61 αἰνιττόμενος αἴσθησιν. XIX. ἡ δὲ εὐθὺς γενομένη δι' ἑκάστου τῶν μερῶν αὐτῆς ὥσπερ διά τινων ὀπῶν ἀθρόον φῶς εἰς τὸν νοῦν ἐπεισέχεε καὶ τὴν ἀχλὺν ἀποσκεδάσασα τηλαυγῶς καὶ σφόδρα

[1] Cohn ἀθροῦν (part. of ἀθρέω), "a discerning instrument." This seems a very strange expression, though it is true that "all-collecting" is an unusual sense for ἀθρόος. Perhaps read with Markland ἀρκοῦν, or possibly *σώματος οὐκ ἐφήπτετο ἀθρόως, <οὐκ> ἔχων*. *Cf.* below, 62.

dependent things.[a] Rather was it then like the solitary ungregarious animals. At that time it formed a class by itself; it had no contact with body, no all-collecting instrument in its grasp wherewith to bring into its power the external objects of sense. It was blind, incapable, not in the common meaning of blindness as applied to those whom we observe to have lost their eyesight, for they though deprived of one sense have the others more abundantly. No, the Mind was docked of all its powers of sense-perception, thus truly powerless. It was but half the perfect soul, lacking the power whereby it is the nature of bodies to be perceived, a mere unhappy section bereft of its mate without the support of the sense-perceiving organs, whereby it could have propped as with a staff its faltering steps. And thus all bodily objects were wrapped in profound darkness and none of them could come to the light. For sense, the means whereby they were to become the objects of knowledge, was not.[b] God then, wishing to provide the Mind with perception of material as well as immaterial things, thought to complete the soul by weaving into the part first made the other section, which he called by the general name of "woman" and the proper name of "Eve," thus symbolizing sense. XIX. This Eve or sense from the very moment of coming into being through each of her parts as through orifices poured multitudinous light into the Mind, and purging and dispersing the mist set it as it were in

[a] Literally "things that dwell together and belong to a herd."
[b] Or "for he to whom they were to be made known lacked sense."

ἐκδήλως τὰς φύσεις τῶν σωμάτων ἰδεῖν καθάπερ
62 δεσπότην παρεσκεύασεν. ὁ δ' ὥσπερ ἐκ νυκτὸς ἡλιακῷ φέγγει καταυγασθεὶς ἀπαστράπτοντι ἢ ἐκ βαθέος ὕπνου περιαναστὰς ἢ οἷα τυφλὸς ἐξαίφνης ἀναβλέψας ἐνετύγχανε πᾶσιν ἀθρόως ὧν γένεσίς ἐστιν, οὐρανῷ, γῇ, ὕδατι, ἀέρι, φυτοῖς, ζῴοις, σχέσεσιν αὐτῶν, ποιότησι, δυνάμεσιν, ἕξεσι, διαθέσεσι, κινήσεσιν, ἐνεργείαις, πράξεσι, μεταβολαῖς, φθοραῖς, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἑώρα, τῶν δὲ ἤκουε, τῶν δὲ ἐγεύετο, τῶν δὲ ὠσφραίνετο, τῶν δὲ ἥπτετο· καὶ πρὸς ἃ μὲν ἐπικλινῶς εἶχεν, ἡδονὰς ἐργαζόμενα, τῶν δὲ ἀπεστρέφετο, ἐμποιούντων ἀλγηδόνας.
63 περιβλεψάμενος οὖν ὧδε κἀκεῖσε καὶ περιαθρήσας ἑαυτόν τε καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐτόλμησε ταὐτὸν αὔχημα αὐχῆσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ Μακεδόνων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνόν φασιν, ἡνίκα Εὐρώπης καὶ Ἀσίας ἔδοξεν ἀνάψασθαι τὸ κράτος, ἐν ἐπικαίρῳ χώρῳ στάντα καὶ πάντα περιαθρήσαντα εἰπεῖν, ὅτι "καὶ τὰ τῇδε καὶ τὰ τῇδε ἐμά," μειρακιώδους καὶ νηπίας καὶ ἰδιωτικῆς τῷ ὄντι ψυχῆς, οὐ βασιλικῆς, ἐπιδειξάμενον κουφότητα.
64 πρότερος δ' ὁ νοῦς τὴν αἰσθητικὴν δύναμιν ἐξαψάμενος καὶ δι' αὐτῆς πᾶσαν ἰδέαν θηρεύσας σώματος, ὑποπλησθεὶς ἀλόγου φρονήματος, ἐφυσήθη, ὡς τὰ πάντα ἑαυτοῦ νομίσαι κτήματα | [151] καὶ μηδενὸς ἄλλου τὸ παράπαν μηδέν.

65 XX. Οὗτός ἐστιν ὃν χαρακτηρίσας Μωυσῆς τρόπον ἐν ἡμῖν ἐπεφήμισε Κάιν, ἑρμηνευόμενον κτῆσιν, εὐηθείας μᾶλλον δὲ ἀσεβείας μεστὸν ὄντα·

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[a] In Stoic terminology ἕξις is something less permanent than διάθεσις. Thus the mastery of the arts is a ἕξις (and therefore μέση, see 9), while virtue is a διάθεσις.

the place of a master, able to see in luminous clearness the natures of things bodily. And the Mind, like one enlightened by the flash of the sun's beam, after night, or as one awakened from deep sleep, or like a blind man who has suddenly received his sight, found thronging on it all things which come into being, heaven, earth, air, water, the vegetable and animal world, their phases, qualities, faculties, dispositions whether temporary or permanent,[a] movements, activities, functions, changes, extinctions. Some it saw, some it heard, some it tasted, some it smelt, and some it touched; and to some it was attracted, because they work pleasure, from others it was averse because they cause pain.
So then it gazed around on every side and, beholding itself and its powers, feared not to utter the same boast as the Macedonian king Alexander. For the story is that, when he seemed[b] to have gained the mastery of Europe and Asia, he stood in some commanding spot and, looking at the view around, said "this way and that all are mine." The words showed the lightness of an immature and childish soul, the soul of a common man in truth and not of a king. But before Alexander's day the Mind, having acquired the faculty of sense and through its agency laid hold of every form of bodily things, was filled and puffed up with unreasoning pride, and thus thought that all things were its own possessions and none belonged to any other.

XX. It is this feeling in us which Moses expresses under the name of Cain, by interpretation Possession, a feeling foolish to the core or rather

[b] Or "he thought."

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ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ νομίσαι θεοῦ πάντα κτήματα, ὑπέλαβεν ἑαυτοῦ, μηδ᾽ αὐτὸν ἔχειν βεβαίως δυνάμενος, ἀλλὰ μηδ᾽ ὅστις ἐστὶ τὴν οὐσίαν εἰδώς. ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως εἰ πεπίστευκε ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν ὡς ἱκαναῖς θηρεῦσαι τὸ ἐκτὸς αἰσθητόν, εἰπάτω, πῶς παροράν ἢ παρακούειν ἢ κατά τινα ἄλλην αἴσθησιν μὴ ἁμαρτάνειν
66 ἔτι δυνήσεται. καὶ μὴν τοὺς ὀλίσθους ἀνάγκη τούτους περὶ ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ἀεὶ συμβαίνειν, κἂν τὰ μάλισθ᾽ ἡμεῖς ἠκριβωμένοις τοῖς ὀργάνοις χρώμενοι τυγχάνωμεν· τὰς γὰρ φυσικὰς κῆρας καὶ τὸν ἀκούσιον πλάνον εἰσάπαν ἐκδῦναι χαλεπόν, μᾶλλον δ᾽ ἀμήχανον, ἀπείρων ὅσων ψευδοῦς δόξης ποιητικῶν ἔν τε ἡμῖν καὶ περὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐκτὸς ἡμῶν ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ θνητῷ γένει ὑπαρχόντων. οὐκ ἄρα ὑγιῶς κτήμαθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ ὑπέλαβε τὰ πάντα, κἂν φρυαττόμενος ὑψαυχενῇ.

67 XXI. Γέλωτά μοι πλατὺν καὶ Λάβαν ὁ τῶν ποιοτήτων ἠρτημένος δοκεῖ παρασχεῖν Ἰακὼβ τῷ πρὸ τούτων τὴν ἄποιον φύσιν ὁρῶντι, ἡνίκα ἐτόλμα πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγειν, ὅτι "αἱ θυγατέρες θυγατέρες μου καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ υἱοί μου καὶ τὰ κτήνη κτήνη μου καὶ πάντα ὅσα σὺ ὁρᾷς ἐμά ἐστι καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων μου" (Gen. xxxi. 43)· ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστου γὰρ οὗτος τὸ "ἐμὸν" προστιθεὶς περὶ αὑτοῦ λέγων ἅμα καὶ
68 σεμνομυθῶν οὐ παύεται. τὰς θυγατέρας, εἰπέ μοι,—τέχναι δέ εἰσι καὶ ἐπιστῆμαι ψυχῆς—θυγατέρας σαυτοῦ λέγεις εἶναι; τίνα τρόπον; οὐ πρῶτον μὲν παρὰ τοῦ διδάξαντος αὐτὰς νοῦ παρα-

[a] The construction is confused. Perhaps (*a*) transfer the μὴ to before παροράν (as in the translation) or (*b*) omit it. In this case the sense will be "let him tell us how it is that

impious. For instead of thinking that all things are God's possession, the Mind fancied that they were its own, though it cannot possess even itself securely, or even know what its own real being is. Yet if it trusts in the senses and their ability to lay hold of the objects of sense, let it tell us how it thinks to have power to avoid error in sight or hearing or any other sense.[a] Indeed these errors must always befall us in each of our doings, to whatever pitch of accuracy the organs we use are brought. For to free ourselves altogether from natural sources of decay or involuntary delusions is hard or rather impossible, so innumerable in ourselves and around us and outside us throughout the whole race of mortals are the causes which produce false opinion. How foolish then, be its boasting ever so loud and its bearing ever so high, is the Mind's thought that all things are its own possessions.

XXI. Surely Laban, whose heart was fixed on particular qualities, must have made Jacob laugh loud and long, Jacob who discerns rather than these the nature which is outside class or category. Laban dared to say to him "the daughters are my daughters, the sons are my sons, the cattle are my cattle, and all that thou seest are mine and my daughters'" (Gen. xxxi. 43). In each case he adds the "my," and his proud talk about himself goes on without ceasing. The daughters, tell me—daughters, you know, are the arts and branches of knowledge in the soul—do you say they are *your* daughters? How yours? Why in the first place you only received them from the mind that taught them to you.

(as he knows is the case) he will still be capable of sense-error."

λαβὼν ἔχεις; εἶτα καὶ πέφυκας ἀποβάλλειν, ὥσπερ ἄλλ' ἄττα, καὶ ταύτας ἢ διὰ μέγεθος ἑτέρων φροντίδων ἐκλαθόμενος ἢ διὰ χαλεπὰς καὶ ἀνηκέστους[1] ἀρρωστίας σώματος ἢ διὰ τὴν ὡρισμένην τοῖς πρεσβύταις ἀθεράπευτον νόσον γῆρας ἢ δι' ἄλλα μυρία, ὧν ἀριθμὸν ἄπορον εὑρεῖν.

69 τί δέ; τοὺς υἱοὺς—υἱοὶ δέ εἰσιν οἱ κατὰ μέρος τῆς ψυχῆς λογισμοί—φάσκων εἶναι σαυτοῦ σωφρονεῖς ἢ μέμηνας τοιαῦτα δοξάζων; αἱ γὰρ μελαγχολίαι σου καὶ παράνοιαι καὶ φρενῶν ἐκστάσεις καὶ εἰκασίαι ἀβέβαιοι καὶ φαντασίαι πραγμάτων ψευδεῖς καὶ κενοί τινες ἐννοημάτων ὀνείροις ἐοικότες ἑλκυσμοὶ[2] σπασμοὺς ἐνδιδόντες ἐξ ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἡ σύντροφος ψυχῆς νόσος λήθη καὶ ἄλλα τῶν εἰρημένων πλείω τὸ ἐχυρόν σου τῆς δεσποτείας ἀφαιρεῖται καὶ ἐπιδείκνυται ταῦτα ἑτέρου τινός,

70 οὐχὶ σά, κτήματα. πῶς δὲ τὰ κτήνη—κτήνη δέ εἰσιν αἱ αἰσθήσεις, ἄλογον γὰρ καὶ

[152] κτηνῶδες αἴσθησις—σαυτοῦ | λέγειν εἶναι τολμᾷς; παρορῶν, εἰπέ μοι, παρακούων ἀεί, τοὺς γλυκεῖς χυλοὺς ἁλμυροὺς ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἔμπαλιν τοὺς πικροὺς γλυκεῖς ἡγούμενος καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν αἴσθησιν πλείω τῶν κατορθουμένων εἰωθὼς διαμαρτάνειν οὐκ ἐρυθριᾷς, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀπταίστοις κεχρημένος ταῖς περὶ ψυχὴν ἁπάσαις δυνάμεσί τε καὶ ἐνεργείαις

71 γαυριᾷς καὶ πεφύσησαι; XXII. ἀλλ' ἐὰν μεταβάλῃς καὶ ὧν χρὴ φρενῶν μοιραθῇς, ἐρεῖς πάντα τοῦ θεοῦ κτήματα, οὐχὶ σαυτοῦ, τὰς διανοήσεις, τὰς ἐπιστήμας, τὰς τέχνας, τὰ θεωρήματα,

[1] MSS. μηκίστους.

[2] Cohn prints ἐοικότες ⟨λογισμοὶ⟩ ἑλκυσμοὺς καί. The MSS. vary between ἑλκυσμοὶ and ἑλκυσμοὺς καί. See App. p. 484.

Secondly, it is in the course of nature that like other things you should lose them too, perhaps through the burden of other thoughts which drive them from your memory, or through cruel and incurable infirmities of the body, or that disease which is the doom of advancing years and no treatment can heal—old age—or a host of other causes, which no man can number. The sons—sons are the particular reasoned thoughts—when you say they are yours are you sane or mad to suppose such a thing? Fits of melancholy and insanity, bursts of frenzy, baseless conjectures, false impressions of things, mere notions, which are but unsubstantial will-o'-the-wisps [a] made of the stuff of dreams, with their self-engendered throes and throbbings, loss of memory, the curse which so besets the soul, and other things more numerous than these, sap the security of your lordship, and show that these things are not your possessions but another's.

As for the cattle—the senses, that is, for sense is unreasoning and bestial—do you dare to say that they are yours? Consider your constant errors in sight and hearing, how you sometimes think bitter flavours sweet and sweet bitter, and in every sense are more often wrong than right. Surely a matter for blushing rather than for boasting and elation, as though you found all the faculties and activities of your soul infallible. XXII. But, if you reform and obtain a portion of the wisdom that you need, you will say that all are God's possessions and not yours, your reflections, your knowledge of every kind, your arts, your conclusions, your reasonings on particular questions, your sense-perceptions, in fact

[a] See App. p. 484.

τοὺς ἐν μέρει λογισμούς, τὰς αἰσθήσεις, τὰς διὰ
τούτων καὶ ἄνευ αὐτῶν ψυχῆς ἐνεργείας· ἐὰν δὲ
μέχρι παντὸς ἀπαιδαγώγητον καὶ ἀδίδακτον ἐάσῃς
σεαυτόν, δουλεύσεις τὸν αἰῶνα χαλεπαῖς δεσποίναις,
οἰήσεσιν, ἐπιθυμίαις, ἡδοναῖς, ἀδικίαις, ἀφρο-
72 σύναις, ψευδέσι δόξαις. "εἰ" γάρ φησιν "ἀπο-
κριθεὶς εἴποι ὁ παῖς Ἠγάπηκα τὸν κύριόν μου
καὶ τὴν γυναῖκά μου καὶ τὰ παιδία, οὐκ ἄπειμι[1]
ἐλεύθερος," ἀχθεὶς πρὸς τὸ κριτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ
καὶ δικαστοῦ τυχὼν αὐτοῦ βέβαιον σχήσει ὃ ᾐτή-
σατο, πρότερον τρυπηθεὶς τὸ οὖς ὀπητίῳ (Exod.
xxi. 5, 6), ἵνα μὴ δέξηται θείαν ἀκοὴν ὑπὲρ ἐλευ-
73 θερίας ψυχῆς· ἐκκεκριμένου γάρ ἐστιν ὥσπερ ἐξ
ἀγῶνος ἱεροῦ καὶ ἀποδεδοκιμασμένου παιδὸς ὄντως
νηπίου κομιδῇ λογισμοῦ σεμνολογεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν
νοῦν ἠγαπηκέναι καὶ τὸν νοῦν νομίζειν ἑαυτοῦ
κύριον εἶναι καὶ εὐεργέτην καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν αἴσθησιν
σφόδρα στέργειν καὶ κτῆμα ἴδιον αὐτὴν καὶ
ἀγαθῶν τὸ μέγιστον ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ τούτων
ἀμφοῖν παιδία, τοῦ μὲν τὸ νοεῖν, τὸ λογίζεσθαι,
τὸ διανοεῖσθαι, τὸ βουλεύεσθαι, τὸ στοχάζεσθαι,
τῆς δὲ τὸ ὁρᾶν, τὸ ἀκούειν, τὸ γεύεσθαι, τὸ ὀσφραί-
νεσθαι, τὸ ἅπτεσθαι, κοινῶς τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι.
74 XXIII. ἀνάγκη μέντοι τὸν τούτοις οἰκειούμενον
μηδ' ὄναρ ἐλευθερίας ἐπησθῆσθαι· φυγῇ γὰρ αὐτῶν
καὶ ἀλλοτριώσει μεταποιούμεθα ἀδείας.
ἄλλος δέ τις πρὸς τῷ φιλαύτῳ καὶ τὸ μανιῶδες
ἐπιδεικνύμενός φησιν ὅτι, κἂν ἀφαιρῆταί μέ τις,

[1] MSS. οὐκέτ ‹οὐκ ἔτ› εἰμὶ or οὐκ ἐξελεύσομαι. Cohn's conjecture agrees with the citation of the text in *Quis Rer. Div. Her.* 38. The LXX. has οὐκ ἀποτρέχω, in which form Philo quotes it, *L.A.* iii. 198.

the activities of your soul, whether carried on through the senses or without them. But if you leave yourself for ever unschooled and untaught, you will be eternally enslaved to hard mistresses, vain fancies, lusts, pleasures, promptings to wrongdoing, follies, false opinions. For if, says Moses, the servant should answer and say "I have come to love my master, my wife and my children, I will not go out free," he shall be brought to the tribunal of God, and with God as judge shall have his request ratified, having first had his ear bored with an awl (Exod. xxi. 5, 6), that he may not receive the divine message of the freedom of the soul. For lofty words like these of having come to love the mind and thinking it his master and benefactor are worthy of a reasoning disqualified and rejected as it were from the sacred arena, a slave [a] in very truth and wholly childish. And so too when he speaks of his exceeding affection for outward sense and his belief that she is his own possession and the greatest of blessings. So too with the children of these two, the children of mind—reflection, reasoning, judging, deliberating, conjecturing—the children of sense—sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch, in fact sense-perception in general. XXIII. He who seeks intimacy with these can have had no perception, cannot even have dreamt, of freedom. For it is only by flight and estrangement from these that we can make a claim to the lot of the fearless. We read of another [b] who crowns his self-love with madness, and declares that, though what I have be taken from me, I will contend

[a] Or "boy." Philo plays with the double sense of παῖς.
[b] *i.e.*, Pharaoh.

ὡς περὶ οἰκείων ἀγωνισάμενος οἴσομαι τὸ κράτος· "διώξας" γάρ φησιν "καταλήψομαι, μεριῶ σκῦλα, ἐμπλήσω ψυχήν μου, ἀνελῶ τῇ μαχαίρᾳ μου, κυριεύσει ἡ χείρ μου" (Exod. xv. 9).

75 πρὸς ὃν εἴποιμ' ἄν· λέληθέ σε, ὦ μωρέ, ὅτι πᾶς ὁ δοκῶν ἐν γενέσει διώκειν διώκεται· νόσοι γὰρ καὶ γῆρας καὶ θάνατος μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης τῶν ἑκουσίων καὶ ἀκουσίων <κακῶν> πληθύος ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ἐλαύνουσι καὶ στροβοῦσι καὶ διώκουσι, καὶ ὁ νομίζων καταλαμβάνειν ἢ κρατεῖν καταλαμβάνεται καὶ κρατεῖται, καί τις λαφυραγωγήσειν ἐλπίσας καὶ μοίρας λείας διατιθεὶς ἡττηθεὶς ὑπὸ κεκρατη-
[153] κόσιν ἐχθροῖς | ἐγένετο, κένωσιν ἀντὶ πλησμονῆς καὶ δουλείαν ἀντὶ δεσποτείας ψυχῇ δεξάμενος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀνελεῖν ἀναιρεθεὶς καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα δράσειν ἐνενόησε παθὼν ἀνὰ κράτος.

76 ἦν μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐχθρὸς οὗτος αἱροῦντος λόγου καὶ φύσεως αὐτῆς, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν ἅπαντα περιάπτων αὑτῷ καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν ἐν τῷ πάσχειν ἔτι μεμνημένος, ὡς τὰς ἀφ' ἑκάστου
77 κῆρας ἀθρόας ἐκδεδυκώς. XXIV. "εἶπε" γάρ φησιν "ὁ ἐχθρός Διώξας καταλήψομαι." τίς οὖν ἂν γένοιτο δυσμενέστερος ψυχῇ πολέμιος τοῦ διὰ μεγαλαυχίας τὸ ἴδιον θεοῦ προσκληροῦντος ἑαυτῷ; ἴδιον μὲν δὴ θεοῦ τὸ ποιεῖν, ὃ οὐ θέμις ἐπιγρά-
78 ψασθαι γενητῷ, ἴδιον δὲ γενητοῦ τὸ πάσχειν. ὃ προλαβὼν μέν τις ὡς οἰκεῖον καὶ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι, ῥᾳδίως οἴσει τὰ προσπίπτοντα, κἂν ᾖ βαρύτατα, νομίσας δὲ ἀλλότριον ἀνηνύτῳ πιεζόμενος ἄχθει Σισύφειον τιμωρίαν ἀναδέξεται, μηδ' ὅσον ἀνα-

for it as my own and win the victory. "I will pursue," he says, "I will overtake, I will divide the spoil; I will satisfy my soul; I will destroy with my sword; my hand shall have the mastery" (Exod. xv. 9). To such a one I would say "Fool, is it hidden from you that every created being, who thinks he pursues, is pursued?" For maladies and old age and death, with all the other host of evils voluntary and involuntary, drive and hustle and pursue each one of us, and he who thinks to overtake and conquer is overtaken and conquered, and many a one who thinks to spoil and is already in his thoughts parcelling out the booty has fallen under the foot of victorious enemies. He receives into his soul emptiness for satisfaction, slavery for lordship, he is killed instead of killing, and all that he thought to do to others falls with full measure upon himself.
For in very truth this man was the enemy of convincing reason and of nature herself, when he took to himself all active functions and forgot the passive, as though he was secure from the mass of calamities which these severally bring. XXIV. For it was "the enemy," as we read, who said "I will pursue and overtake." What deadlier foe to the soul can there be than he who in his vainglory claims to himself that which belongs to God alone? For it belongs to God to act, and this we may not ascribe to any created being. What belongs to the created is to suffer, and he who accepts this from the first, as a necessity inseparable from his lot, will bear with patience what befalls him, however grievous it may be. He who thinks it a strange and alien thing will incur the penalty of Sisyphus, crushed by a vast and hopeless burden, unable even to lift his head, over-

κῦψαι δυνάμενος, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπιτρέχουσι καὶ τραχηλίζουσι δεινοῖς ὑποβεβλημένος καὶ προστιθεὶς ἑκάστῳ τὸ ὑπεῖκον καὶ εὐένδοτον, ἀγεννοῦς καὶ ἀνάνδρου ψυχῆς πάθη· τλῆναι γὰρ ἔδει καὶ ἀντιτάξασθαι καὶ ἀντερείσασθαι γνώμην ὀχυρωσάμενον καὶ ἀναφραξάμενον τῇ ἑαυτοῦ καρτερίᾳ καὶ
79 ὑπομονῇ, δυνατωτάταις ἀρεταῖς. ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ κείρεσθαι διττόν, τὸ μὲν ὡς ἀντιπεπονθὸς κατὰ ἀντέρεισιν, τὸ δὲ ὡς ὑπεῖκον καθ' ὑπόπτωσιν —πρόβατον μὲν γὰρ ἢ δέρμα ἢ τὸ λεγόμενον κῴδιον οὐδὲν ἐνεργοῦν ἐξ αὑτοῦ πάσχον δὲ μόνον ὑφ' ἑτέρου κείρεται, ὁ δ' ἄνθρωπος συνδρῶν καὶ σχηματίζων καὶ ἐπιτήδειον παρέχων ἑαυτόν, ἀνακιρνὰς τῷ πάσχειν τὸ ποιεῖν—, οὕτως καὶ τὸ
80 τύπτεσθαι· τὸ μὲν ὃ συμβέβηκε πληγῶν ἄξια ἠδικηκότι οἰκέτῃ ἢ ἐλευθέρῳ διὰ ῥᾳδιουργίαν ἐπὶ τροχοῦ κατατεινομένῳ ἢ τινι τῶν ἀψύχων—τύπτονται γὰρ λίθοι καὶ ξύλα καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ ὅσαι ἐν χαλκοτυπείῳ ἐλαυνόμεναι ὗλαι ἢ διαιρούμεναι—, τὸ δὲ <ὃ> συμβέβηκεν ἀθλητῇ πυγμὴν ἢ παγκράτιον περὶ νίκης καὶ στεφάνων
81 ἀγωνιζομένῳ· οὗτος μὲν οὖν τὰς ἐπιφερομένας πληγὰς ἑκατέρᾳ τῶν χειρῶν ἀποσείεται καὶ τὸν αὐχένα περιάγων ὧδε κἀκεῖσε τὸ μὴ τυφθῆναι φυλάσσεται, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ δακτύλοις ποδῶν ἄκροις ἐπιβεβηκὼς καὶ πρὸς ὕψος αὑτὸν ἐξάρας ἢ στείλας καὶ συναγαγὼν ἔμπαλιν κατὰ κενοῦ φέρειν τὰς χεῖρας τὸν ἀντίπαλον ἠνάγκασε σκιαμαχίᾳ τι παραπλήσιον δρῶντα· ὁ δὲ οἰκέτης ἢ ὁ χαλκὸς μηδὲν ἀντιδρῶν ὑπέρριπται πάντα πεισόμενος, ὅσα ἂν ὁ διατιθεὶς ἐργάσασθαι διανοῆται.

[a] See App. p. 484.

whelmed by all the terrors which beset and prostrate him, and increasing each misery by that abject spirit of surrender, which belongs to the degenerate and unmanly soul. Rather should he bravely bear, take his place firmly in the opposing ranks, and with those mightiest of virtues, which he himself contributes, patience and endurance, fortify his resolution and close the gates against the foe.

There are two ways of undergoing shearing or shaving; one when there is reaction [a] and reciprocation by the object, the other when there is complete submission or subjection. A sheep or a fleece [a] or a "fell" puts forth no activity of itself, but is merely passive to the shearing process in the hands of another, but the man who is shaved acts with the barber, places himself in position, and accommodates himself, thus combining the active with the passive. So too with receiving blows. There is one kind which befalls a slave, whose wrongdoing has deserved it, or a free man who is stretched on the wheel for his crimes, or any lifeless things, such as stones or wood or gold or silver and all materials which are beaten or divided in a forge. The other kind we find in the case of an athlete in a boxing-match or pancratium for a crown of victory. As the blows fall upon him he brushes them off with either hand, or he turns his neck round this way and that and thus evades the blows, or often he rises on his tip-toes to his full height, or draws himself in and compels his adversary to lay about him in empty space, much as men do when practising the movements. But the slave or the metal lies impotent and irresponsive, passive to endure whatever the agent may determine to execute. This is a condition we should

82 τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ πάθος μήτε σώματι μήτε πολὺ μᾶλλον ψυχῇ δεξώμεθά ποτε, τὸ δ᾿ ἀντιπεπονθὸς ἐκεῖνο—ἐπειδὴ πάσχειν ἀνάγκη τὸ θνητόν—, ἵνα μὴ καθάπερ οἱ θηλυδρίαι κεκλασμένοι καὶ παρ- [154] ειμένοι | καὶ προαναπίπτοντες μετ᾿ ἐκλύσεως ψυχικῶν δυνάμεων ἐξασθενῶμεν, ἀλλ᾿ ἐρρωμένοι τοῖς διανοίας τόνοις ἐπελαφρίζειν κἀπικουφίζειν ἰσχύωμεν τὴν φορὰν τῶν ἐπαρτωμένων δεινῶν.

83 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν θνητὸς οὐδεὶς οὐδενὸς ἐπιδέδεικται παγίως καὶ βεβαίως κύριος, οἱ δὲ λεγόμενοι δεσπόται δόξῃ μόνον, οὐ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν, ὀνομάζονται, ἀνάγκη δ᾿ ὡς ὑπήκοον καὶ δοῦλον, οὕτως ἡγεμόνα ἐν τῷ παντὶ εἶναι καὶ κύριον, γένοιτ᾿ ἂν ὁ τῷ ὄντι ἄρχων καὶ ἡγεμὼν εἷς ὁ θεός, ᾧ λέγειν ἦν πρεπῶδες, ὅτι πάντα αὐτοῦ κτήματα.

84 XXV. Καὶ ὡς μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἅμα καὶ θεοπρεπῶς διεξέρχεται περὶ τούτων, κατανοήσωμεν.[1] "ὅλα μου, φησίν, ἐστίν." ὅλα δ᾿ ἐστὶν ἃ φησι "δῶρα καὶ δόματα καὶ καρπώματα, ἃ διατηροῦντες προσοίσετε ἐν ταῖς ἐμαῖς ἑορταῖς ἐμοί" (Num. xxviii. 2), πάνυ ἐκδήλως παριστὰς ὅτι τῶν ὄντων τὰ μὲν χάριτος μέσης ἠξίωται, ἣ καλεῖται δόσις, τὰ δὲ ἀμείνονος, ἧς ὄνομα οἰκεῖον δωρεά, τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα γέγονεν, ὡς μὴ μόνον δύνασθαι καρποφορεῖν ἀρετάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι᾿ ὅλων ἤδη πεφυκέναι καρπὸς ἐδώδιμος, ᾧ μόνῳ ψυχὴ τοῦ φιλοθεά-
85 μονος τρέφεται. ὁ δὴ ταῦτα διδαχθεὶς καὶ διατη-

[1] Cohn has *κατανοήσωμεν τό, ὅλα μου, φησίν, ἐστίν*. There is much confusion in the MSS. here. The insertion of *τό* makes *κατανοήσωμεν* have two objects and though the article prefacing a quotation is common enough it hardly suits a quotation where *φησίν* is inserted in the middle.

never admit into our bodies, much less into our souls. As mortals we must suffer, but let our suffering be that other kind which is the reaction of our own activity. Let us not like womanish folk, nerveless and unstrung, flagging ere the struggle begin, with all our spiritual forces relaxed, sink into utter prostration. Rather let the tension of our minds be firm and braced, that so we may be strong to relieve and lighten the force and onset of the misfortunes which menace us.

Since then it has been shown that no mortal can in solid reality be lord of anything, and when we give the name of master we speak in the language of mere opinion, not of real truth ; since too, as there is subject and servant, so in the universe there must be a leader and a lord, it follows that this true prince and lord must be one, even God, who alone can rightly claim that all things are His possessions.

XXV. Let us mark how sublime and worthy of the Deity is the enumeration of those possessions. " All things," God says, " are Mine." [a] And these " all things " are the " bounties, and gifts and fruits which ye shall observe and offer to Me at My feasts " (Numb. xxviii. 2). Here Moses clearly shows that among existing things there are some which rank lower as benefits, and this benefit is called " giving." In others the benefit is of a higher kind and this has the special name of " bounty." Others again are such that not only can they bear virtue as their fruit, but in their very nature through and through they are fruit meet for eating, even that one and only fruit which feeds the soul of him whose quest is the Vision. He who has learnt this lesson, and

[a] See App. pp. 484, 485.

ρεῖν καὶ διαφυλάττειν ἐν διανοίᾳ δυνάμενος ἄμωμον καὶ κάλλιστον ἱερεῖον οἴσει θεῷ πίστιν ἐν οὐ θνητῶν ἑορταῖς· ἑαυτῷ γὰρ τὰς ἑορτὰς προσκεκλήρωκε δόγμα τιθεὶς ἀναγκαιότατον τοῖς φιλοσοφίας θιασώ-
86 ταις. τὸ δὲ δόγμα τοῦτ᾿ ἐστί· μόνος ὁ θεὸς ἀψευδῶς ἑορτάζει· καὶ γὰρ μόνος γήθει καὶ μόνος χαίρει καὶ μόνος εὐφραίνεται καὶ μόνῳ τὴν ἀμιγῆ πολέμου συμβέβηκεν εἰρήνην ἄγειν· ἄλυπός ἐστι καὶ ἄφοβος καὶ ἀκοινώνητος κακῶν, ἀνένδοτος, ἀνώδυνος, ἀκμής, εὐδαιμονίας ἀκράτου μεστός—τελειοτάτη ἡ τούτου φύσις—· μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτὸς ἄκρα καὶ τέλος καὶ ὅρος εὐδαιμονίας ὁ θεός, μετέχων μὲν οὐδενὸς ἑτέρου πρὸς βελτίωσιν, τὸ δὲ ἴδιον μεταδεδωκὼς ἅπασι τοῖς ἐν μέρει τῆς τοῦ καλοῦ πηγῆς, ἑαυτοῦ· τὰ γὰρ ἐν κόσμῳ καλὰ οὔποτ᾿ ἂν ἐγεγένητο τοιαῦτα, μὴ πρὸς ἀρχέτυπον τὸ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν καλὸν τὸ ἀγένητον καὶ μακάριον καὶ
87 ἄφθαρτον ἀπεικονισθέντα. XXVI. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ "σάββατον"—ἑρμηνεύεται δ᾿ ἀνάπαυσις—"θεοῦ" φησιν εἶναι Μωυσῆς πολλαχοῦ τῆς νομοθεσίας (Exod. xx. 10 al.), οὐχὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἁπτόμενος φυσιολογίας ἀναγκαίας—τὸ
[155] γὰρ ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἀναπαυόμενον, | εἰ δεῖ τἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, ἕν ἐστιν ὁ θεός—, ἀνάπαυλαν δὲ οὐ τὴν ἀπραξίαν καλῶν, ἐπειδὴ φύσει δραστήριον τὸ τῶν ὅλων αἴτιον παῦλαν οὐδέποτε ἴσχον τοῦ ποιεῖν τὰ κάλλιστα, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἄνευ κακοπαθείας μετὰ πολλῆς
88 εὐμαρείας ἀπονωτάτην ἐνέργειαν· ἥλιον μὲν γὰρ καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρανόν τε καὶ

can keep and ponder it in his heart, will offer to God the blameless and fairest sacrifice of faith at feasts which are no feasts of mortals. For God has claimed the feasts for Himself, and herein He lays down a principle which they who belong to the company of the philosophers must not fail to know. The principle is this. God alone in the true sense keeps festival. Joy and gladness and rejoicing are His alone; to Him alone it is given to enjoy the peace which has no element of war. He is without grief or fear or share of ill, without faint-heartedness or pain or weariness, but full of happiness unmixed. Or rather since His nature is most perfect, He is Himself the summit, end and limit of happiness. He partakes of nothing outside Himself to increase His excellence. Nay He Himself has imparted of His own to all particular beings from that fountain of beauty—Himself. For the good and beautiful things in the world could never have been what they are, save that they were made in the image of the archetype, which is truly good and beautiful, even the uncreate, the blessed, the imperishable.

XXVI. And therefore Moses often in his laws calls the sabbath, which means 'rest,' God's sabbath (Exod. xx. 10, etc.), not man's, and thus he lays his finger on an essential fact in the nature of things. For in all truth there is but one thing in the universe which rests, that is God. But Moses does not give the name of rest to mere inactivity. The cause of all things is by its nature active; it never ceases to work all that is best and most beautiful. God's rest is rather a working with absolute ease, without toil and without suffering. For the sun and moon and the whole heaven and universe, since they are

κόσμον, ἅτε καὶ οὐκ ὄντα αὐτεξούσια καὶ κινούμενα καὶ φερόμενα συνεχῶς, θέμις εἰπεῖν κακοπαθεῖν· καὶ τοῦ καμάτου μαρτύριον ἐναργέστατον αἱ ἐτήσιοι ὧραι· τά τε γὰρ συνεκτικώτατα τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ τὰς κινήσεις ἐναλλάττει, τοτὲ μὲν βορείους τοτὲ δὲ νοτίους τοτὲ δὲ ἀλλοίας ποιούμενα τὰς περιφοράς, ὅ τε ἀὴρ ἀλεαινόμενος καὶ ψυχόμενος καὶ πάσας τροπὰς τρεπόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων παθημάτων ἐλέγχεται κάμνων, ἐπεὶ τὸ συνεκτικώτατον
89 μεταβολῆς αἴτιον κάματος· εὔηθες δ' ἐστὶ περὶ τῶν χερσαίων ἢ καθ' ὕδατος μακρηγορεῖν τὰς καθόλου καὶ κατὰ μέρη τροπὰς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ μήκιστον διεξιόντα· ταῦτα γὰρ πολὺ πλείω τῶν μεταρσίων κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἀσθένειαν ἐνδέχεται, ἅτε πλεῖστον μετέχοντα τῆς ὑστάτης καὶ γεώδους οὐσίας.
90 ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τὰ μὲν τρεπόμενα καμάτῳ πέφυκε μεταβάλλειν, ἄτρεπτος δὲ καὶ ἀμετάβλητος ὁ θεός, ἀκμῆς ἂν εἴη φύσει· τὸ δ' ἀσθενείας ἀμέτοχον, κἂν πάντα ποιῇ, δι' αἰῶνος ἀναπαυόμενον οὔποτε λήξει· ὥστε οἰκειότατον μόνῳ θεῷ τὸ ἀναπαύεσθαι.

XXVII. ἐδείχθη δὲ καὶ τὸ ἑορτάζειν ἐπιβάλλον αὐτῷ· μόνου ἄρα καὶ ἑβδόμαι καὶ ἑορταὶ
91 τοῦ αἰτίου, ἀνθρώπων δὲ συνόλως οὐδενός. ἴθι γάρ, εἰ θέλεις, συνεπίσκεψαι τὰς ἀοιδίμους πανηγύρεις ἡμῶν. ὅσαι μὲν δὴ κατ' ἔθνη βαρβαρικά τε καὶ ἑλληνικὰ ἐκ μυθικῶν πλασμάτων συνέστησαν ἄλλαι παρ' ἄλλοις κενὸν τῦφον ἔχουσαι τὸ τέλος, ἀφείσθωσαν· καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ὁ σύμπας ἀνθρώπων βίος ἐξαρκέσει πρὸς τὸ τὰς ἐνυπαρχούσας ἀτοπίας ἑκάσταις ἀκριβῶσαι· ἃ δ' <ἂν> ἀντὶ πολλῶν εἴποι

not self-mastering and move and revolve continually, we may rightly say do suffer. Their labouring is most clearly seen by the seasons of the year. For of the heavenly bodies the chiefest change their courses, sometimes revolving to the south, sometimes to the north, sometimes elsewhere ; and the air grows colder and warmer and undergoes all manner of changes ; and these changes in condition peculiar to it prove that it labours and is weary. For weariness is the principal cause of change. It were folly to pursue the subject through the creatures of air and water and enumerate at length their general and particular changes : for these are naturally liable to far greater weakness than the creatures of the upper world, since they in largest measure partake of the lowest form of substance, namely the earthly. Since then weariness is the natural cause of change in things that turn and vary, and since God turns not and changes not, He must be by nature unwearying. But a being that is free from weakness, even though he be making all things, will cease not to all eternity to be at rest, and thus rest belongs in the fullest sense to God and to Him alone.

XXVII. Now we showed that keeping festival pertained to Him and therefore we see that all such festivals, whether they be weekly sabbaths or (the occasional) feasts, are His, who is the Cause, and pertain not to any man at all. Let us consider our famous festal assemblies. Different nations, whether Greek or barbarian, have their own, the product of myth and fiction, and their only purpose is empty vanity. We need not dwell on them, for the whole of human life would not suffice to tell in detail of the follies inherent in them. Yet, without over-

τις ἐφ᾿ ἁπάσας ὀλίγα στοχαζόμενος τοῦ καιροῦ,
92 λεκτέον. πάσης ἑορτῆς τε καὶ πανηγύρεως τῶν παρ᾿ ἡμῖν τὰ θαυμαστὰ καὶ περιμάχητα ἔργα ταῦτα· ἄδεια ἄνεσις ἐκεχειρία μέθη παροινία κῶμοι χλιδὴ θρύψις θυραυλίαι παννυχίδες, ἀπρεπεῖς ἡδοναί, μεθημερινοὶ γάμοι, βιαιόταται ὕβρεις, ἀσκήσεις ἀκρασίας, ἀφροσύνης μελέται, ἐπιτηδεύσεις αἰσχρῶν, φθορὰ παντελὴς τοῦ καλοῦ, νυκτ-
[156] εγερσίαι πρὸς ἀπλήστους ἐπιθυμίας, | ὕπνος ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, ὁπότε καιρὸς ἐγρηγόρσεως, φύσεως ἔργων
93 ἐναλλαγή· τότε ἀρετὴ μὲν ὡς βλαβερὸν γελᾶται, κακία δὲ ὡς ὠφέλιμον ἁρπάζεται, τότε τὰ μὲν πρακτέα ἄτιμα, τὰ δὲ μὴ πρακτέα ἐπίτιμα, τότε μουσικὴ μὲν καὶ φιλοσοφία καὶ πᾶσα παίδευσις, τὰ τῆς θείας ψυχῆς θεῖα ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγάλματα, ἀφωνίαν ἴσχει, αἱ δὲ μαστροπεύουσαι καὶ προξενοῦσαι <τέχναι> τὰς ἡδονὰς γαστρὶ καὶ τοῖς μετὰ γαστέρα ῥητορεύουσι. XXVIII.
94 τοιαῦται τῶν λεγομένων εὐδαιμόνων αἱ ἑορταί. καὶ μέχρι μὲν <ἐν> οἰκίαις ἢ χωρίοις βεβήλοις ἀσχημονοῦσιν, ἧττον ἁμαρτάνειν μοι δοκοῦσιν· ἐπειδὰν δὲ ὥσπερ χειμάρρου φορὰ πάντῃ νεμηθεῖσα καὶ ἱερῶν τοῖς ἁγιωτάτοις προσπελάσασα βιάσηται, τὰ ἐν τούτοις εὐαγῆ πάντα εὐθὺς ἔρριψεν, ὡς ἀπεργάσασθαι θυσίας ἀνιέρους, ἱερεῖα ἄθυτα, εὐχὰς ἀτελεῖς, ἀμυήτους μυήσεις, ἀνοργιάστους τελετάς, νόθον εὐσέβειαν, κεκιβδηλευμένην ὁσιό-

stepping the right limit, a few words, to serve for many, may be said to cover them all. In every feast and gathering in our country what is it that men admire and seek so eagerly? Freedom from the fear of punishment, from sense of restraint, from stress of business; drunkenness, tipsy rioting, routs and revels, wantonness, debauchery; lovers thronging their mistresses' doors, nightlong carouses, unseemly pleasures, daylight chamberings, deeds of insolence and outrage, hours spent in training to be intemperate, in studying to be fools, in cultivating baseness, wholesale depravation of all that is noble: the works to which nature prompts us are turned upside down: men keep vigil by night to indulge their insatiable lust: the day time, the hours given for wakefulness, they spend in sleep. At such times virtue is jeered at as mischievous, vice snatched at as profitable. At such times right actions are dishonoured, wrong actions honoured. At such times music, philosophy, all culture, those truly divine images set in the divinely given soul, are mute. Only the arts which pander and minister pleasure to the belly and the organs below it are vocal and loud-voiced. XXVIII. Such are the feasts of those whom men call happy. And so long as they confine their unseemly doings to houses or unconsecrated places, their sin seems less to me. But when their wickedness like a rushing torrent spreads over every place and invades and violates the most sacred temples, it straightway overturns all that is venerable in them, and as a result come sacrifices unholy, offerings unmeet, vows unfulfilled, their rites and mysteries a mockery, their piety but a bastard growth, their holiness debased, their

τητα, ἁγνείαν ἄναγνον, κατεψευσμένην ἀλήθειαν,
95 βωμολόχον θεραπείαν θεοῦ. καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι τὰ μὲν σώματα λουτροῖς καὶ καθαρσίοις ἀπορρύπτονται, τὰ δὲ ψυχῆς ἐκνίψασθαι πάθη, οἷς καταρρυπαίνεται ὁ βίος, οὔτε βούλονται οὔτε ἐπιτηδεύουσι· καὶ λευχειμονοῦντες μὲν εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ βαδίζειν σπουδάζουσιν ἀκηλιδώτους ἐσθῆτας ἀμπεχόμενοι, διάνοιαν δὲ κεκηλιδωμένην ἄχρι τῶν
96 ἀδύτων εἰσάγοντες οὐκ αἰδοῦνται. κἂν μέν τι τῶν θρεμμάτων μὴ παντελὲς καὶ ὁλόκληρον εὑρίσκηται, ἔξω περιρραντηρίων ἀπελαύνεται βωμοῖς οὐκ ἐώμενον προσαχθῆναι, καίτοι ταῖς σωματικαῖς λώβαις ἁπάσαις κεχρημένον ἀκουσίοις· κατατετρωμένοι δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐκ νοσημάτων χαλεπῶν, ἃ κακίας ἀμήχανος δύναμις προσέβαλε, μᾶλλον <δὲ> ἠκρωτηριασμένοι καὶ ἐκτετμημένοι τὰ κάλλιστα, φρόνησιν καρτερίαν δικαιοσύνην εὐσέβειαν, τὰς ἄλλας ὅσας τὸ ἀνθρώπειον γένος χωρεῖν πέφυκεν ἀρετάς, καὶ καθ᾿ ἑκούσιον γνώμην ἐνδεδεγμένοι τὰς λύμας, ὅμως ἱερουργεῖν τολμῶσι νομίζοντες τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ὀφθαλμὸν τὰ ἐκτὸς μόνα ὁρᾶν ἡλίου συνεργοῦντος, ἀλλ᾿ οὐχὶ πρὸ τῶν ἐμφανῶν τὰ
97 ἀφανῆ καταθεᾶσθαι φωτὶ χρώμενον ἑαυτῷ· ὁ γὰρ τοῦ ὄντος ὀφθαλμὸς φωτὸς ἑτέρου πρὸς κατάληψιν οὐ δεῖται, αὐτὸς δ᾿ ὢν ἀρχέτυπος αὐγὴ μυρίας ἀκτῖνας ἐκβάλλει, ὧν οὐδεμία ἐστὶν αἰσθητή, νοηταὶ δ᾿ ἅπασαι· παρὸ καὶ μόνος ὁ νοητὸς θεὸς αὐταῖς χρῆται, τῶν δὲ γενέσεως μεμοιραμένων

purity impure, their truth falsehood, their worship a sacrilege. Furthermore they cleanse their bodies with lustrations and purifications, but they neither wish nor practise to wash off from their souls the passions by which life is defiled. They are zealous to go to the temples white-robed, attired in spotless raiment, but with a spotted heart they pass into the inmost sanctuary and are not ashamed. And if an animal be found to be blemished or imperfect, it is driven out of the consecrated precincts [a] and not suffered to approach the altar, though it is through no will of its own that it has any of these bodily defects. But they themselves—their souls are a mass of wounds from the hideous maladies with which the irresistible power of vice has smitten them, or rather they are mutilated, docked of their noblest parts, prudence, courage to endure, justice, piety and all the other virtues of which human nature is capable. And though it is with free deliberate judgement that they have imbibed the mischief, yet they dare to handle the holy thing, and think that the eye of God sees nothing but the outer world through the co-operation of the sun. They do not know that He surveys the unseen even before the seen, for He Himself is His own light. For the eye of the Absolutely Existent needs no other light to effect perception, but He Himself is the archetypal essence of which myriads of rays are the effluence, none visible to sense, all to the mind. And therefore they are the instruments of that same God alone, who is apprehended by mind, not of any who have part and lot

[a] Literally "the boundaries (of the ἀγορά) marked out by the sprinkling of the lustral water."

οὐδείς· αἰσθητὸν γὰρ τὸ γενόμενον, αἰσθήσει δὲ
98 ἀκατάληπτος ἡ νοητὴ φύσις.
[157] XXIX. | Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἀοράτως τόδε τῆς
ψυχῆς χωρίον εἰσδύεται, παρασκευάζωμεν τὸν
τόπον ἐκεῖνον ὡς ἔνεστι κάλλιστον, ἀξιόχρεων
ἐνδιαίτημα θεοῦ γενησόμενον· εἰ δὲ μή, λήσεται
μεταναστὰς εἰς ἕτερον οἶκον, ὃς ἂν ἄμεινον αὐτῷ
99 δοκῇ δεδημιουργῆσθαι. εἰ γὰρ βασιλεῖς ὑπο-
δέχεσθαι μέλλοντες λαμπροτέρας κατασκευάζομεν
τὰς ἰδίας οἰκίας, μηδενὸς τῶν εἰς κόσμον ὀλιγω-
ροῦντες, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἀδεῶς καὶ ἀφθόνως χρώμενοι,
τοῦ τὴν καταγωγὴν ἡδίστην ἅμα καὶ μετὰ τοῦ
πρέποντος ἀξιώματος αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι στοχαζό-
μενοι, τῷ βασιλέων βασιλεῖ καὶ τῶν συμπάντων
ἡγεμόνι θεῷ δι' ἡμερότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν
ἀξιώσαντι τὸ γενητὸν ἐπισκέψεως καὶ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ
περάτων μέχρι γῆς ἐσχάτων ἐπ' εὐεργεσίᾳ τοῦ
γένους ἡμῶν κατελθόντι ποδαπὸν οἶκον ἄρα χρὴ
100 κατασκευάζεσθαι; λίθων μὲν ἢ ξυλίνης ὕλης;
ἄπαγε, ἀλλ' οὐδ' εἰπεῖν εὐαγές· οὐδὲ γάρ, εἰ πᾶσα
γῆ χρυσὸς ἤ τι χρυσοῦ τιμαλφέστερον μεταβαλοῦσα
ἐξαίφνης γένοιτο κἄπειτα δημιουργῶν τέχναις
στοὰς καὶ προπύλαια καὶ ἀνδρῶνας καὶ προτεμε-
νίσματα καὶ νεὼς κατασκευαζόντων ἀναλωθείη,
γένοιτ' ἂν βάσις αὐτοῦ τοῖς ποσίν· ἀξιόχρεως μέντοι
101 γε οἶκος ψυχὴ ἐπιτήδειος. XXX. οἶκον οὖν
ἐπίγειον τὴν ἀόρατον ψυχὴν τοῦ ἀοράτου θεοῦ
λέγοντες ἐνδίκως καὶ κατὰ νόμον φήσομεν.

Ἵνα δὲ βέβαιος καὶ περικαλλέστατος εἴη ὁ οἶκος,
θεμέλιοι μὲν ὑποβεβλήσθωσαν εὐφυΐα καὶ διδα-
σκαλία, ἀρεταὶ δὲ μετὰ καλῶν πράξεων ἐποικο-
δομείσθωσαν αὐτῷ, τὰ δὲ προκοσμήματα ἔστω

in the world of creation. For the created is approached by sense, which can never grasp the nature which is apprehended by mind.

XXIX. Seeing then that our souls are a region open to His invisible entrance, let us make that place as beautiful as we may, to be a lodging fit for God. Else He will pass silently into some other home, where He judges that the builder's hands have wrought something worthier. When we think to entertain kings we brighten and adorn our own houses. We despise no embellishment, but use all such freely and ungrudgingly, and make it our aim that their lodging shall have every delight and the honour withal that is their due. What house shall be prepared for God the King of kings, the Lord of all, who in His tender mercy and loving-kindness has deigned to visit created being and come down from the boundaries of heaven to the utmost ends of earth, to show His goodness to our race? Shall it be of stone or timber? Away with the thought, the very words are blasphemy. For though the whole earth should suddenly turn into gold, or something more precious than gold, though all that wealth should be expended by the builder's skill on porches and porticos, on chambers, vestibules, and shrines, yet there would be no place where His feet could tread. One worthy house there is—the soul that is fitted to receive Him. XXX. Justly and rightly then shall we say that in the invisible soul the invisible God has His earthly dwelling-place.

And that the house may have both strength and loveliness, let its foundations be laid in natural excellence and good teaching, and let us rear upon them virtues and noble actions, and let its external

102 ἡ ἀνάληψις τῶν ἐγκυκλίων προπαιδευμάτων· ἐκ
μὲν γὰρ εὐφυΐας εὐθιξία ἐπιμονὴ μνήμη, ἐκ
δὲ διδασκαλίας εὐμάθεια προσοχὴ καθάπερ τινὸς
ῥίζαι δένδρου μέλλοντος ἡμέρους καρποὺς ἀπο-
κυΐσκειν συνίστανται, ὧν ἄνευ τελεσιουργηθῆναι
103 διάνοιαν ἀμήχανον· ἐκ δὲ ἀρετῶν καὶ τῶν κατ᾽
αὐτὰς πράξεων τὸ ἐχυρὸν καὶ βέβαιον τῆς ἀσφαλοῦς
ἱδρύσεως περιγίνεται, τοῦ διαστῆσαι καὶ φυγα-
δεῦσαι καὶ μετανάστιν ἀπεργάσασθαι τοῦ καλοῦ
ψυχὴν ἐγνωκότος πρὸς οὕτως καρτερὰν ἰσχὺν
104 ἐξασθενοῦντος· ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἐγκυκλίου τῶν προ-
παιδευμάτων μελέτης τὰ πρὸς κόσμον τῆς ψυχῆς
ὡς ἑστίας ἤρτηται· καθάπερ γὰρ κο-
νιάματα καὶ γραφαὶ καὶ πινάκια καὶ λίθων πολυ-
[158] τελῶν διαθέσεις, αἷς οὐ μόνον τοίχους ἀλλὰ | καὶ
τὰ ἐδάφη ποικίλλουσι, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα πρὸς
μὲν ἰσχὺν οὐ συμβάλλεται, τέρψιν δὲ περιποιεῖ
105 μόνον τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσιν, οὕτως ἡ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων
ἐπιστήμη τὸν ψυχικὸν οἶκον ἅπαντα διακοσμεῖ,
γραμματικὴ[1] μὲν ποιητικὴν ἐρευνῶσα καὶ παλαιῶν
πράξεων ἱστορίαν μεταδιώκουσα, γεωμετρία δὲ
τὴν κατ᾽ ἀναλογίαν ἰσότητα περιποιοῦσα, τὸ δὲ ἐν
ἡμῖν ἄρρυθμον καὶ ἄμετρον καὶ ἐκμελὲς ῥυθμῷ
καὶ μέτρῳ καὶ μέλει διὰ μουσικῆς ἀστείου θερα-
πεύουσα, ῥητορικὴ δὲ τάς τε ἐν ἑκάστοις δεινότητας
ἐξετάζουσα καὶ πᾶσιν τὴν πρέπουσαν ἑρμηνείαν
ἐφαρμόζουσα, τονώσεις καὶ περιπαθήσεις καὶ ἐμ-

[1] Cohn suggests γραμματικῇ . . . γεωμετρίᾳ . . . ῥητορικῇ.

[a] Or, taking ἤρτηται ἐκ τῆς μελέτης together, "on the study . . . depend." But the form of the sentence and the fuller sense given to ἤρτηται suggest the way adopted in the transla-

ornaments be the reception of the learning of the schools. The first of these, natural excellence, brings quickness of apprehension, perseverance and memory. From teaching are borrowed readiness to learn and concentration. They are like the roots of the tree that will bring forth good fruit, and without them the mind cannot be brought to its fullness. Virtues and the good actions that follow them provide the stability and firmness that make the structure secure, so that all that purposes to banish or sever or draw away the soul from good is powerless against such steadfastness and strength. From the study of the introductory learning of the schools come the ornaments of the soul, which are attached to it as to a house.[a] For as stuccoes, paintings, and tablets and arrangements of precious stones and the like, with which men adorn pavements as well as walls, contribute nothing to the strength of the building, but only serve to give pleasure to the inmates, so the knowledge of the schools adorns the whole house of the soul. Grammar or literature [b] makes research into poetry and pursues the study of the doings of old time. Geometry gives us the sense of equality produced by proportion. It also heals by the means of fine music [b] all that is harsh and inharmonious or discordant in the soul, under the influence of rhythm, metre, and melody. Rhetoric [b] seeks out and weighs the materials for shrewd treatment in all the subjects which it handles, and welds them to the language that befits them. Sometimes it raises us to a pitch of strong emotion,[c] at other

tion. Philo often uses ἀρτᾶσθαι with the simple genitive, *e.g.* τῶν ποιοτήτων ἠρτημένος, 67.

[b] See App. p. 485.

[c] Or "procures us the means of expressing."

παλιν ἀνέσεις καὶ ἡδονὰς μετὰ στωμυλίας καὶ τῆς περὶ γλῶτταν καὶ τὰ φωνητήρια ὄργανα εὐπραγίας περιποιοῦσα.

106 XXXI. Τοιούτου κατασκευασθέντος οἴκου παρὰ τῷ θνητῷ γένει, χρηστῶν ἐλπίδων τἀπίγεια πάντα ἀναπλησθήσεται κάθοδον δυνάμεων θεοῦ προσδοκήσαντα· αἱ δὲ νόμους ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καὶ θεσμοὺς ἐπιφερόμεναι τοῦ καθαγιάσαι καὶ καθιερῶσαι χάριν ἀφίξονται κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπικέλευσιν· εἶθ' ὁμοδίαιτοι καὶ ὁμοτράπεζοι ταῖς φιλαρέτοις γενόμεναι ψυχαῖς σπείρουσιν ἐν αὐταῖς γένος τὸ εὔδαιμον, καθὰ καὶ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ σοφῷ τῆς παρ' αὐτῷ καταγωγῆς τὸν Ἰσαὰκ τελειοτάτην

107 χάριν δεδώρηνται. χαίρει δ' ἐπ' οὐδενὶ μᾶλλον ἡ κεκαθαρμένη διάνοια ἢ τῷ δεσπότην ἔχειν τὸν ἡγεμόνα πάντων ὁμολογεῖν· τὸ γὰρ δουλεύειν θεῷ μέγιστον αὔχημα καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐλευθερίας ἀλλὰ καὶ πλούτου καὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ πάντων ὅσα τὸ θνητὸν ἀσπάζεται γένος τιμιώτερον.

108 τῆς δὲ τοῦ ὄντος ἡγεμονίας ὁ χρησμὸς ἀληθὴς μάρτυς λέγων ὧδε· "καὶ ἡ γῆ οὐ πραθήσεται εἰς βεβαίωσιν· ἐμὴ γάρ ἐστι πᾶσα ἡ γῆ, διότι προσήλυτοι καὶ πάροικοι ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ" (Lev. xxv. 23). ἆρ' οὐκ ἐναργέστατα παρίστησιν,

109 ὅτι κτήσει μὲν τὰ πάντα θεοῦ, χρήσει δὲ μόνον γενέσεώς ἐστι; βεβαίως, γάρ φησιν, οὐδὲν οὐδενὶ πεπράσεται τῶν ἐν γενέσει, ὡς [ἂν] ἑνὸς ὄντος οὗ κυρίως βεβαία ἡ τῶν ὅλων κτῆσις·

[159] | κέχρηκε γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰ γενητὰ πάντα πᾶσιν, οὐδὲν τῶν κατὰ μέρος τέλειον ἐργασάμενος, ὃ μὴ πάντως χρεῖον ἄλλου, ἵν' οὗ δεῖται τυχεῖν γλιχόμενον ἐξ ἀνάγκης τῷ παρασχεῖν δυναμένῳ πλησιάζῃ

times the tension is relaxed in a sense of pleasure. With all this it gives fluency and facility in using our tongues and organs of speech.

XXXI. If such a house be raised amid our mortal race, earth and all that dwells on earth will be filled with high hopes, expecting the descent of the divine potencies. With laws and ordinances from heaven they will descend, to sanctify and consecrate them on earth, according to their Father's bidding. Then,[a] joined in commonalty of daily life and board with virtue-loving souls, they sow within them the nature of happiness, even as they gave to wise Abraham in Isaac the most perfect thank-offering for their stay with him. The purified mind rejoices in nothing more than in confessing that it has the lord of all for its master. For to be the slave of God is the highest boast of man, a treasure more precious not only than freedom, but than wealth and power and all that mortals most cherish. To this sovereignty of the Absolutely Existent the oracle is a true witness in these words, "and the land shall not be sold in perpetuity, for all the land is mine, because ye are strangers and sojourners before me" (Lev. xxv. 23). A clear proof surely that in possession all things are God's, and only as a loan do they belong to created beings. For nothing, he means, will be sold in perpetuity to any created being, because there is but One, to whom in a full and complete sense the possession of all things is assured. For all created things are assigned as a loan to all from God, and He has made none of these particular things complete in itself, so that it should have no need at all of another. Thus through the desire to obtain

[a] An allusion to Gen. xviii. 5 ff.

110 καὶ ἐκεῖνο τούτῳ καὶ ἀμφότερα ἀλλήλοις· οὕτως γὰρ ἐπαλλάττοντα καὶ ἐπιμιγνύμενα λύρας τρόπον ἐξ ἀνομοίων ἡρμοσμένης φθόγγων εἰς κοινωνίαν καὶ συμφωνιαν ἐλθόντα συνηχήσειν ἔμελλεν, ἀντίδοσίν τινα καὶ ἀντέκτισιν πάντα διὰ πάντων ὑπομένοντα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς ἐκ-
111 πλήρωσιν· ταύτῃ καὶ ἄψυχα ἐμψύχων καὶ ἄλογα λογικῶν καὶ δένδρα ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἄνθρωποι φυτῶν καὶ ἡμέρων ἀτίθασα καὶ ἀγρίων χειροήθη καὶ ἄρρεν θήλεος καὶ θῆλυ ἄρρενος καὶ συνελόντι φράσαι χερσαῖα ἐνύδρων καὶ ἔνυδρα ἀεροπόρων καὶ πτηνὰ τῶν προειρημένων καὶ προσέτι γῆς μὲν οὐρανός, οὐρανοῦ δὲ γῆ, ἀὴρ δὲ ὕδατος, ὕδωρ δὲ πνεύματος, καὶ πάλιν αἱ μεταξὺ φύσεις ἀλλήλων τε καὶ τῶν ἄκρων καὶ αἱ ἄκραι τῶν μέσων καὶ
112 ἑαυτῶν ἐρῶσι· χειμών γε μὴν θέρους καὶ θέρος χειμῶνος καὶ ἔαρ ἀμφοῖν καὶ μετόπωρον ἔαρος καὶ ἕκαστον ἑκάστου καὶ ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν πάντα πάντων ἐπιδεᾶ τε καὶ χρεῖα, ἵνα τὸ ὅλον, οὗ μέρη ταῦτα, παντελὲς ἔργον ἄξιόν τε εἴη τοῦ δημιουργοῦ, ὅδε ὁ κόσμος.

113 XXXII. Οὕτως οὖν αὐτὰ συνθεὶς τὸ μὲν κράτος ἁπάντων ἀνῆψεν ἑαυτῷ, τὴν δὲ χρῆσιν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν ἔνειμε τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἑαυτῶν τε καὶ ἀλλήλων· καὶ γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ὅσα περὶ ἡμᾶς χρῆσιν ἔχομεν· ἐγὼ γοῦν ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος συνεστώς, νοῦν λόγον αἴσθησιν ἔχειν δοκῶν, οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἴδιον
114 εὑρίσκω· ποῦ γάρ μου τὸ σῶμα πρὸ γενέσεως ἦν; ποῖ δὲ καὶ χωρήσει μεταστάντος <μου>; ποῦ δὲ καὶ τοῦ δοκοῦντος ὑφεστάναι τῶν ἡλικιῶν αἱ

[a] See App. p. 485. [b] Or "all our surroundings." [c] Literally, "as a thing to be used" or "a loan."

what it needs, it must perforce approach that which can supply its need, and this approach must be mutual and reciprocal. Thus through reciprocity and combination, even as a lyre is formed of unlike notes, God meant that they should come to fellowship and concord and form a single harmony, and that an universal give and take should govern them, and lead up to the consummation of the whole world. Thus love draws lifeless to living, unreasoning to reasoning, trees to men, men to plants, cultivated to wild, savage to tame, each sex to the other ; so too, in a word, the creatures of the land to the creatures of the water, these to the fowls of the air and those to both : so again heaven to earth, earth to heaven, air to water, and water to air. So natures intermediate yearn for each other and those at either extreme ; these too for their fellows and the intermediate beings. Winter needs summer, summer winter, spring both, and autumn spring. Thus each, we may say, wants and needs each ; all need all, that so this whole, of which each is a part, might be that perfect work worthy of its architect, this world.[a]

XXXII. In this way combining all things He claimed the sovereignty of all for Himself ; to His subjects He assigned the use and enjoyment of themselves and each other. For indeed we have ourselves and all that go to make these selves [b] for use.[c] I am formed of soul and body, I seem to have mind, reason, sense, yet I find that none of them is really mine. Where was my body before birth, and whither will it go when I have departed ? What has become of the changes produced by life's various stages in the seemingly permanent self ? Where is

διαφοραί; ποῦ τὸ βρέφος, ποῦ ὁ παῖς, ποῦ <ὁ>
ἀντίπαις, ποῦ ὁ ἄρτι ἡβῶν, ποῦ τὸ μειράκιον, ὁ
πρωτογένειος, ὁ νεανίας, ὁ τέλειος ἀνήρ; πόθεν
δὲ ἦλθεν ἡ ψυχή, ποῖ δὲ χωρήσει, πόσον δὲ χρόνον
ἡμῖν ὁμοδίαιτος ἔσται; τίς δέ ἐστι τὴν οὐσίαν
ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν; πότε δὲ καὶ ἐκτησάμεθα αὐτήν;
πρὸ γενέσεως; ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπήρχομεν· μετὰ τὸν
θάνατον; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐσόμεθα οἱ μετὰ σωμάτων
σύγκριτοι ποιοί, ἀλλ' εἰς παλιγγενεσίαν ὁρμήσομεν
115 οἱ μετὰ ἀσωμάτων ἀσύγκριτοι ἄποιοι.[1] ἀλλὰ νῦν
[160] ὅτε ζῶμεν κρατούμεθα μᾶλλον ἢ | ἄρχομεν καὶ
γνωριζόμεθα μᾶλλον ἢ γνωρίζομεν· οἶδε γὰρ ἡμᾶς
οὐ γνωριζομένη πρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπιτάγματα
ἐπιτάττει, οἷς ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὑπηρετοῦμεν ὡς οἰκέται
δεσποίνῃ· ἀπόλειψίν τε ὅταν ἐθέλῃ πρὸς τὸν
ἄρχοντα χρηματίσασα μεταναστήσεται ἔρημον
καταλιποῦσα ζωῆς τὸν ἡμέτερον οἶκον, κἂν ἐπι-
μένειν βιαζώμεθα, διαλύσεται· λεπτομερὴς γὰρ
αὐτῆς ἡ φύσις, ὡς μηδεμίαν ἐμπαρέχειν λαβὴν
116 σώματι. XXXIII. ὁ δὲ νοῦς ἐμόν ἐστιν
ἴδιον κτῆμα[2]; ὁ ψευδῶν εἰκαστικός, ὁ πλάνης
οἰστικός,[3] ὁ παρανοῶν, ὁ μωραίνων, ὁ εὑρισκόμενος
ἄνους ἐν ἐκστάσει καὶ μελαγχολίᾳ καὶ μακρῷ
γήρᾳ; ἀλλ' ὁ λόγος κτῆμα ἐμόν; ἢ τὰ φωνῆς
ὄργανα; μικρὰ νόσου πρόφασις οὐ τὴν γλῶτταν
ἐπήρωσεν, οὐ τὸ στόμα καὶ τῶν πάνυ λογίων
ἀπέρραψεν; οὐχὶ δεινοῦ προσδοκία καταπλήξασα
117 μυρίους ἀχανεῖς ἐποίησε; καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τῆς
αἰσθήσεως ἡγεμὼν εὑρίσκομαι, τάχα δέ που καὶ
δοῦλος ἀκολουθῶν ᾗ ἂν ἄγῃ, πρὸς χρώματα, πρὸς

[1] MSS. μετὰ (ἀ)σώματα ἀσωμάτων σύγκριτοι ποιοί: Cohn retains σύγκριτοι ποιοί. See App. p. 485.

the babe that once I was, the boy and the other gradations [a] between boy and full-grown man? Whence came the soul, whither will it go, how long will it be our mate and comrade? Can we tell its essential nature? When did we get it? Before birth? But then there was no "ourselves." What of it after death? But then we who are here joined to the body, creatures of composition and quality, shall be no more, but shall go forward to our rebirth,[a] to be with the unbodied, without composition and without quality. Even now in this life, we are the ruled rather than the rulers, known rather than knowing. The soul knows us, though we know it not; it lays on us commands, which we must fain obey, as a servant obeys his mistress. And when it will, it will claim its divorce in court [b] and depart, leaving our home desolate of life. Press it as we may to stay, it will escape from our hands. So subtle is it of nature, that it affords no grip or handle to the body. XXXIII. Is my mind my own possession? That parent of false conjectures, that purveyor of delusion, the delirious, the fatuous, and in frenzy or melancholy or senility proved to be the very negation of mind. Is my utterance my own possession, or my organs of speech? A little sickness is a cause sufficient to cripple the tongue and sew up the lips of the most eloquent, and the expectation of disaster paralyses multitudes into speechlessness. Not even of my sense-perception do I find myself master, rather, it may well be, its slave, who follows it where it leads,

[a] See App. p. 485. [b] See App. p. 486.

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[2] Conj. Cohn: MSS. διαίτημα.
[3] Conj. Mangey: MSS. οἰητικός: Cohn ὁ πλάνης ⟨ὁ⟩ οἰητικός.

σχήματα, πρὸς φωνάς, πρὸς ὀσμάς, πρὸς χυλούς, πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα σώματα.

Δι᾿ ὧν ἁπάντων δεδηλῶσθαι νομίζω, ὅτι τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις κτήμασι χρώμεθα, καὶ οὔτε δόξαν οὔτε πλοῦτον οὔτε τιμὰς οὔτε ἀρχὰς οὔθ᾿ ὅσα περὶ σῶμα ἢ ψυχὴν ἴδια κεκτήμεθα, ἀλλ᾿ οὐδ᾿ αὐτὸ τὸ
118 ζῆν· χρῆσιν δὲ ἔχοντες ἐὰν μὲν γνῶμεν, ἐπιμελησόμεθα ὡς θεοῦ κτημάτων, προλαβόντες ὅτι τῷ δεσπότῃ νόμος ὅταν θέλῃ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ κομίζεσθαι· οὕτως γὰρ τὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀφαιρέσεσιν ἀνίας ἐπικουφιοῦμεν· νυνὶ δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζοντες ἑαυτῶν πάντα κτήματα κατὰ τὴν τινος ἀπουσίαν καὶ
119 ἔνδειαν εὐθὺς περιπαθοῦσι. γίνεται οὖν οὐ μόνον ἀληθὲς ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μάλιστα συντεινόντων εἰς παρηγορίαν τὸ τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ τοῦ γεννήσαντος ἔργα τε εἶναι καὶ κτήματα. τὸ δὲ ἔργον τὸ ἴδιον ὁ κεκτημένος δεδώρηται, ὅτι οὐ δεῖται· ὁ δὲ χρώμενος οὐχὶ κέκτηται, ὅτι κύριος εἷς ἁπάντων καὶ δεσπότης ἐστίν, ὃς ὀρθότατα ἐρεῖ· "ἐμὴ πᾶσά ἐστιν ἡ γῆ" —ἴσον τῷ, τὸ γενητὸν ἅπαν ἐμόν—, "ὑμεῖς δὲ προσήλυτοι καὶ πάροικοι ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ" (Lev.
120 xxv. 23). XXXIV. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ ἀλλήλους οἱ γενόμενοι πάντες αὐτοχθόνων καὶ εὐπατριδῶν[a] ἔχουσι λόγον, πάντες ἰσοτιμίαν καὶ ἰσοτέλειαν καρπούμενοι, πρὸς δὲ θεὸν ἐπηλύτων καὶ παροίκων·
[161] ἕκαστος γὰρ ἡμῶν | ὥσπερ εἰς ξένην πόλιν ἀφῖκται τόνδε τὸν κόσμον, ἧς πρὸ γενέσεως οὐ μετεῖχε, καὶ ἀφικόμενος παροικεῖ, μέχρις ἂν τὸν ἀπο-
121 νεμηθέντα τοῦ βίου χρόνον διαντλήσῃ. ἅμα μέντοι

[a] Aborigines and nobles—two well-known terms in Athenian use. See Dictionary.

to colours, shapes, sounds, scents, flavours, and the other material things.

All this surely makes it plain that what we use are the possessions of another, that nor glory, nor wealth, nor honours, nor offices, nor all that makes up body or soul are our own, not even life itself. And if we recognize that we have but their use, we shall tend them with care as God's possessions, remembering from the first, that it is the master's custom, when he will, to take back his own. The thought will lighten our sorrow when they are taken from us. But as it is, with the mass of men, the belief that all things are their own makes their loss or absence at once a source of grief and trouble.

And so the thought that the world and all that therein is are both the works and the possessions of Him that begat them becomes not only a truth but a doctrine most comfortable.
But this work which is His own He has bestowed freely, for He needs it not. Yet he who has the use does not thereby become possessor, because there is one lord and master of all, who will most rightly say "all the land is mine (which is the same as 'all creation is mine'), but ye are strangers and sojourners before me" (Lev. xxv. 23). XXXIV. In relation to each other all created beings rank as men of longest descent and highest birth [a]; all enjoy equal honour and equal rights, but to God they are aliens and sojourners. For each of us has come into this world as into a foreign city, in which before our birth we had no part, and in this city he does but sojourn, until he has exhausted his appointed span of life. And there is another lesson of wisdom

καὶ δόγμα εἰσηγεῖται πάνσοφον, ὅτι μόνος κυρίως ὁ θεὸς πολίτης ἐστί, πάροικον δὲ καὶ ἐπήλυτον τὸ γενητὸν ἅπαν, οἱ δὲ λεγόμενοι πολῖται καταχρήσει μᾶλλον ὀνόματος ἢ ἀληθείᾳ προσαγορεύονται· δωρεὰ δὲ ἀποχρῶσα σοφοῖς ἀνδράσι πρὸς τὸν μόνον πολίτην θεὸν ἀντεξετασθεῖσιν, ἐπηλύτων καὶ παροίκων λαβεῖν τάξιν, ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἀφρόνων ἔπηλυς μὲν ἢ πάροικος ἁπλῶς οὐδεὶς ἐν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ πόλει γίνεται, φυγὰς δὲ πάντως ἀνευρίσκεται. οἷον δὴ καὶ προσανεφθέγξατο ὡς δογματικώτατον. "πράσει" φησίν "οὐ πραθήσεται ἡ γῆ"· καὶ ὑπὸ τίνος ἡσύχασεν, ἵν᾿ ἐκ τοῦ παρασιωπηθέντος ὁ μὴ φυσιολογίας ἀμύητος εἰς

122 ἐπιστήμην ὠφελῆται. εὑρήσεις τοίνυν σκοπῶν ἅπαντας καὶ τοὺς λεγομένους χαρίζεσθαι πιπράσκοντας μᾶλλον ἢ δωρουμένους καὶ οὓς οἰόμεθα λαμβάνειν χάριτας πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὠνουμένους· οἱ μὲν γὰρ διδόντες, ἀμοιβὴν ἔπαινον ἢ τιμὴν θηρώμενοι, ζητοῦντες χάριτος ἀντίδοσιν, εὐπρεπεῖ δωρεᾶς ὀνόματι κυρίως πρᾶσιν ἐργάζονται, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς πωλοῦσιν ἀνθ᾿ ὧν ἂν παράσχωσιν ἔθος λαμβάνειν ἐστίν· οἱ δὲ προσιέμενοι τὰς δωρεάς, μελετῶντες ἀποδοῦναι καὶ ἐπὶ καιρὸν ἀποδιδόντες, ἔργον ὠνουμένων δρῶσι, καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ὥσπερ

123 λαβεῖν ἴσασι καὶ ἀποδοῦναι. ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐ πωλητὴρ ἐπευωνίζων τὰ ἑαυτοῦ κτήματα, δωρητικὸς δὲ τῶν ἁπάντων, ἀενάους χαρίτων πηγὰς ἀναχέων, ἀμοιβῆς οὐκ ἐφιέμενος· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπιδεὴς αὐτὸς οὔτε τις τῶν γεγονότων ἱκανὸς ἀντιδοῦναι δωρεάν.

124 XXXV. Πάντων οὖν ἀνωμολογημένων θεοῦ κτημάτων λόγοις τε ἀληθέσι καὶ μαρτυρίαις, ἃς

that he teaches in these words, even this—God alone is in the true sense a citizen, and all created being is a sojourner and alien, and those whom we call citizens are so called only by a licence of language.[a] But to the wise it is a sufficient bounty, if when ranged beside God, the only citizen, they are counted as aliens and sojourners, since the fool can in no wise hold such a rank in the city of God, but we see him an outcast from it and nothing more.

Such a lesson too He has proclaimed to us in an utterance of deepest meaning. "The land shall not be sold at all."[a] No word of the seller there, that through this very silence he, who has access to the secrets of nature-truth, may profit in the quest of knowledge. Look round you and you shall find that those who are said to bestow benefits sell rather than give, and those who seem to us to receive them in truth buy. The givers are seeking praise or honour as their exchange and look for the repayment of the benefit, and thus, under the specious name of gift, they in real truth carry out a sale; for the seller's way is to take something for what he offers. The receivers of the gift, too, study to make some return, and do so as opportunity offers, and thus they act as buyers. For buyers know well that receiving and paying go hand in hand. But God is no salesman, hawking his goods[a] in the market, but a free giver of all things, pouring forth eternal fountains of free bounties, and seeking no return. For He has no needs Himself and no created being is able to repay His gift.

XXXV. Thus we have agreed that all things are God's possessions on the strength of true reasonings

[a] See App. p. 486.

οὐ θέμις ψευδομαρτυριῶν ἁλῶναι—χρησμοὶ γάρ, οὓς ἐν ἱεραῖς βίβλοις Μωυσῆς ἀνέγραψεν, οἱ μαρτυροῦντές εἰσι—, παραιτητέον τοίνυν τὸν νοῦν, ὃς τὸ γεννηθὲν κατὰ τὴν πρὸς αἴσθησιν σύνοδον κτῆμα ἴδιον ᾠήθη τε καὶ ἐκάλεσε [τὸν] Κάιν καὶ εἶπεν· "ἐκτησάμην ἄνθρωπον διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ," καὶ
125 κατὰ τοῦτο διαμαρτών· τί δήποτε; ὅτι ὁ θεὸς αἴτιον, οὐκ ὄργανον, τὸ δὲ γινόμενον δι' ὀργάνου μὲν ὑπὸ δὲ αἰτίου πάντως γίνεται. πρὸς γὰρ τήν
[162] τινος γένεσιν πολλὰ δεῖ συνελθεῖν, | τὸ ὑφ' οὗ, τὸ ἐξ οὗ, τὸ δι' οὗ, τὸ δι' ὅ· καὶ ἔστι τὸ μὲν ὑφ' οὗ τὸ αἴτιον, ἐξ οὗ δὲ ἡ ὕλη, δι' οὗ δὲ τὸ ἐργαλεῖον,
126 δι' ὃ δὲ ἡ αἰτία. φέρε γάρ, εἴ τις ἀνέροιτο, οἰκία καὶ πόλις πᾶσα ἵνα κατασκευασθῇ, τίνα συνελθεῖν δεῖ; ἆρ' οὐ δημιουργὸν καὶ λίθους καὶ ξύλα καὶ ὄργανα; τί οὖν ἐστι δημιουργὸς πλὴν τὸ αἴτιον ὑφ' οὗ; τί δὲ λίθοι καὶ ξύλα πλὴν ἡ ὕλη, ἐξ ἧς ἡ κατασκευή; τί δὲ τὰ ὄργανα πλὴν τὰ δι' ὧν;
127 τίνος δὲ ἕνεκα πλὴν σκέπης καὶ ἀσφαλείας, τὸ ‹δὲ›[1] δι' ὃ τοῦτό ἐστι; μετελθὼν οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν μέρει κατασκευῶν ἴδε τὴν μεγίστην οἰκίαν ἢ πόλιν, τόνδε τὸν κόσμον· εὑρήσεις γὰρ αἴτιον μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸν θεὸν ὑφ' οὗ γέγονεν, ὕλην δὲ τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα ἐξ ὧν συνεκράθη, ὄργανον δὲ λόγον θεοῦ δι' οὗ κατεσκευάσθη, τῆς δὲ κατασκευῆς αἰτίαν τὴν ἀγαθότητα τοῦ δημιουργοῦ. φιλαλήθων ἥδε διάκρισις ἐπιστήμης ἀληθοῦς καὶ ὑγιοῦς ἐφιεμένων· οἱ δὲ φάσκοντες διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τι κεκτῆσθαι

[1] ‹δὲ› ins. Tr.

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[a] See App. p. 486.

and testimonies which none may convict of false witness, for our witnesses are the oracles which Moses wrote in the sacred books. And therefore we must make our protest against the Mind, which thought the offspring engendered by union with sense his own possession, called it Cain and said "I have *gotten* a man through God." Even in these last two words he erred. You ask how? Because God is the cause not the instrument, and that which comes into being is brought into being *through* an instrument, but *by* a cause. For to bring anything into being needs all these conjointly, the "by which," the "from which," the "through which," the "for which,"[a] and the first of these is the cause, the second the material, the third the tool or instrument, and the fourth the end or object. If we ask what combination is always needed that a house or city should be built, the answer is a builder, stones or timber, and instruments. What is the builder but the cause "by which"? What are the stones and timber but the material "from which"? What are the instruments but the means "through which"? And what is the end or object of the building but shelter and safety, and this constitutes the "for which." Let us leave these merely particular buildings, and contemplate that greatest of houses or cities, this universe. We shall see that its cause is God, by whom it has come into being, its material the four elements, from which it was compounded, its instrument the word of God, through which it was framed, and the final cause of the building is the goodness of the architect. It is thus that truth-lovers distinguish, who desire true and sound knowledge. But those who say that they

τὸ μὲν αἴτιον ὄργανον τὸν δημιουργόν, τὸ δ' ὄργανον αἴτιον τὸν ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν ὑπολαμ-
128 βάνουσιν. αἰτιάσαιτ' ἂν ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος καὶ Ἰωσὴφ εἰπόντα, διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν σαφήνειαν εὑρεθήσεσθαι τῶν ἐνυπνίων (Gen. xl. 8)· ἐχρῆν γὰρ εἰπεῖν, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὡς αἰτίου τὴν τῶν ἀφανῶν ἀνάπτυξίν τε καὶ ἀκρίβειαν δεόντως ἔσεσθαι· ὄργανα γὰρ ἡμεῖς, δι' ὧν αἱ κατὰ μέρος ἐνέργειαι, ἐπιτεινόμενα καὶ ἀνιέμενα, τεχνίτης δὲ ὁ τὴν πλῆξιν ἐργαζόμενος τῶν σώματός τε καὶ ψυχῆς δυνάμεων, ὑφ' οὗ πάντα κινεῖται.

129 Τοὺς μὲν οὖν πραγμάτων διαφορὰς ἀδυνατοῦντας διαστέλλειν ὡς ἀμαθεῖς ἀναδιδακτέον, τοὺς δὲ ὑπὸ φιλονεικίας τὰς τῶν σημαινομένων τάξεις ἐναλλάττοντας ὡς ἐριστικοὺς φευκτέον, τοὺς δὲ μετὰ τῆς τῶν ἐμφερομένων ἀκριβοῦς ἐρεύνης ἑκάστῳ τῶν εὑρεθέντων τὴν οἰκείαν χώραν προσνέμοντας ὡς ἀψευδῆ φιλοσοφίαν μετιόντας ἐπαινετέον.

130 Μωυσῆς γοῦν τοῖς δεδιόσι, μή ποτε πρὸς τοῦ φαύλου πανστρατιᾷ διώκοντος ἀπόλωνται, φησί· "στῆτε καὶ ὁρᾶτε τὴν σωτηρίαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου, ἣν ποιήσει ὑμῖν" (Exod. xiv. 13), ἐκδιδάσκων ὅτι οὐ διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ ὡς αἰτίου τὸ σῴζεσθαι.

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[a] The LXX. has οὐχὶ διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ διασάφησις αὐτῶν ἐστι;

possess something through God, suppose the Cause, that is the Maker, to be the instrument, and the instrument, that is the human mind, they suppose to be the cause. Right reason too would not hold Joseph free from blame, when he said that *through* God would the true meaning of dreams be found (Gen. xl. 8).[a] He should have said that *by* Him as cause the unfolding and right interpretation of things hidden would fitly come to pass. For we are the instruments, wielded in varying degrees of force, through which each particular form of action is produced ; the Craftsman it is who brings to bear on the material the impact of our forces, whether of soul or body, even He by whom all things are moved.

There are those who have not of themselves the capacity to distinguish differences in things ; these we must instruct as ignorant. There are those who through contentiousness reverse and confuse the thoughts which their words express : these we must eschew as mere lovers of strife. But there are also those, who with careful search into what comes before them, assign to each as it is presented its proper place : these we must praise as the followers of a philosophy that cannot lie. And these Moses supports, when he says to those who feared to perish at the hands of the wicked one and his pursuing host, " Stand fast and see the salvation from the Lord, which he will accomplish for you " (Exod. xiv. 13). Thus he showed that not through God, but from Him as cause does salvation come.

ON THE BIRTH OF ABEL AND THE SACRIFICES OFFERED BY HIM AND BY HIS BROTHER CAIN

(DE SACRIFICIIS ABELIS ET CAINI)

ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

The main theme of this treatise is the interpretation of Gen. iv. 2-4.

v. 2 I. (1-10). He added to this that she brought forth his brother Abel.

II. (11-49). And Abel became a shepherd of sheep, but Cain was a tiller of the land.

v. 3 III. (50-87). And it came to pass after some days that Cain brought of the fruits of the earth as a sacrifice to the Lord.

v. 4 IV. (88-end). And Abel brought also himself of the first-born of his sheep and of their fats.

In I. Philo principally meditates on the word "added," the subject of which he assumes to be God. He holds that addition always implies a removal of something and thus the birth of the Abel attitude of mind, which refers all things to God, implies the removal of the opposite Cain attitude. His thought then passes (5) to the phrase used of the patriarchs "he was added to his people." He makes comparisons in this respect between Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, thought of as the three who learn respectively by teaching, nature, and practice, and finally contrasts them (8) with Moses, who is not "added" but translated to God's presence.

The treatment of II. opens (11) with a discussion as to why Abel the younger is mentioned in *v.* 2

before his elder brother, the answer being that vice is older in point of time, but virtue in point of worth. This is illustrated (15) from experience of life, for the philosophical calm comes later than the passions of youth, then (17) from the story of Jacob and Esau, and finally (19) by the law of Deut. xxi. 15-17, that the first-born who is the child of the hated wife (*i.e.* Virtue) is not to be disinherited in favour of the younger child of the beloved wife (*i.e.* Vice). This leads Philo on to the elaborate allegory (20-44) of the two, as courtesan and chaste woman, pressing their claims upon the mind. Virtue's harangue, beginning 28, which contains what is probably the most formidable catalogue of bad qualities ever drawn up (32), includes an impassioned eulogy of toil (35-41) and ends with some loosely connected thoughts (43-44) on the inferior value of the secular learning. Her pleading prevails with the mind (45), which becomes what Abel was—a shepherd, and thus we resume the real consideration of the text. The true shepherd controls the unreasoning, but not vicious, faculties (46) and the greatness of the calling is illustrated from various verses in the Pentateuch (48-51). We should here expect some similar interpretation of Cain's occupation, but Philo dismisses this with the remark that he has treated it in an earlier book (51).

III. The charges brought against Cain in *v.* 3 are (*a*) that he offered only "after some days," (*b*) that he offered of the fruits, but not of the first-fruits. The first naturally leads to a homily (53) on the duty of ready service. The causes of tardiness are discussed and rebuked by appropriate texts (54-57), and an example of ready thankfulness is found (59) in

the story of Abraham, when he bids Sarah *hasten* to prepare a meal for the angelic visitors of Gen. xviii. Two side thoughts are suggested by this story, (1) an interpretation of the three measures of meal (59), (2) of the phrase " buried cakes " (*i.e.*, cakes baked in the ashes (60) which Philo explains as the duty of reticence about sacred truths; and as this phrase is also used of the dough brought out of Egypt, we are led on to some thoughts about the symbolism of the passover (60-63). We return (64) to the duty of avoiding delay, and Philo dwells on the timelessness of God's actions, which we should imitate in our worship (64-68). This is contrasted (69) with Pharaoh's postponement of Moses' prayers on his behalf, which again is compared with the human tendency to seek help in misfortune from earthly remedies rather than from God (70-71).

The second charge brought against the Cain spirit necessitates an examination of what " first-fruits " are. They must be first in " value," *i.e.* virtues (73), but the ἀπαρχή or " first offering " of these is rather an εὐχαριστητικὸς λόγος or body of pious meditation. At this point (74-75) Philo, remembering that in Lev. ii. 14 the offering is to be " new, roasted, sliced, pounded," passes on to an examination of these four, which are treated with much richness of thought. The substance of our meditation must be fresh inspired thoughts (76-79) which will supersede the old-world learning of the schools, dear as that is to Philo (78). It must be hardened by the fire of close reasoning (80-81). It must be " sliced " or divided by careful analysis and classification of the thoughts under their proper headings (82-85), and finally it must be " pounded," *i.e.* made part of

ourselves by the discipline of repeated meditation (85-87).

IV. The introduction of the subject of Abel's offering of the first-born of his sheep is immediately followed by a quotation of the directions with regard to the offering of the first-born in Exod. xiii. 11-13, and the sections 90-117 are almost entirely short homilies on the different parts of this passage. Thus (*a*) the time of the offering is put at the entrance to Canaan, the " wavering reasoning " from which God means us to escape (90) ; (*b*) we have then an apologetic discussion of the words " God sware," showing that such expressions are a concession to the human tendency to anthropomorphism (91-96) ; (*c*) by reading an " if " into the words " and shall give thee," he draws his favourite moral that we can only give what God has given (97) ; (*d*) dwelling on the words " thou shalt set apart " or " separate," he argues that the ideas of God which we offer to Him must be kept apart from lower and profane conceptions of Him (98-101) ; (*e*) " the males to the Lord " means that while the male offspring of the soul are the virtues, those of the " beasts " or senses are such as are kept under control of the mind (102-106) ; (*f*) we have an illustrative digression on the similar command in Numb. xv. 19-20, to make offering from the " mixture," *i.e.* our compound being, and a contrast with the offerings of perfection, in which there is no setting apart (107-112) ; (*g*) on the last verse of Exod. xiii. 11-13, " all that openeth the womb of the ass, thou shalt exchange it for a sheep, but if thou dost not exchange it, thou shalt redeem it," we are told that the ass is labour, the sheep progress, and that labour, at least in the case of things indifferent,

is futile, unless it brings progress, and if futile must be "redeemed," *i.e.* set free (112-116).

At this point the word "redeemed" seems to lead Philo to a different line of thought. What is meant by the saying that the Levites were a ransom or redemption for the first-born? Levi—'sanctified Reason,' Israel's first-born, is accepted by God before Reuben, Jacob's first-born, 'natural ability' (118-121). But it means also that the wise are the ransom for the fools. This was shown in God's willingness to spare Sodom for the sake of ten righteous, and we see it in the saving influence of good men in a commonwealth, and so in the commonwealth of the individual virtuous thoughts redeem the evil (121-126). This last explains the saying that the cities of the Levites are "ransomed for ever," for this ransom of the soul is a perpetual process (127). This again leads on to a discussion why these cities were assigned as a refuge for the homicide. The Levite like the homicide is a fugitive—from natural ties (129). He too has slain —wicked doctrines as in Exod. xxxii. (130), and he represents the merciful side of God's legislative power, as the homicide does the punitive, for he slew "whom the Lord delivered into his hand" (131-133). Finally, when the sanctification of the Levite is assigned to the day when God smote Egypt, we are taught that since that smiting is perpetual, the sanctification is also perpetual (134-135).

We return for a moment to Abel and his offering of the fat, but pass at once to a comment on the fact that neither heart nor brain, the seat of the dominant principle, appear in the sacrificial ritual. Only when this mind of ours has been purged of its tendency to lapses will it be admitted as a proper

part of the ὁλοκαύτωμα or "whole burnt offering" (136-end).

There are two special points in connexion with the text which require mention.

The first is that we have for this treatise and that of *Quis Rer. Div. Her.* the valuable help of a papyrus discovered in Upper Egypt in 1889. Not only is this papyrus considerably older than the other MSS. to which it is most akin, but the analysis given by Cohn goes far to justify his opinion that it presents on the whole a better text.

The other is the history of the sections 21-32, which do not appear in this place in Mangey's edition nor in Yonge's translation. These sections containing the allegory of the two women had been incorporated in an otherwise spurious treatise, *De Mercede Meretricis*. In consequence the archetype of the MSS. from which Turnebus made his edition of 1552 omitted [a] them here, and this was followed in subsequent editions. That their proper place is in this treatise is shown not only by their presence in other MSS., but also by the evidence that Ambrose, whose treatise on Cain and Abel draws largely from Philo, evidently had these sections before him.

[a] "Inepte," says Cohn. But most people will feel that except for the harshness of the connexion of 20 with 33, though it was patched up in a way by the MSS. which omitted it, the treatise is improved by their absence. The picture has a certain vigour, but is not on the whole in Philo's best vein, and the catalogue of vices with which it concludes is surely ridiculous.

ΠΕΡΙ ΓΕΝΕΣΕΩΣ ΑΒΕΛ ΚΑΙ ΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ Ο ΑΔΕΛΦΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΝ ΙΕΡΟΥΡΓΟΥΣΙΝ

1 [163] I. "Καὶ προσέθηκε τεκεῖν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἄβελ" (Gen. iv. 2). ἡ τινὸς πρόσθεσις ἀφαίρεσίς ἐστιν ἑτέρου, ὡς ἀριθμητικῆς μορίων, καὶ ψυχῆς λογισμῶν. εἰ δὴ τὸν Ἄβελ προστίθεσθαι φατέον, τὸν Κάιν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι νομιστέον. ἵνα δὲ μὴ τὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀσύνηθες ἐπισκοτῇ πολλοῖς, τὴν ἐμφαινομένην φιλοσοφίαν ἀκριβοῦν
2 ὡς ἂν οἷόν τε ᾖ πειρασόμεθα. δύο τοίνυν δόξας εἶναι συμβέβηκεν ἐναντίας καὶ μαχομένας ἀλλήλαις, τὴν μὲν τῷ νῷ πάντα ἐπιγράφουσαν ὡς ἡγεμόνι τῶν ἐν τῷ λογίζεσθαι ἢ αἰσθάνεσθαι ἢ κινεῖσθαι ἢ ἴσχεσθαι, τὴν δὲ τῷ θεῷ ἑπομένην ὡς αὐτοῦ δημιουργίαν οὖσαν·[1] τῆς μὲν προτέρας ἐκτύπωσίς ἐστιν ὁ Κάιν καλούμενος κτῆσις παρὰ τὸ πάντα

[1] These words are regarded by Cohn as corrupt and the result of an attempt to complete a sentence, the real ending of which was illegible. His reasons are (1) that to describe the δόξα as believing itself to be God's handiwork is illogical; (2) more important, that Ambrose, who translates the passage almost literally, has "altera quae tamquam operatori et creatori omnium Deo defert et eius tamquam parentis atque rectoris subdit omnia gubernaculo." Following this Cohn supposes something as follows: τὴν δὲ τῷ θεῷ ἑπομένην καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν πάντα ἀναφέρουσαν ὡς πατέρα καὶ ἡγέμονα.

ON THE BIRTH OF ABEL AND THE SACRIFICES OFFERED BY HIM AND BY HIS BROTHER CAIN

I. And He [a] added to this that she brought forth Abel his brother (Gen. iv. 2). The addition of one thing implies the removal of some other, as in the case of arithmetical quantities or of our successive inward thoughts.[b] If we must say that Abel was added we must suppose that Cain was taken away. In case these unfamiliar terms may cause perplexity to many, I will attempt to give as clear an account as I can of the underlying philosophical thought. It is a fact that there are two opposite and contending views of life, one which ascribes all things to the mind as our master, whether we are using our reason or our senses, in motion or at rest, the other which follows God, whose handiwork it believes itself to be. The first of these views is figured by Cain who is called Possession, because he

[a] That Philo takes the subject to be God appears clearly in 10; see note on *De Cher.* 40.

[b] The meaning is shown in Ambrose's (see p. 93) adaptation: "addito enim numero fit alius numerus, aboletur superior, et cogitatio nova excludit superiorem." Possibly some equivalent of this has fallen out of the text.

[164] κεκτῆσθαι δοκεῖν, τῆς δὲ ἑτέρας ὁ Ἄβελ, | ἑρμη-
3 νεύεται γὰρ ἀναφέρων ἐπὶ θεόν. ἀμφοτέρας μὲν
οὖν τὰς δόξας ὠδίνει μία ψυχή· ἀνάγκη δὲ αὐτάς,
ὅταν ἀποκυηθῶσι, διακριθῆναι· συνοικεῖν γὰρ πολε-
μίους ἄχρι παντὸς ἀμήχανον. ἕως μὲν οὖν οὐκ
ἔτεκεν ἡ ψυχὴ τὸ φιλόθεον δόγμα τὸν Ἄβελ,
διῃτᾶτο τὸ φίλαυτον ὁ Κάιν <ἐν> αὐτῇ· ὁπότε δὲ
τὴν πρὸς τὸ αἴτιον ὁμολογίαν ἐγέννησε, τὴν πρὸς
4 τὸν δοκησίσοφον νοῦν ἐξέλιπε. II. δηλώσει δὲ
ἐναργέστερον ταῦτα καὶ τὸ τῇ ὑπομονῇ χρησμῳ-
δηθὲν Ῥεβέκκᾳ (Gen. xxv. 21 ff.). τὰς γὰρ μαχο-
μένας δύο φύσεις ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ συλλαβοῦσα
καὶ ἑκατέραν ἄκρως φαντασιωθεῖσα κατὰ τὴν τῆς
φρονήσεως ἐπικέλευσιν, ἀνασκιρτώσας αὐτὰς ἰδοῦσα
καί τινα τοῦ μέλλοντος πολέμου δι' ἀκροβολισμῶν
προάγωνα ποιουμένας, ἱκετεύει τὸν θεόν, τί τέ
ἐστι τὸ πάθος αὐτῇ παραστῆσαι καὶ τίς ἂν ἴασις
αὐτοῦ γένοιτο· ὁ δὲ πυνθανομένῃ φησί· "δύο
ἔθνη ἐν τῇ γαστρί σού ἐστι"—τὸ μὲν πάθος τοῦτο,
ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ γένεσις—, ἀλλὰ "καὶ δύο λαοὶ
ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας σου διασταλήσονται"—ἡ ἴασις ἥδε,
διασταλῆναι καὶ χωρισθῆναι ταῦτα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων
καὶ μηκέτι τὸν αὐτὸν χῶρον οἰκῆσαι.

5 Προσθεὶς οὖν ὁ θεὸς τῇ ψυχῇ καλὸν δόγμα τὸν
Ἄβελ ἀφεῖλεν αὐτῆς δόξαν ἄτοπον τὸν Κάιν. καὶ
γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ ἐκλιπὼν τὰ θνητὰ "προστίθεται τῷ
θεοῦ λαῷ" (Gen. xxv. 8), καρπούμενος ἀφθαρ-
σίαν, ἴσος ἀγγέλοις γεγονώς· ἄγγελοι γὰρ στρατός

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[a] Or "received a vivid impression of each," which agrees better with the general meaning of φαντασιοῦσθαι, though not so well with κατὰ τὴν τῆς φρονήσεως ἐπικέλευσιν.

thinks he possesses all things, the other by Abel, whose name means "one who refers (all things) to God." Now both these views or conceptions lie in the womb of the single soul. But when they are brought to the birth they must needs be separated, for enemies cannot live together for ever. Thus so long as the soul had not brought forth the God-loving principle in Abel, the self-loving principle in Cain made her his dwelling. But when she bore the principle which acknowledges the Cause, she abandoned that which looks to the mind with its fancied wisdom. II. This will be shown still more clearly by the oracle which was given to Rebecca or Patience (Gen. xxv. 21 ff.). She had conceived the two contending natures of good and evil and considered earnestly, as wisdom bade her, the character of both,[a] when she perceived them leaping and as in a skirmish preluding the war that should be between them. And therefore she besought God to show her what had befallen her, and how it might be remedied. He answered her question thus: "two nations are in thy womb." That was what had befallen her—to bear both good and evil. But again "two peoples shall be separated from thy womb." This is the remedy, that good and evil be separated and set apart from each other and no longer have the same habitation.

So then when God added the good conviction Abel to the soul, he took away the foolish opinion Cain. So too, when Abraham left this mortal life, "he is added to the people of God"[b] (Gen. xxv. 8), in that he inherited incorruption and became equal to the angels, for angels—those unbodied and blessed souls

[b] The LXX. has προσετέθη πρὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ.

εἰσι θεοῦ, ἀσώματοι καὶ εὐδαίμονες ψυχαί· ὅ τε ἀσκητὴς τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον Ἰακὼβ λέγεται προστίθεσθαι τῷ βελτίονι (Gen. xlix. 33), ὅτε ἐξ-
6 έλιπε τὸ χεῖρον. ὁ δὲ αὐτομαθοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἀξιωθεὶς Ἰσαὰκ ἐκλείπει μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς ὅσον σωματοειδὲς αὐτοῦ τῇ ψυχῇ συνύφαντο, προστίθεται δὲ καὶ προσκληροῦται οὐκέθ' ὡς οἱ πρότεροι λαῷ, "γένει" δέ, καθάπερ φησὶ Μωυσῆς (Gen. xxxv. 29)· γένος μὲν γὰρ ἓν τὸ ἀνωτάτω,
7 λαὸς δὲ ὄνομα πλειόνων· ὅσοι μὲν οὖν μαθήσει καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ προκόψαντες ἐτελειώθησαν, προσκληροῦνται πλείοσιν· οὐ γὰρ ὀλίγος ἐστὶν ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἐξ ἀκοῆς καὶ ὑφηγήσεως μανθανόντων, οὓς λαὸν ὠνόμασεν· οἱ δὲ ἀνθρώπων μὲν ὑφηγήσεις ἀπολελοιπότες, μαθηταὶ δὲ εὐφυεῖς θεοῦ γεγονότες, τὴν ἄπονον ἐπιστήμην ἀνειληφότες, εἰς τὸ ἄφθαρτον καὶ τελεώτατον γένος μετανίστανται
[165] κλῆρον ἀμείνω τῶν | προτέρων ἐνδεδεγμένοι, ὧν ὁ Ἰσαὰκ θιασώτης ἀνωμολόγηται.

8 III. Δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ἕτερον τοιοῦτον * * * [νοῦν ἀθάνατον.][1] εἰσὶ δὲ οὓς ἀνωτέρω προαγαγὼν εἴδη μὲν καὶ γένη πάντα ὑπερπτῆναι παρεσκεύασεν, ἵδρυσε δὲ πλησίον ἑαυτοῦ, καθὰ καὶ Μωυσῆς ᾧ φησι· "σὺ δὲ αὐτοῦ στῆθι μετ' ἐμοῦ" (Deut. v. 31). ἡνίκα γοῦν τελευτᾶν ἔμελλεν οὗτος, οὐκ ἐκλιπὼν προστίθεται ὥσπερ οἱ πρότεροι μήτε πρόσθεσιν μήτε ἀφαίρεσιν κεχωρηκώς, ἀλλὰ "διὰ ῥήματος" τοῦ αἰτίου μετανίσταται (Deut. xxxiv.

[1] The sentence does not make sense as it stands. In the Papyrus there is a lacuna of four lines after τοιοῦτον followed by ην θανατον.

[a] LXX. προσετέθη πρὸς τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ. See App. p. 488.

—are the host and people of God. In the same way again the Practiser Jacob, we read, is added to something better, when he left the worse (Gen. xlix. 33). Once more there is Isaac to whom was granted the higher gift of self-learnt knowledge. He too abandoned all such bodily elements as had been interwoven with the soul, and is added and allotted to another company; but not this time, with the others, to a people, but to a 'race' or 'genus,' as Moses says (Gen. xxxv. 29).[a] For genus is one, that which is above all, but people is a name for many. Those who have advanced to perfection as pupils under a teacher have their place among many others; for those who learn by hearing and instruction are no small number, and these he calls a people. But those who have dispensed with the instruction of men and have become apt pupils of God receive the free unlaboured knowledge and are translated into the genus of the imperishable and fully perfect. Theirs is a happier lot than the lot of the people, and in this sacred band Isaac stands confessed as a chorister.

III. A further thought of the same nature is revealed to us. . . . There are still others, whom God has advanced even higher, and has trained them to soar above species and genus alike and stationed them beside himself. Such is Moses to whom He says "stand here with Me"[b] (Deut. v. 31). And so when Moses was about to die we do not hear of him "leaving" or "being added" like those others. No room in him for adding or taking away. But through the 'Word' of the Supreme Cause he is trans-

[b] The context perhaps slightly suggests that Philo took these words, which he quotes several times, as "stand with Me Myself."

5), δι' οὗ καὶ ὁ σύμπας κόσμος ἐδημιουργεῖτο· ἵνα μάθῃς, ὅτι τὸν σοφὸν ἰσότιμον κόσμῳ ὁ θεὸς ἡγεῖται τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἐργαζόμενος καὶ τὸν τέλειον ἀπὸ τῶν περιγείων ἀνάγων ὡς
9 ἑαυτόν. οὐ μὴν οὐδέ, ὅτε τοῖς περιγείοις χρήσας αὐτὸν εἴασεν ἐνομιλεῖν, ἄρχοντος ἢ βασιλέως κοινήν τινα ἀρετὴν ἀνῆπτεν αὐτῷ, καθ' ἣν ἀνὰ κράτος ἡγεμονεύσει τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς παθῶν, ἀλλ' εἰς θεὸν αὐτὸν ἐχειροτόνει πᾶσαν τὴν περὶ τὸ σῶμα χώραν καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα αὐτῆς νοῦν ὑπήκοα καὶ δοῦλα ἀποφήνας· "δίδωμι γάρ σε" φησί "θεὸν Φαραώ" (Exod. vii. 1)· θεὸς δὲ ἔλλειψιν ἢ πρόσθεσιν οὐκ ἀνέχεται πλήρης καὶ
10 ἰσαίτατος ὢν ἑαυτῷ. παρὸ καὶ τὴν ταφὴν λέγεται μηδὲ εἷς εἰδέναι τούτου (Deut. xxxiv. 6)· τίς γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο ἱκανὸς τὴν πρὸς τὸν ὄντα μετανάστασιν ψυχῆς τελείας κατανοῆσαι; οὐδὲ αὐτὴν οἶμαι τὴν τοῦθ' ὑπομένουσαν εἰδέναι τὴν βελτίωσιν αὐτῆς, ἅτε κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐπιθειάζουσαν· τῷ γὰρ εὖ πάσχοντι συμβούλῳ ὁ θεὸς περὶ ὧν μέλλει χαρίζεσθαι οὐ χρῆται, μὴ προλαβόντι δὲ τὰς εὐεργεσίας ἀφθόνους εἴωθεν ὀρέγειν.

Τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τὸ προσθεῖναι θεὸν γένεσιν ἀγαθοῦ τελείου διανοίᾳ· τὸ δὲ ἀγαθὸν ὁσιότης ἐστίν, ἧς ὄνομα Ἄβελ.

11 IV. "Καὶ ἐγένετο Ἄβελ ποιμὴν προβάτων, Κάιν δὲ ἦν ἐργαζόμενος τὴν γῆν" (Gen. iv. 2). τί δήποτε πρεσβύτερον εἰσαγαγὼν τοῦ Ἄβελ τὸν Κάιν νυνὶ τὴν τάξιν μετατέθεικεν, ὡς τοῦ νεω-

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[a] LXX. ἐτελεύτησε διὰ ῥήματος Κυρίου, A.V. "according to the word of the Lord."

[b] See App. p. 488.

lated (Deut. xxxiv. 5),[a] even through that Word by which also the whole universe was formed. Thus you may learn that God prizes the Wise Man as the world, for that same Word, by which He made the universe, is that by which He draws the perfect man from things earthly to Himself. And even when He sent him as a loan to the earthly sphere and suffered him to dwell therein, He gifted him with no ordinary excellence, such as that which kings and rulers have, wherewith to hold sway and sovereignty over the passions of the soul, but He appointed him as god, placing all the bodily region and the mind which rules it in subjection and slavery to him. "I give thee," He says, "as god to Pharaoh"[b] (Exod. vii. 1); but God is not susceptible of addition or diminution, being fully and unchangeably himself. And therefore we are told that no man knows his grave (Deut. xxxiv. 6). For who has powers such that he could perceive the passing of a perfect soul to Him that "IS"? Nay I judge that the soul itself which is passing thus does not know of its change to better things, for at that hour it is filled with the spirit of God. For God does not consult with those whom He blesses as to the gifts He means to bestow. His wont is to extend His loving-kindness unstinted to those who have no thought of them.

Such is the meaning of the words that God added to the mind the birth of the perfect good. The good is holiness and the name of holiness is Abel.[b]

IV. "And Abel became a shepherd of sheep, but Cain was a tiller of the ground" (Gen. iv. 2). Why is it that while he showed us Cain as older than Abel, he has now changed the order and mentions the

τέρου μεμνῆσθαι πρότερον κατὰ τὴν τῶν βίων
προαίρεσιν; εἰκὸς γὰρ ἦν τὸν μὲν πρεσβύτατον
πρότερον ἐπὶ γεωργίαν ἐλθεῖν, τὸν δὲ νεώτερον
12 αὖθις ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν θρεμμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν. ἀλλὰ
[166] γὰρ οὐ τὰ εἰκότα καὶ πιθανὰ | Μωυσῆς ἀσπά-
ζεται, τὴν δὲ ἀλήθειαν ἀκραιφνῆ μεταδιώκει· καὶ
ὅταν γε μόνος ἰδίᾳ τῷ θεῷ προσέρχηται, μετὰ
παρρησίας φησὶ μὴ εἶναι εὔλογος—ἴσον τῷ μὴ
τῶν εὐλόγων καὶ πιθανῶν ἐφίεσθαι—, πεποιθέναι
δὲ τοῦτο πρὸ τῆς ἐχθὲς καὶ τρίτης, ἀφ' οὗ τὸν
θεὸν ἄρξασθαι διαλέγεσθαι ὡς θεράποντι αὐτῷ
13 (Exod. iv. 10). τοῖς μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸν τοῦ βίου
σάλον καὶ κλύδωνα παρεληλυθόσιν ἐπινηχομένοις
ἀνάγκη φορεῖσθαι, μηδενὸς ἐχυροῦ τῶν ἐπιστήμης
ἐνειλημμένοις, εἰκότων δὲ καὶ πιθανῶν ἠρτημέ-
νοις· τῷ δὲ θεοῦ θεραπευτῇ πρεπῶδες ἀληθείας
περιέχεσθαι, τὴν τῶν εὐλόγων εἰκαστικὴν καὶ
14 ἀβέβαιον μυθοποιίαν χαίρειν ἐῶντι. τί
οὖν καὶ τὸ ἐν τούτοις ἀληθές; κακίαν ἀρετῆς
χρόνῳ μὲν εἶναι πρεσβυτέραν, δυνάμει δὲ καὶ
ἀξιώματι νεωτέραν. ὅταν μὲν οὖν ἡ γένεσις
ἀμφοῖν εἰσάγηται, προεκτρεχέτω ὁ Κάιν· ὅταν δὲ
ἐπιτηδεύσεων σύγκρισις ἐξετάζηται, φθανέτω ὁ
15 Ἄβελ. γενομένῳ γὰρ τῷ ζῴῳ συμ-
βέβηκεν εὐθὺς ἔτ' ἐκ σπαργάνων, ἄχρις ἂν ἡ
νεωτεροποιὸς ἀκμῆς ἡλικία τὸν ζέοντα φλογμὸν
τῶν παθῶν σβέσῃ, συντρόφους ἔχειν ἀφροσύνην
ἀκολασίαν ἀδικίαν φόβον δειλίαν, τὰς ἄλλας συγ-
γενεῖς κῆρας, ὧν ἑκάστην ἀνατρέφουσι καὶ συναύ-
ξουσι τιτθαὶ καὶ παιδαγωγοὶ καὶ ἐθῶν καὶ νομίμων

[a] See App. pp. 488, 489.

younger first, when he comes to speak of their choice of occupations? For the probability was that the elder proceeded to his husbandry first, and the younger at a later time to his charge of the flock. But Moses sets no value on probabilities and plausibilities, but follows after truth in its purity. And when he comes alone to God apart from all, he frankly says that he has no gift of speech (by which he means that he has no desire for eloquence or persuasiveness), and this he says has been his condition from a few days ago when God first began to talk with him as His servant (Exod. iv. 10).[a] Those who have fallen into the surge and stormy sea of life must needs float on, not holding firmly to any strong support which knowledge gives, but trailed along by the flotsam of the probable and the plausible. But for the servant of God it is meet to hold fast to truth and spurn the fabulous inventions of eloquence, which are but baseless guesswork.[b] What then is the special truth which here he brings before us? Surely that in point of time vice is senior to virtue, but that in point of value and honour the reverse is the case. And therefore when the birth of each is brought before us, Cain may have the precedence. When we make a comparison of the occupations of the two, Abel should take the lead.

[b]For when the life of man begins, from the very cradle till the time when the age of maturity brings the great change and quenches the fiery furnace of the passions, folly, incontinence, injustice, fear, cowardice, and all the kindred maladies of soul are his inseparable companions, and each of them is fostered and increased by nurses and tutors and by

[b] See App. p. 489.

εὐσέβειαν μὲν ἐλαυνόντων δεισιδαιμονίαν δὲ πρᾶγμα
ἀδελφὸν ἀσεβείᾳ κατασκευαζόντων εἰσηγήσεις καὶ
16 θέσεις. ὅταν δὲ ἤδη παρηβήσῃ καὶ ἡ τῶν παθῶν
παλμώδης νόσος χαλάσῃ, καθάπερ νηνεμίας ἐπι-
γενομένης, ἄρχεταί τις γαλήνην ἄγειν ὀψὲ καὶ
μόλις βεβαιότητι ἀρετῆς ἱδρυθείς, ἣ τὸν ἐπάλληλον
καὶ συνεχῆ σεισμόν, βαρύτατον κακὸν ψυχῆς,
ἐπράυνεν.

Οὕτως μὲν δὴ τὰ χρόνου πρεσβεῖα οἴσεται
κακία, τὰ δὲ ἀξιώματος καὶ τιμῆς καὶ εὐκλείας ἡ
ἀρετή. πιστὸς δὲ τούτου μάρτυς ὁ νομοθέτης
17 αὐτός· τὸν γὰρ ἀφροσύνης ἐπώνυμον Ἠσαῦ εἰσ-
αγαγὼν χρόνῳ πρεσβύτερον τῷ γενέσει μὲν νεω-
τέρῳ ἐπωνύμῳ δὲ ἀσκήσεως τῶν καλῶν Ἰακὼβ
χαρίζεται τὰ πρεσβεῖα· ὁ δὲ οὐ πρότερον αὐτὰ
[167] φέρεσθαι | διαγνώσεται, ἢ καθάπερ ἐν ἀγῶνι τὸν
ἀντίπαλον ἀπειπεῖν χεῖρας ὑπ' ἀσθενείας καθέντα
καὶ τὰ βραβεῖα καὶ τὸν στέφανον παραχωρῆσαι
τῷ πόλεμον ἄσπονδον καὶ ἀκήρυκτον πρὸς τὰ
πάθη πεποιημένῳ· "ἀπέδοτο" γάρ φησι "τὰ
18 πρωτοτόκια τῷ Ἰακώβ" (Gen. xxv. 33), ὁμολο-
γήσας ἄντικρυς, ὅτι τὰ δυνάμει πρῶτα καὶ κατ'
ἀρετὴν τίμια φαύλου μέν ἐστιν οὐδενός, μόνου δὲ
τοῦ σοφίας ἐραστοῦ, καθάπερ καὶ αὐλὸς καὶ λύρα
καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μουσικῆς ὄργανα μόνου τοῦ μουσικοῦ.
19 V. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ δόγματος τούτου καὶ νόμον
ἀναγράφει πάνυ καλῶς καὶ συμφερόντως τιθείς.
ἔχει δὲ ὧδε· "ἐὰν γένωνται ἀνθρώπῳ δύο γυναῖκες,

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[a] See App. p. 489.
[b] Literally, dropped his hands.

the fact that the rules and customs which impress and exercise their authority upon him expel piety and set up in its stead that superstition which is the sister of impiety. But when the prime is past, and the throbbing fever of the passions is abated, as though the storm winds had dropped, there begins in the man a late and hard-won calm. Virtue has lulled to rest the worst enemy of the soul, that commotion whose waves of passion follow each other in swift succession, and in that firm support of virtue he stands secure.[a]

Thus vice will carry off the honour of precedence in time, virtue the precedence in repute and honour and good name. And to this truth we have a faithful witness in the legislator himself. For he shows us Esau, who is named after his folly,[a] as elder in point of age, but it is to the younger brother named from his discipline and practice of things excellent, even Jacob, that he awards the prize of precedence. Yet Jacob will not judge himself worthy to accept this prize until, as in some contest of the arena, his adversary has surrendered [b] in exhaustion and yielded up the victor's crown to him who has waged war without parley or quarter against the passions. For Esau 'sold,' we read, the 'birthright to Jacob' (Gen. xxv. 33), in full admission that as the flute and lyre and the other instruments of music belong only to the musician, so all that is supreme in value, and all to which virtue gives its place of honour, belong not to any of the wicked, but to the lover of wisdom only.

V. Again the same lesson is taught in a law which Moses enacts, a law both excellent and profitable. It runs thus. "If a man have two wives, one loved

μία αὐτῶν ἠγαπημένη καὶ μία μισουμένη, καὶ τέκωσιν αὐτῷ ἡ ἠγαπημένη καὶ ἡ μισουμένη καὶ γένηται ὁ υἱὸς τῆς μισουμένης πρωτότοκος, καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ᾗ ἂν κληροδοτῇ τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ, οὐ δυνήσεται πρωτοτοκεῦσαι τῷ υἱῷ τῆς ἠγαπημένης ὑπεριδὼν τὸν υἱὸν τῆς μισουμένης τὸν πρωτότοκον, ἀλλὰ τὸν πρωτότοκον υἱὸν τῆς μισουμένης ἐπιγνώσεται δοῦναι αὐτῷ διπλᾶ ἀπὸ πάντων ὧν ἂν εὑρεθῇ αὐτῷ, ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ἀρχὴ τέκνων αὐτοῦ καὶ τούτῳ καθήκει τὰ πρωτοτόκια" (Deut. xxi. 15-
20 17). ἐπίγνωθι, ὦ ψυχή, καὶ γνώρισον, τίς ἐστιν ἡ μισουμένη καὶ τίς ὁ τῆς μισουμένης υἱός, καὶ εὐθὺς αἰσθήσῃ, ὅτι ἄλλῳ μὲν οὐδενί,
[II. 265] μόνῳ δὲ τούτῳ καθήκει τὰ πρεσβεῖα. | δύο γὰρ ἡμῶν ἑκάστῳ συνοικοῦσι γυναῖκες ἐχθραὶ καὶ δυσμενεῖς ἀλλήλαις, τῶν ζηλοτυπίας τὸν ψυχικὸν οἶκον ἀναπιμπλᾶσαι φιλονεικιῶν· τούτων τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν ἀγαπῶμεν χειροήθη καὶ τιθασὸν καὶ φιλτάτην καὶ οἰκειοτάτην αὐτοῖς νομίζοντες, καλεῖται δὲ ἡδονή· τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν ἐχθαίρομεν ἀτίθασον ἀνήμερον ἐξηγριωμένην πολεμιωτάτην ἡγούμενοι,
21 ὄνομα δὲ [καὶ] ταύτης ἐστὶν ἀρετή. ἡ μὲν οὖν προσέρχεται πόρνης καὶ χαμαιτύπης τὸν τρόπον τεθρυμμένη, κεκλασμένῳ τῷ βαδίσματι ὑπὸ τρυφῆς τῆς ἄγαν καὶ χλιδῆς, σαλεύουσα τὼ ὀφθαλμώ, οἷς τὰς τῶν νέων ἀγκιστρεύεται ψυχάς, θράσος μετ᾽ ἀναισχυντίας ἐμβλέπουσα, τὸν αὐχένα ἐπαίρουσα, πλέον τῆς φύσεως ἑαυτὴν ἐνορθιάζουσα,[1] σεσαρυῖα καὶ κιχλίζουσα, περιέργῳ ποικιλίᾳ τὰς τῆς κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἀναπεπλεγμένη, ὑπογεγραμμένη τὴν ὄψιν, ἐγκεκαλυμμένη τὰς ὀφρῦς,

and the other hated, and each bear a son to him, and the son of her that is hated is the first-born, it shall be that on the day on which he allots his goods to his sons he shall not be able to give the right of the first-born to the son of her whom he loves, and set aside the first-born, the son of her whom he hates, but he shall acknowledge the first-born, the son of her whom he hates, to give him a double portion of all that he has gotten ; for he is the beginning of his children, and to him belong the rights of the first-born " (Deut. xxi. 15-17). Mark well then, my soul, and understand who is she that is hated, and who is her son, and thou wilt straightway perceive that to this last alone and to none other belong the honours of the elder. For each of us is mated with two wives, who hate and loathe each other, and they fill the house of the soul with their jealous contentions. And one of these we love, because we find her winning and gentle, and we think her our nearest and dearest. Her name is pleasure. The other we hate ; we think her rough, ungentle, crabbed and our bitter enemy. Her name is virtue. [a] So Pleasure comes languishing in the guise of a harlot or courtesan. Her gait has the looseness which her extravagant wantonness and luxury has bred ; the lascivious roll of her eyes is a bait to entice the souls of the young ; her look speaks of boldness and shamelessness ; her neck is held high ; she assumes a stature which Nature has not given her ; she grins and giggles ; her hair is dressed in curious and elaborate plaits ; under her eyes are pencil lines ; her eyebrows are smothered

[a] See App. pp. 489, 490.

[1] Perhaps ἐξορθ. or ἐπορθ.

[II. 266] θερμολουσίαις ἐπαλλήλοις | χρωμένη, ἔρευθος εἰρ-
γασμένη, πολυτελεῖς ἐσθῆτας ἐπηνθισμένας ἄκρως
ἀμπεχομένη, περιβραχιόνια καὶ περιαυχένια καὶ
ὅσα ἄλλα χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθων πολυτελῶν δημιουρ-
γηθέντα κόσμος ἐστὶ γυναικεῖος περικαθειμένη,
μύρων εὐωδεστάτων ἀποπνέουσα, τὴν ἀγορὰν
οἰκίαν νομίζουσα, τριοδῖτις σοβάς, χήτει γνησίου
22 κάλλους τὸ νόθον μεταδιώκουσα. συν-
ομαρτοῦσι δὲ αὐτῇ τῶν συνηθεστάτων πανουργία
προπέτεια ἀπιστία κολακεία φενακισμὸς ἀπάτη
ψευδολογία ψευδορκία ἀσέβεια ἀδικία ἀκολασία,
ὧν ἐν μέσῳ καθάπερ ἡγεμὼν χοροῦ στᾶσά φησι
πρὸς τὸν νοῦν τάδε· "εἰσίν, ὦ οὗτος, θησαυροὶ
πάντων ἀγαθῶν ὅσα ἀνθρώπεια παρ' ἐμοί—τὰ γὰρ
θεῖα ἐν οὐρανῷ—, ὧν ἐκτὸς οὐδὲν εὑρήσεις· τού-
τους, ἢν ἐθέλῃς μοι συνοικεῖν, τοὺς θησαυροὺς
ἀναπετάσασα χρῆσιν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν ἐνόντων
23 ἀφθονωτάτην εἰσαεὶ παρέξω. βούλομαι δέ [a] σοι
προειπεῖν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ταμιευομένων ἀγαθῶν,
ἵνα κἂν συναινῇς ἑκὼν ἀσμενίζῃς, κἂν ἀποστρέφῃ
μὴ ἀγνοῶν ἀρνῇ· ἄνεσίς ἐστι παρ' ἐμοὶ καὶ ἄδεια
καὶ ἐκεχειρία καὶ πόνων ἀμελετησία καὶ χρω-
μάτων ποικιλία καὶ κλάσεις ἐμμελέσταται φωνῆς,
σιτία πολυτελῆ καὶ ποτά, ὀσμῶν ἡδίστων παμ-
πληθεῖς διαφοραί, συνεχεῖς ἔρωτες, ἀπαιδαγώγη-
τοι παιδιαί, μίξεις ἀνεξέταστοι, ἀνουθέτητοι λόγοι,
ἔργα ἀνυπεύθυνα, ἀφρόντιστος βίος, μαλακώτατος
24 ὕπνος, κόρος ἀπλήρωτος. ἐὰν οὖν ἐθε-
λήσῃς σὺν ἐμοὶ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς διατριβάς, ἐκ

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[a] See App. p. 490.

in paint ;[a] she revels perpetually in the warmth of the bath ; her flush is artificial ; her costly raiment is broidered lavishly with flowers ; bracelets and necklaces and every other feminine ornament wrought of gold and jewels hang round her ; her breath is laden with fragrant scents ; a strumpet of the streets, she takes the market-place for her home ; devoid of true beauty, she pursues the false. In her train come a sample of her closest friends, villainy, recklessness, faithlessness, flattery, imposture, deceit, falsehood, perjury, impiety, injustice, profligacy ; and taking her stand in their midst, like the leader of a chorus, she speaks thus to the Mind. "See here," she says, "I have coffers containing all human blessings—such as belong to the gods are in heaven—and outside these coffers you will find no good thing. These I will open, if you will dwell with me, and give you unceasing and unstinted use and enjoyment of all that is therein. But first I wish to recount to you the multitude of joys within my store, so that if you assent it may be with willingness and gladness, and if you turn from them it will not be through ignorance that you refuse. With me you will find freedom from the sense of restraint, from the fear of punishment, from the stress of business, from the discipline of labour ; you will find colours all and sundry, sweet modulations of melodious sounds, costly kinds of food and drink, abundant varieties of delicious perfumes, amours without ceasing, frolics unregulated, chamberings unrestricted, language unrepressed, deeds uncensored, life without care, sleep soft and sweet, satiety ever unfilled. If then you are willing to pass your time with me, I will be your cateress

πάντων εὐτρεπίσασά σοι τὰ ἁρμόζοντα δωρήσομαι, συνεπισκοποῦσα τί ἂν φαγὼν ἢ πιὼν γανωθείης ἢ τί τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδὼν ἢ τοῖς ὠσὶν ἀκούσας ἢ μυκτῆρσιν ὀσφρόμενος ἡσθείης· ἐλλείψει δὲ οὐδὲν ὧν ἂν ἐπιθυμήσῃς, πλείω γὰρ τῶν ἀναλισκομένων εὑρήσεις τὰ γεννώμενα. φυτὰ γάρ ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς λεχθεῖσι θησαυροῖς ἀειθαλῆ, βλαστάνοντα καὶ τίκτοντα καρποὺς ἐπαλλήλους, ὡς τὴν τῶν ὡραίων καὶ νέων ἀκμὴν ἐπιτρέχειν καὶ καταλαμβάνειν τοὺς ἤδη πεπανθέντας· πόλεμος οὐδὲ εἷς ἐμφύλιος ἢ ξενικὸς τὰ φυτὰ ταῦτα πώποτε ἔτεμεν, ἀλλ' ἀφ' οὗ τὸ πρῶτον αὐτὰ γῆ παρέλαβεν, ὥσπερ ἀγαθὴ τροφὸς τιθηνεῖται, ῥίζας μὲν οἱονεὶ θεμελίους εἰς τὸ κάτω βαλλομένη κραταιοτάτας, τὸ δὲ ὑπὲρ γῆς ἔρνος οὐρανόμηκες ἀνατείνασα, κλάδους δὲ ἐκφύσασα τῶν ἐν ζῴοις χειρῶν καὶ ποδῶν ἀναλογοῦντα μιμήματα, πέταλα δὲ οἷον κόμας σκέπην ἐν ταὐτῷ καὶ κόσμον ἐπανθῆσαι παρασκευάσασα, καρποὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὧν ἕνεκα κἀκεῖνα."

[II. 267] 26 Τούτων ἀκούσασα ἡ ἑτέρα —καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ μὲν ἐν ἐπηκόῳ δὲ εἱστήκει —, δείσασα μή ποτε λαθὼν ὁ νοῦς αἰχμάλωτος ἀνδραποδισθεὶς ἀπαχθῇ τοσαύταις δωρεαῖς καὶ ὑποσχέσεσιν, ἔτι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἐνδοὺς εὖ καὶ ποικίλως ἐπὶ ἀπάτῃ τετεχνιτευμένην—διὰ γὰρ τῶν περιάπτων καὶ μαγγανειῶν ἔνυττεν, ἐκήλει, γαργαλισμοὺς ἐνειργάζετο—, παρελθοῦσα ἐξαίφνης ἐπιφαίνεται ἐλευθέρας καὶ ἀστῆς προσφερομένη πάντα, σταθερὸν βάδισμα,

and give you from them all what accords with your wishes. I will join you in considering what food and drink would charm your palate, what sight would please your eyes, what sound your ears, what perfume your nostrils. And of all that you desire nothing shall fail, for you shall find fresh sweets ever springing up to replace and more than replace those which are consumed. For in the treasure-houses I have spoken of are evergreen plants, which bloom and bear fruit in constant succession, so that the fullness of the fresh fruit, each in their season, ever pursues and overtakes those that have already ripened. These plants never once have known the ravages of civil or foreign war, but from the day that earth took them to her bosom, she cherishes them like a kindly nurse. She makes their roots dive deep and fast below like foundations, she extends the growth above the ground till it soars to heaven. She brings forth branches, which imitate and answer to the hands and feet of living creatures. She causes leaves to bloom like hair, at once to shelter and adorn, and then at the last she gives the fruit, the crowning purpose of the whole process."

When the other heard this, standing as she was, hidden from sight, yet within earshot, she feared lest the Mind should unawares be made captive and enslaved, and carried away by this wealth of gifts and promises. She feared too lest he should yield to the spell of that countenance so well and cunningly dressed to deceive, for by her talismans and witchcrafts the sorceress was pricking him, and working in him the itch of desire. So suddenly coming forward she appeared with all the marks of a free-born citizen, a firm tread, a serene counte-

ἠρεμαιοτάτην ὄψιν, χρῶμα καὶ τὸ αἰδοῦς καὶ τὸ σώματος ἀκιβδήλευτον, ἀψευδὲς ἦθος, ἀνόθευτον βίον, ἀποίκιλον γνώμην, λόγον οὐ φένακα, διανοίας ὑγιοῦς ἀληθέστατον μίμημα, σχέσιν ἄπλαστον, οὐ σεσοβημένην κίνησιν, μετρίαν ἐσθῆτα, τὸν χρυσοῦ
27 τιμιώτερον φρονήσεως καὶ ἀρετῆς κόσμον. συνείποντο δὲ αὐτῇ εὐσέβεια ὁσιότης ἀλήθεια θέμις ἁγιστεία εὐορκία δικαιοσύνη ἰσότης εὐσυνθεσία κοινωνία ἐχεθυμία σωφροσύνη κοσμιότης ἐγκράτεια πρᾳότης ὀλιγοδεΐα εὐκολία αἰδὼς ἀπραγμοσύνη ἀνδρεία γενναιότης εὐβουλία προμήθεια φρόνησις προσοχὴ διόρθωσις εὐθυμία χρηστότης ἡμερότης ἠπιότης φιλανθρωπία μεγαλοφροσύνη μακαριότης ἀγαθότης· ἐπιλείψει με ἡ ἡμέρα λέγοντα τὰ τῶν
28 κατ' εἶδος ἀρετῶν ὀνόματα. αὗται παρ' ἑκάτερα στᾶσαι μέσην αὐτὴν ἐδορυφόρουν· ἡ δὲ σχῆμα τὸ σύνηθες ἑαυτῇ λαβοῦσα λόγων ἤρξατο τοιῶνδε·

"τὴν τερατουργὸν καὶ μάχλον καὶ μυθολόγον εἶδον ἡδονὴν τραγικώτερον ἐνεσκευασμένην καὶ λιπαρῶς θαμινά σοι προσομιλοῦσαν, ὥστε—εἰμὶ γὰρ μισοπόνηρος φύσει—, δείσασα μὴ λάθῃς ἀπατηθεὶς καὶ συναινέσας κακοῖς μεγίστοις ὡς ὑπερβάλλουσιν ἀγαθοῖς, ἠξίωσα τὰ προσόντα τῇ γυναικὶ μετὰ πάσης ἀληθείας προειπεῖν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν συμφερόντων ἀπωσάμενος ἀ-
29 βούλητον ἐμπορεύσῃ κακοπραγίαν. τὴν μὲν οὖν σκευὴν ᾗ κέχρηται πᾶσαν ἀλλοτρίαν ἴσθι· τῶν γὰρ

nance, her person and her modesty alike without false colouring, her moral nature free from guile, her conduct from stain, her will from craft, her speech from falsehood, reflecting faithfully the honesty of her thoughts. Her carriage was unaffected, her movements quiet, her clothing plain, her adornment that of good sense and virtue, which is more precious than gold. And in her company came piety, holiness, truth, justice, religion, fidelity to oaths and bonds, righteousness, equity, fellow-feeling, self-control, temperance, orderliness, continence, meekness, frugality, contentment, modesty, a quiet temper, courage, nobility of spirit, good judgement, foresight, good sense, attentiveness, desire for amendment, cheerfulness, kindness, gentleness, mildness, humanity, high-mindedness, blessedness, goodness. The daylight will fail me while I recount the names of the specific virtues. Ranged on each side with her in their midst they formed her body-guard. She assuming her wonted mien thus began.

"I see yonder Pleasure, that lewd dealer in magic and inventor of fables, tricked out as for the stage, importunately seeking parley with you, and as it is my nature to hate evil, I feared lest being off your guard you should be deceived and consent to the worst of ills as though they were the highest good. Therefore, that you may not through sheer ignorance put from you aught that is to your advantage and purchase for yourself unwelcome misfortune, I judged it well to proclaim to you, before it was too late, the full truth of all that attaches to this woman. Know then that the finery with which she is bedizened is all borrowed. For of such things as make for true beauty she brings

εἰς γνήσιον κάλλος οὐδὲν οἰκεῖον ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἐπι-
φέρεται, περιῆπται δὲ δίκτυα καὶ πάγας ἐπὶ τῇ
σῇ θήρᾳ, νόθην καὶ κίβδηλον εὐμορφίαν, ἃ προ-
ϊδόμενος, ἢν εὖ φρονήσῃς, ἀτελῆ τὴν ἄγραν αὐτῇ
παρασκευάσεις· ὀφθαλμοὺς μὲν γὰρ φανεῖσα ἡδύνει,
ὦτα δὲ φθεγξαμένη λιγαίνει, ψυχὴν δὲ τὸ πλείστων
ἄξιον κτῆμα καὶ διὰ τούτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
ἁπάντων μερῶν πέφυκε λυμαίνεσθαι.

τῶν δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν ἃ μὲν ἔμελλεν ἀκούσαντί σοι
[II. 268] ¦ προσηνῆ γενήσεσθαι διεξῆλθε, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὅσα
μὴ ῥᾳστώνην εἶχεν ἀμύθητα ὄντα ἐθελοκακοῦσα
ἐπεκρύψατο, οἷς οὐκ ἄν τινα συναινέσειν εὐχερῶς
30 προσεδόκησεν. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἀπαμφιάσασα
ἀναδείξω καὶ οὐ μιμήσομαι τρόπους ἡδονῆς, ὡς
ὅσα μὲν ἐπαγωγά ἐστιν ἐν ἐμοὶ μόνα ἐπιδείξασθαι,
τὰ δὲ ἔχοντα δυσκολίαν συσκιάσαι καὶ περιστεῖλαι,
ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον τὰ μὲν τέρψιν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν καὶ
χαρὰν ἐνδιδόντα ἡσυχάσω, εἰδυῖα ὅτι φωνὴν ῥήξει
τὴν δι' ἔργων, τὰ δ' ἐπαχθῆ καὶ δυσυπομόνητα
κυρίως ἑρμηνεύσω τοῖς ὀνόμασι γυμνοῖς κἂν μέσῳ
τιθεῖσα αὐτά, ὡς ἔκδηλον τὴν ἑκάστου φύσιν καὶ
τοῖς ἀμυδρῶς ὁρῶσι προφαίνεσθαι· τῶν γὰρ
ἡδονῆς μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν τὰ παρ' ἐμοὶ μέγιστα
δοκοῦντα εἶναι κακὰ καλλίω καὶ τιμιώτερα τοῖς
31 χρωμένοις ἐξελεγχθήσεται. πρὶν δὲ περὶ
τῶν ἰδίων ἄρξασθαι, ὅσα ἂν ἐνδέχηται τῶν ὑπ'
ἐκείνης ἡσυχασθέντων ὑπομνήσω· εἰποῦσα γὰρ
περὶ ὧν ἐθησαυρίσατο χρωμάτων φωνῶν ἀτμῶν
χυλῶν ποιοτήτων δυνάμεων τῶν κατὰ ἁφὴν καὶ

nothing—nothing that comes from herself and is indeed her own. But she has habited herself with a false and spurious comeliness, which is mere nets and snares to take you as her prey, and these, if you are wise, you will see in time and thus make her hunting of none effect. The sight of her is sweetness to your eyes, her voice like music ringing in your ears, but to the soul, the most precious of possessions, her nature is to work mischief through these and all other avenues. Of what she has to give, she set before you in full such things as were bound to be pleasant hearing, but the innumerable others which do not make for ease and comfort, in malice prepense she hid from you, expecting that none would accept them lightly. But these too I will strip bare and set before you, and will not follow Pleasure's way, to lay before you only what in me is attractive, and slur over and conceal what involves discomfort. Rather all such things as of themselves offer joy and delight I will pass in silence, for I know that they will speak for themselves in the language of facts, but all that spells pain and hardship I will set out in plain terms, without figure of speech, and show them openly, so that the nature of each may be clearly visible, even to those who see but dimly. For what of mine seems most to partake of ill shall be found by those who make trial thereof to be more beautiful and precious than the greatest goods which Pleasure has to give.

But before I begin to speak of me and mine, I will bring to your mind as much as I can of what she left unsaid. For she told you of her treasured stores, of colours, sounds, scents, flavours, and all varieties, of the faculties born of touch and

πᾶσαν αἴσθησιν καὶ τῷ τῆς ἀκροάσεως ἐφηδύνασα προσαγωγῷ τὰς ἄλλας νόσους καὶ κῆρας ἑαυτῆς οὐκ ἐμήνυσεν, αἷς ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐκεῖνα αἱρούμενος χρήσῃ, ἵνα αὔρᾳ τινὸς ὠφελείας ἐπαρθεὶς ἐντὸς
32 ἀρκύων ληφθῇς. ἴσθι οὖν, ὦ οὗτος, ὅτι γενόμενος φιλήδονος πάντ᾽ ἔσει ταῦτα·

πανοῦργος
θρασὺς
ἀνάρμοστος
ἄμικτος
δύσχρηστος
ἔκθεσμος
ἀργαλέος
ἀκρόχολος
ἀνεπίσχετος
φορτικὸς

ἀνουθέτητος
εὐχερὴς
κακότεχνος
ἀδιάγωγος
ἄδικος
ἄνισος
ἀκοινώνητος
ἀσύμβατος
ἄσπονδος
πλεονέκτης
κακονομώτατος

[II. 269] ἄφιλος
ἄοικος

ἄπολις
στασιώδης
ἄτακτος
ἀσεβὴς
ἀνίερος
ἀνίδρυτος
ἄστατος
ἀνοργίαστος
βέβηλος
ἐναγὴς
βωμολόχος
ἀλάστωρ
παλαμναῖος
ἀνελεύθερος
ἀπότομος
θηριώδης
ἀνδραποδώδης
δειλὸς
ἀκόλαστος
ἄκοσμος
αἰσχρουργὸς
αἰσχροπαθὴς
ἀχρώματος
ἄμετρος
ἄπληστος

ἀλαζὼν
δοκησίσοφος
αὐθάδης
βάναυσος
βάσκανος
φιλεγκλήμων
δύσερις
διάβολος
χαῦνος
ἀπατεὼν
ἀγύρτης
εἰκαῖος
ἀμαθὴς
ἀναίσθητος
ἀσύμφωνος
[ἄπιστος]
ἀπειθὴς
ἀφηνιαστὴς
γόης
εἴρων
κέρκωψ
δυσυπονόητος
δυσώνυμος
δυσεύρετος
δυσέφικτος

all forms of sense, and she heightened this sweetness with the seductiveness of her discourse. But there are other things which are part and parcel of her, the maladies and plagues which you must needs experience if you choose her gifts, and these she did not tell you, that carried off your feet by windy thoughts of some gain or other you might be caught in her net. Know then, my friend, that if you become a pleasure-lover you will be all these things :

unscrupulous
impudent
cross-tempered
unsociable
intractable
lawless
troublesome
passionate
headstrong
coarse
impatient of rebuke
reckless
evil-planning
ill to live with
unjust
inequitable
unfriendly
irreconcilable
implacable
covetous
amenable to no law
without friend
without home

without city
seditious
disorderly
impious
unholy
wavering
unstable
excommunicate
profane
accursed
a buffoon
unblest
murder-stained
low-minded
rude
beast-like
slavish
cowardly
incontinent
unseemly
shame-working
shame-enduring
unblushing
immoderate
insatiable

braggart
conceited
stubborn
mean
envious
censorious
quarrelsome
slanderous
vainglorious
deceitful
cheating
aimless
ignorant
stupid
dissident
[faithless]
disobedient
unruly
a swindler
dissembling
mischievous
mistrustful
ill-reputed
skulking
unapproachable

ἐξώλης
κακόνους
ἀσύμμετρος
ἀκαιρολόγος
μακρήγορος
ἀδολέσχης
ἀερόμυθος
κόλαξ
νωθὴς
ἀπερίσκεπτος
ἀπροόρατος
ἀπρονόητος
ὀλίγωρος
ἀπαράσκευος
ἀπειρόκαλος
πλημμελὴς
σφαλλόμενος
διαπίπτων
ἀδιοίκητος
ἀπροστασίαστος
λίχνος
ἀγόμενος
διαρρέων
εὐένδοτος
δολιώτατος

διχόνους
δίγλωσσος
ἐπίβουλος
ἐνεδρευτικὸς
ῥᾳδιουργὸς
ἀδιόρθωτος
ἐνδεὴς
ἀεὶ ἀβέβαιος
ἀλήτης
ἐπτοημένος
φορᾷ χρώμενος

εὐεπιχείρητος
ἐπιμανὴς
ἁψίκορος
φιλόζωος
δοξοκόπος
βαρύμηνις
βαρύσπλαγχνος
βαρύθυμος
βαρυπενθὴς
δυσόργητος
ψοφοδεὴς
ὑπερθετικὸς
μελλητὴς

ὕποπτος
ἄπιστος
δύσλυτος
καχυπόνους
δύσελπις
ἀρίδακρυς
ἐπιχαιρέκακος
λελυττηκὼς
παρακεκομμένος
ἀδιατύπωτος
κακομήχανος
αἰσχροκερδὴς
φίλαυτος
ἐθελόδουλος
ἐθέλεχθρος
δημοκόπος

κακοικονόμος
σκληραύχην
θηλυδρίας
ἐξίτηλος
ἐκκεχυμένος
σκωπτικὸς
τρώκτης
ἠλίθιος

βαρυδαιμονίας ἐμπεφορημένος ἀκράτου.

33 “Τοιαῦτα τῆς περικαλλοῦς καὶ περιμαχήτου ἡδονῆς ἐστι τὰ μεγάλα μυστήρια· ἅπερ ἑκοῦσα ἀπεκρύψατο δέει τοῦ μὴ γνόντα σε ἀποστραφῆναι τὴν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ σύνοδον αὐτῆς. τῶν δὲ παρ᾿ ἐμοὶ θησαυριζομένων ἀγαθῶν τὸ πλῆθος ἢ μέγεθος

abandoned
evil-minded
inconsistent
prating
garrulous
a babbler
windy-worded
a flatterer
dull-minded
unconsidering
unforeseeing
improvident
negligent
unpreparing
tasteless
erring
tripping
utterly failing
unregulated
unchampioned
lickerish
easily led
flaccid
pliable
full of cunning
double-minded
double-tongued
plot-hatching
treacherous
rascally
incorrigible
dependent
ever insecure
vagrant
agitated
a creature of impulse
an easy victim
frenzied
fickle
clinging to life
a glory-hunter
violent-tempered
ill-conditioned
sullen
disconsolate
quick to wrath
timorous
dilatory
dawdling
suspicious
faithless
stubborn
evil-thinking
a pessimist
lacrimose
malicious
maniacal
deranged
unformed
mischief-plotting
filthy-lucre-loving
selfish
servile
feud-loving
truckling to the mob
ill-managing
stiff-necked
womanish
decadent
dissolute
a scoffer
a glutton
a simpleton

a mass of misery and misfortune without relief.

"Such then is the true story of that grand pageant which Pleasure, the lovely, the much coveted reveals. This truth she purposely concealed for fear lest, if you knew it, you should eschew association with her. But the riches of goodness that I have stored in my

[167] τίς ἂν ἀξίως εἰπεῖν δυνηθείη; | ἴσασιν οἱ κεκοινω-
νηκότες ἤδη καὶ οἷς ἵλεως ἡ φύσις πάλιν γνώσονται
κληθέντες εἰς μετουσίαν θοίνης, οὐκ ἐξ ἧς αἱ
γαστρὸς ἡδοναὶ πιμπλαμένης τὸ σῶμα πιαίνουσιν,
ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἧς διάνοια ἐντρεφομένη καὶ ἐγχορεύουσα
34 ἀρεταῖς γήθει τε καὶ εὐφραίνεται. VI.
διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα καὶ τὸ πάλαι λεχθέν, ὅτι πέφυκεν
ἐξ ἑαυτῶν φωνὴν ἀφιέναι, κἂν ἡσυχάζηται, τὰ
[168] ὅσια ἅτε[1] ὄντως ἀγαθά, τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν | λόγον ἐῶ·
οὐδὲ γὰρ ἥλιος ἢ σελήνη χρῄζουσιν ἑρμηνέως,
ὅτι τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον, ὁ μὲν ἡμέρας, ἡ δὲ
νυκτὸς ἀνασχόντες, φωτὸς ἐμπιπλᾶσιν· ἀλλ' ἔστιν
αὐτοῖς ἡ ἐπίλαμψις ἀμάρτυρος πίστις ὀφθαλμοῖς
ὤτων ἐναργεστέρῳ κριτηρίῳ βεβαιουμένη.
35 τὸ δὲ δοκοῦν τῶν παρ' ἐμοὶ μάλιστα δυσκολίαν
ἔχειν καὶ χαλεπότητα οὐδὲν ὑποστειλαμένη μετὰ
παρρησίας λέξω· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτό που φαντασίᾳ μὲν
κατὰ τὴν πρόχειρον ἔντευξιν ἀργαλέον εἶναι δοκεῖ,
μελέτῃ δὲ ἥδιστον καὶ ἐξ ἐπιλογισμοῦ συμφέρον.
ἔστι δὲ ὁ ῥᾳστώνης ἐχθρὸς πόνος, πρῶτον καὶ
μέγιστον ἀγαθόν, προσφερόμενος τὸν ἀκήρυκτον
πρὸς ἡδονὴν πόλεμον· ἀρχὴν γάρ, εἰ δεῖ τἀληθὲς
εἰπεῖν, παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἀρετῆς ἁπάσης ὁ θεὸς
ἀνέδειξεν ἀνθρώποις πόνον, οὗ χωρὶς τῶν καλῶν
παρὰ τῷ θνητῷ γένει συνιστάμενον οὐδὲν εὑρήσεις.
36 καθάπερ γὰρ ἄνευ φωτὸς ἀμήχανον ἰδεῖν, μήτε
χρωμάτων μήτε ὀμμάτων ἱκανῶν ὄντων πρὸς
τὴν δι' ὄψεως ἀντίληψιν—δεσμὸν γὰρ ἀμφοῖν προ-

[1] Conj. Wendland τὰ ὅσα παρ' ἐμοί.

[a] See App. p. 490.

treasuries are such in number and greatness that none can tell of them as is their due. They who have already had part in them know them, and they too whose nature is attuned to them shall in their time know them, when they are bidden to sit down at that banquet, where you shall not find the pleasures that only bring the crammed belly and the bloated body, but where the mind ranging amid the virtues and nourished therewith rejoices and is glad.

VI. For this cause and because, as I said before, things holy in virtue of their essential goodness cannot but through their very nature have speech for us, though we pass them by in silence, I say no more about them. For neither do sun and moon need an interpreter, because their rising by day or night fills the whole world with light. Their shining is a proof that needs no further witness, established by the evidence of the eyes, an evidence clearer than the ears can give. But in my store there is one thing[a] which seems especially to involve hardship and discomfort, and this I will tell you frankly without concealment; for though at the first encounter it seems on the surface painful to the imagination, practice makes it sweet and reflection shows it to be profitable. This thing is toil, the first and greatest of blessings, the enemy of ease, waging war to the death against pleasure. For in very truth, God has appointed toil as the beginning of all goodness and true worth to men, and without it you shall find that nothing excellent takes shape amongst mortal men. Toil is like light. Without light we cannot see, and neither the eye nor the colour is capable without the other of creating sight-perception; for before either, Nature created light

ὑπειργάσατο τὸ φῶς ἡ φύσις, ᾧ συνάγεται καὶ ἁρμόζεται πρὸς χρῶμα ὀφθαλμός, ἐπὶ σκότους δὲ ἡ δύναμις ἀνωφελὴς ἑκατέρου—, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμα τῶν κατ' ἀρετὴν πράξεων ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι ἀδυνατεῖ μὴ προσχρησάμενον ὥσπερ φωτὶ συνεργῷ τῷ πόνῳ· μέσος γὰρ διανοίας ἱδρυθεὶς καὶ οὗ διάνοια ὀρέγεται καλοῦ, τὸ μὲν ἔνθεν τὴν δὲ ἔνθεν ἐπισπασάμενος ἑκατέρᾳ χειρὶ φιλίαν καὶ συμφωνίαν αὐτὸς ἀγαθὰ τέλεια ἐργά-
37 ζεται. VII. ὁποῖον γὰρ ἂν ἐθέλῃς ἑλοῦ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ τοῦθ' εὑρήσεις πόνῳ περιγινόμενόν τε καὶ βεβαιούμενον· εὐσέβεια καὶ ὁσιότης ἀγαθά, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄνευ θεραπείας θεοῦ τυχεῖν αὐτῶν δυνάμεθα, θεραπεία δὲ ταῖς ἐν πόνοις φιλοτιμίαις συνέζευκται· φρόνησις καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ δικαιοσύνη καλαὶ πᾶσαι καὶ τέλεια ἀγαθά, ἀλλ' οὐ τῇ ῥᾳστώνῃ ταῦτα ληπτά, ἀγαπητὸν δέ, εἰ συνεχέσι ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις ἐξευμενισθήσονται[1]· τὴν πρὸς θεὸν καὶ ἀρετὴν ἀρέσκειαν ὥσπερ τινὰ ἔντονον καὶ σφοδρὰν ἁρμονίαν οὐ δυνηθὲν τὸ πάσης ψυχῆς ὄργανον ἐνεγκεῖν ἀνείθη καὶ ἐχαλάσθη πολλάκις, ὡς ἀπὸ
38 τῶν ἄκρων ἐπὶ τὰς μέσας καταβῆναι τέχνας· ἀλλ' ὅμως κἀν ταῖς μέσαις πολὺς ὁ κάματος· ἴδε τοὺς τῶν ἐγκυκλίων καὶ τῶν λεγομένων προπαιδευμάτων ἀσκητὰς ἅπαντας· ἴδε τοὺς γεωπόνους καὶ ὅσοι τὸν βίον ἔκ τινων ἐπιτηδεύσεων πορίζουσιν· οὗτοι τῶν φροντίδων οὐ μεθ' ἡμέραν οὐ νύκτωρ ἀφίστανται, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ
[169] τοῦτο χειρὶ καὶ ποδὶ καὶ | πάσῃ δυνάμει κακοπαθοῦντες οὐ παύονται, ὡς καὶ θάνατον ἀντικατ-
39 αλλάττεσθαι πολλάκις. VIII. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ

[1] Conj. Mangey ἐξευμαρισθήσονται.

to be a link between the two, a link which unites and connects the colour and the eye, while in the darkness each is powerless. And so the eye of the soul cannot grasp the practices of virtue, unless it take toil, like light, to co-operate with it. Toil stands midway between the mind and the excellence which the mind desires : with its right hand it draws to it the one, with its left the other, and of itself it creates that perfection of goodness, friendship and harmony between the two. VII. Choose any good thing whatsoever, and you will find that it results from and is established through toil. Piety and holiness are good, but we cannot attain to them save through the service of God, and service calls for earnest toil as its yoke-fellow. Prudence, courage, justice, all these are noble and excellent and perfectly good, yet we cannot acquire them by self-indulgent ease. It is much indeed if by constant care and practice there arise a kindliness between us and them. Service pleasing to God and to virtue is like an intense and severe harmony,[a] and in no soul is there an instrument capable of sustaining it, without such frequent relaxation and unstringing of the chords that it descends from the higher forms of art[a] to the lower. Yet even these lower forms demand much toil. Consider all who practise the school-learning, the so-called preparatory culture. Consider the labourers on the soil and all who get their living by some trade or profession. Neither by day nor night do they cast their cares aside, but always and everywhere they cease not to bear affliction, as the saying goes, in hand and foot and every faculty, so that often they choose death in its stead.

[a] See App. p. 490.

τοῖς ψυχὴν τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἵλεων σπουδάζουσι λαβεῖν θεραπευτέον ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὰς ψυχῆς ἀρετάς, οὕτως καὶ τοῖς ἵλεων τὸ σῶμα ἔχειν προαιρουμένοις θεραπευτέον ὑγίειαν καὶ τὰς συγγενεῖς αὐτῇ δυνάμεις, καὶ δῆτα θεραπεύουσι μετ' ἀνηνύτων καὶ ἀπαύστων πόνων οἷς φροντὶς εἰσέρχεται τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς δυνάμεων, ἐξ ὧν συνεκρίθησαν.

40 "Πάντ' οὖν ὁρᾷς τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐκ πόνου καθάπερ ἐκ ῥίζης μιᾶς ἐκπεφυκότα καὶ βλαστάνοντα· ὃν μήποτε ὑπομείνῃς μεθέσθαι, λήσῃ γὰρ ἅμ' αὐτῷ καὶ σωρὸν ἀθρόον[1] ἀγαθῶν μεθέμενος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ σύμπαντος ἡγεμὼν οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ κόσμου καὶ ἔχει καὶ παρέχει οἷς ἂν ἐθέλῃ τὰ ἀγαθὰ μετὰ πάσης εὐμαρείας, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν τοσοῦτον κόσμον ἄνευ πόνων πάλαι μὲν εἰργάζετο, νυνὶ δὲ καὶ εἰσαεὶ συνέχων οὐδέποτε λήγει—θεῷ γὰρ τὸ ἀκάματον ἁρμοδιώτατον—, θνητῷ δὲ οὐδενὶ κτῆσιν ἀγαθοῦ δίχα πόνων ἡ φύσις δεδώρηται, ἵνα καὶ ταύτῃ τὸ μακάριον ἐν τοῖς οὖσι μόνον ὁ θεὸς

41 εὐδαιμονίζηται. IX. δοκεῖ γάρ μοι πόνος τὴν αὐτὴν προσφέρεσθαι δύναμιν τροφῇ· καθάπερ γοῦν αὕτη τὸ ζῆν ἐξήρτηκεν ἑαυτῆς συναρτήσασα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἅπαντα ἔργα τε καὶ πάθη, οὕτως καὶ πόνος ἐκκεκρέμακεν ἑαυτοῦ τὰ ἀγαθά. ὥσπερ οὖν τοῦ ζῆν τοῖς γλιχομένοις τροφῆς οὐκ ἀμελητέον, οὕτως τοῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν κτήσεως ἐφιεμένοις πόνου προνοητέον· ὃ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν τροφή, τοῦτο πρὸς τὸ καλὸν πόνος.

"Ἑνὸς οὖν ὄντος αὐτοῦ μηδέποτε ὀλιγωρήσῃς,

42 ἵνα τὰ πάντα ἀγαθὰ ἀθρόα καρπώσῃ. οὕτως καὶ

[1] Perhaps ἀθρόων with Pap.

[a] *Cf.* Seneca, *Ep.* 34. 1 "generosos animos labor nutrit."

VIII. But just as those who desire to have their soul attuned and favourable must needs cultivate the virtues of the soul, so those who purpose to gain the same qualities for their body must cultivate health and the powers that accompany health ; and indeed all who take thought for the faculties within them, which combine to make them what they are, do so cultivate them with constant and unremitting toil.

"You see then how good things spring and grow from toil as from a single root. Never therefore suffer yourself to lose your hold of toil, for with it will be lost, though you little know it, a vast heap of blessings. The Ruler indeed of all heaven and the world possesses and provides to whom He wills good things in ease absolute. Without toil He made this vast universe long ages ago, and now without toil He holds it in perpetual existence, for to know no weariness is an attribute most fitting to God. But it is not so with mortals. To them Nature has given no good thing to be acquired without toil, that here too God may alone be accounted happy—the one and only blessed being. IX. Toil, it seems to me, assumes a function similar to that of food.[a] As food has made itself a necessity to life and has joined in the same connexion with itself all the conditions active or passive that are involved in life, so toil has made all good things dependent on itself. And therefore just as those who seek to live must not neglect food, so those who desire the acquisition of the good must make provision for toil, for it bears to the noble and excellent the same relation as food does to life.

"Never then despise toil, that from the one you may reap a multitude, even the harvest of every

γενέσει νεώτερος ὢν πρεσβύτερος νομισθήσῃ καὶ τῶν πρεσβείων ἀξιωθήσῃ· ἐὰν δὲ βελτιούμενος ἀεὶ πρὸς τέλος ἀφίκῃ, οὐ μόνον σοι τὰ πρεσβεῖα ὁ πατὴρ ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πατρῷα χαριεῖται πάντα, καθάπερ καὶ τῷ τὰς ἕδρας τοῦ πάθους καὶ βάσεις πτερνίζοντι Ἰακώβ, ὃς ὡμολόγησεν ὃ ἔπαθεν εἰπὼν 'ὅτι ἠλέησέ με ὁ θεός, καὶ ἔστι μοι πάντα' (Gen. xxxiii. 11), δογματικῶς ἅμα καὶ παιδευτικῶς· ἐν γὰρ τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐλέῳ τὰ πάντα ὁρμεῖ.

43 X. μεμάθηκε δὲ ταῦτα παρὰ τῷ πάππῳ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παιδείας[1] Ἀβραάμ, ὃς τῷ πανσόφῳ Ἰσαὰκ δίδωσι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα πάντα (Gen. xxv. 5), οὐδὲν ὑπολειπόμενος τῶν ὑπαρκτῶν τοῖς νόθοις καὶ πλαγίοις τῶν παλλακῶν λογισμοῖς, ἀλλὰ μικρὰ χαρίζεται καὶ μικροῖς ἐκείνοις· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπαρκτά, αἱ τέλειοι ἀρεταί, μόνου τοῦ τελείου καὶ γνησίου κτήματα, τὰ δὲ μέσα τῶν καθηκόντων [170] ἐφαρμόττει καὶ τοῖς | ἀτελέσι μέχρι τῶν ἐγκυκλίων προπαιδευμάτων ἐλθοῦσιν, ὧν Ἄγαρ καὶ Χεττοῦρα κατάρχουσιν, ἡ μὲν Ἄγαρ παροίκησις, ἡ δὲ

44 Χεττοῦρα θυμιῶσα· ὁ γὰρ τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις μόνοις ἐπανέχων παροικεῖ σοφίᾳ, οὐ κατοικεῖ, καθάπερ τινὰ ὀδμὴν ἡδεῖαν ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὴν θεωρίαν γλαφυρότητος ἐπιπέμπων τῇ ψυχῇ· τροφῶν δὲ οὗτος, οὐκ ὀσμῶν, δεῖται πρὸς τὸ ὑγιαίνειν· ὄσφρησιν δὲ ὑπηρέτιν γεύσεως καθάπερ βασιλίδος προγευστρίδα ὑπήκοον λέγεται ἡ φύσις εὐμηχάνως δημιουργῆσαι·

[1] Conj. Mangey παρὰ τῷ πάππῳ ἑαυτοῦ παιδευθείς: Cohn πάππῳ <καὶ διδασκάλῳ> τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παιδείας.

[a] If the text is right, the idea may be that the father is the father of his children's education, and his father of

good thing. And so though you be the younger in birth you shall be accounted the elder and judged worthy of the elder's place. And if your life to the end be a progress to the better, the Father will give you not only the birthright of the elder, but the whole inheritance, even as He did to Jacob, who overthrew the seat and foundation of passion—Jacob who confessed his life's story in the words 'God has had mercy on me and all things are mine' (Gen. xxxiii. 11), words of sound doctrine and instruction for life, for on God's mercy, as a sure anchor, all things rest. X. He had learnt this lesson under Abraham, who stood as grandfather to his early training,[a] who gave to wise Isaac all his wealth (Gen. xxv. 5), leaving nothing for the false bastard thoughts bred of his concubines, save little gifts for those of little worth. For the real wealth, the perfect virtues, are the possessions of the perfect and true-born only. But the secondary things of the daily duties are fitting to the imperfect, who have risen only to the primary learning of the schools. These have Hagar and Keturah for their source, Hagar meaning 'sojourning,'[b] and Keturah 'incense-burning.' For he who contents himself with the secular learning only does but sojourn and is not domiciled with wisdom. He sheds indeed over the soul, as it were, a sweet fragrance from the exquisite niceties of his studies, but yet it is food, not fragrance, that he needs for his health. The sense of smell is but the minister of the sense of taste; she is as the slave who tastes each dish before the monarch; we call her indeed a useful

his, and that therefore the grandfather's influence extends to his grandson.

[b] See on *L.A.* iii. 244.

τὰς δὲ ἡγεμονίδας πρὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἀεὶ θερα-
πευτέον καὶ τὰς αὐτόχθονας πρὸ τῶν παροίκων
ἐπιστήμας."
45 Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ νοῦς ἀποστρέφεται μὲν ἡδονήν,
ἁρμόζεται δὲ ἀρετῇ, τὸ κάλλος ἄπλαστον καὶ
γνήσιον καὶ ἱεροπρεπέστατον αὐτῆς κατανοήσας.
τότε καὶ γίνεται ποιμὴν προβάτων, τῶν κατὰ
ψυχὴν ἀλόγων δυνάμεων ἡνίοχός τε καὶ κυβερ-
νήτης, οὐκ ἐῶν αὐτὰς ἀτάκτως φέρεσθαι καὶ πλημ-
μελῶς δίχα ἐπιστάτου καὶ ἡγεμόνος, ἵνα μὴ
καθάπερ τινὰ ἀπροστασίαστον καὶ ἀνεπιτρόπευτον
ὀρφανίαν ὑποστάντες ἐρημίᾳ συμμάχων οἱ ἀφη-
νιασταὶ τρόποι παραπόλωνται. XI.
46 οἰκειότατον γοῦν ὁ ἀσκητὴς ὑπολαβὼν ἀρετῇ τὸ
ἔργον ὑπομένει "ποιμαίνειν τὰ πρόβατα Λάβαν"
(Gen. xxx. 36), τοῦ χρώμασι καὶ σχήμασι καὶ
συνόλως ἀψύχοις σώμασιν ἐγκειμένου, καὶ οὐχ
ἅπαντα ἀλλὰ "τὰ ὑπολειφθέντα" (ib.). τί δὲ τοῦτ'
ἐστί; διττὸν εἶναι πέφυκε τὸ ἄλογον, τὸ μὲν παρὰ
τὸν αἱροῦντα λόγον, ὡς ἄλογον τὸν ἄφρονά φασί
τινες, τὸ δὲ κατ' ἐκτομὴν λόγου, ὡς τῶν ζῴων τὰ
47 μὴ λογικά. τὰς μὲν οὖν ἀλόγους αὐτοῦ φοράς,
λέγω δὲ τὰς παρὰ τὸν αἱροῦντα λόγον δυνάμεις,
οἱ υἱοὶ Λάβαν "τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἀποστάντες ὁδὸν"
(ib.) τημελοῦσι, συμβολικῶς ἅπαντα χωρισθέντες
τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ σπουδαίου· τριμερὴς γὰρ ὁ χρόνος,
ἐκ παρεληλυθότος καὶ ἐνεστῶτος καὶ μέλλοντος
συνεστώς· τὰς δὲ καθ' ἑτέραν ἐκδοχὴν ἀλόγους,

[a] See App. p. 490.

contrivance of nature, yet only an underling. And the sovereign forms of knowledge must ever be served above the subject, and the native-born above the alien sojourner."

After hearing this [a] the mind turns away from pleasure and cleaves to virtue, for it apprehends her loveliness, so pure, so simple, so holy to look upon. Then too it becomes a shepherd of the sheep, one who guides the chariot and controls the helm of the unreasoning faculties of the soul, who does not suffer them to be swept away in disorder and discord, without a master or a guide, lest their unbridled instincts come to perdition, when they lack the protection and control of a father's hand, and help is far away. XI. Surely when the Practiser submitted to "shepherd the sheep of Laban" (Gen. xxx. 36), of him, that is, whose thoughts are fixed on colours and shapes and lifeless bodies of every kind, he felt that it was a task most congenial to virtue. And note that he does not tend all the sheep, "but those that were left" (*ibid.*). What does this mean? Unreasonableness is of two kinds. One is the unreasonableness that defies convincing reason, as when men call the foolish man unreasonable. The other is the state from which reason is eliminated, as with the unreasoning animals. The first of these, the unreasoning movements of the mind, I mean the activities which defy convincing reason, are the charge of the sons of Laban, who were "three days' journey away" (*ibid.*), a parable which tells us that they were severed for all time from a good life; for time has three divisions, compounded as it is of past, present and future. But the forces which are unreasonable in the other

οὐχ αἳ παρὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον εἰσὶν ἀλλ' ὅσαι μὴ
λογικαί, ὧν καὶ τὰ ἄλογα ζῷα κοινωνεῖ, ὁ ἀσκητὴς
ἐπιμελείας ἀξιώσει, τὰ σφάλματα αὐταῖς οὐκ ἀπὸ
κακίας πανούργου μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπὸ ἀμαθίας ἀν-
48 αγώγου προσγεγενῆσθαι νομίζων. ἀμαθία μὲν οὖν,
ἀκούσιον καὶ κοῦφον πάθος, θεραπείαν οὐ δύσεργον
ἔχει διδασκαλίαν· πανουργία δέ, ἑκούσιον ψυχῆς
ἀρρώστημα, χαλεπὴν εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντως ἀνίατον
ἐργάζεται τὴν ἀποτροπήν.
[171] Ἅτε οὖν παρὰ πανσόφῳ | πατρὶ παιδευθέντες οἱ
τοῦδε υἱεῖς, κἂν εἰς τὸ Αἰγύπτιον φιλοπαθὲς σῶμα
καταβῶσι καὶ τῷ σκεδαστῇ τῶν καλῶν ἐντύχωσι
Φαραώ, ὃς βασιλεὺς εἶναι δοκεῖ τοῦ συγκρίτου
ζῴου, μηδὲν καταπλαγέντες τῆς ἀφθόνου παρα-
σκευῆς ὁμολογήσουσιν ὅτι "ποιμένες προβάτων
εἰσίν, οὐ μόνον αὐτοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν"
49 (Gen. xlvii. 3). XII. καίτοι γε οὐκ ἄν τις ἐπ'
ἀρχῇ καὶ δυναστείᾳ τοσοῦτον αὔχημά ποτε αὐχῆσαι,
ὅσον ἐπὶ τῷ ποιμένες εἶναι οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι. τοῖς
μέντοι δυναμένοις λογίζεσθαι σεμνότερον βασι-
λείας ἐστὶ τὸ ἔργον, ἰσχῦσαι, καθάπερ πόλεως ἢ
χώρας, σώματός τε καὶ αἰσθήσεων καὶ γαστρὸς
καὶ τῶν μετὰ γαστέρα ἡδονῶν καὶ παθῶν τῶν
ἄλλων καὶ γλώττης καὶ συνόλως ἅπαντος τοῦ
συγκρίματος εὐτόνως καὶ σφόδρα ἐρρωμένως καὶ
πάλιν ἐπιεικῶς ἀφηγήσασθαι· πῇ μὲν γὰρ ἐπαν-
ιέναι δεῖ καθάπερ ἡνίοχον τοῖς ὑπεζευγμένοις τὰς
ἡνίας, πῇ δὲ ἀντισπᾶν καὶ ἀναχαιτίζειν, ὁπότε
πλείων ἡ πρὸς τὰ ἐκτὸς ῥύμη[1] καὶ φορὰ σὺν
ἀφηνιασμῷ γίνοιτο.
50 Ἄγαμαι καὶ τοῦ θεσμοφύλακος Μωυσέως, ὃς

[1] mss. ῥώμη (some ὁρμή).

sense, not those which defy right reason, but merely lack reason (and in these the unreasoning animals participate), the Man of Practice will not disdain to tend. He feels that error has befallen them not so much through sinful wickedness, as through untutored ignorance. Ignorance is an involuntary state, a light matter, and its treatment through teaching is not hopeless. But wickedness is a wilful malady of the soul, and its action is such that to remove it is hard, if indeed it is not hopeless.

Thus Jacob's sons, trained under an all-wise father, may go down into Egypt the passion-loving body, and meet with Pharaoh the disperser of the good, who deems himself the sovereign of the animal and the composite; yet they will not be dazzled by his lavish pomp and splendour, but will confess that they are shepherds of sheep, and not only they, but their fathers also (Gen. xlvii. 3). XII. And indeed no one could in power and sovereignty find so lofty a cause for boasting as these can in their office as shepherds. Surely to those who can reason it is a prouder task than kingship to have the strength to rule, as a king in a city or country, over the body and the senses and the belly, and the pleasures whose seat is below the belly, and the other passions and the tongue and in general all our compound being—aye and to rule them with vigour and with a right strong yet ever-gentle hand. For like the charioteer he must sometimes give the rein to his team, sometimes pull them in and draw them back, when they rush too wildly in unreined career towards the world of external things.

How admirable again is the example of Moses

*μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἡγούμενος τὸ ποιμαίνειν περι-
ῆψεν ἑαυτῷ τὸ ἔργον· τῶν γὰρ τοῦ περιττοῦ Ἰοθὸρ
ἐπιστατεῖ καὶ ἀφηγεῖται δογμάτων, ἄγων αὐτὰ
ἀπὸ τῶν ὀχλικῶν τῆς πολιτείας σπουδασμάτων
εἰς ἐρημίαν τοῦ μὴ ἀδικεῖν· "ἦγε γὰρ τὰ πρόβατα*
51 *ὑπὸ τὴν ἔρημον"* (Exod. iii. 1). *παρὸ καὶ
ἀκολουθεῖ "βδέλυγμα Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι πάντα
προβάτων ποιμένα"* (Gen. xlvi. 34)· *τὸν γὰρ
κυβερνήτην καὶ ὑφηγητὴν τῶν καλῶν ὀρθὸν λόγον
βδελύττεται πᾶς φιλοπαθής, καθάπερ οἱ τῶν παίδων
ἀφρονέστατοι τοὺς διδασκάλους καὶ παιδαγωγοὺς
καὶ πάντα νουθετητὴν καὶ σωφρονιστὴν λόγον.
Μωυσῆς δὲ "τὰ βδελύγματα Αἰγύπτου θύσειν τῷ
θεῷ"* (Exod. viii. 26) *φησί, τὰς ἀρετάς, ἄμωμα
καὶ πρεπωδέστατα ἱερεῖα, ἃ βδελύττεται πᾶς
ἄφρων.*

*Ὥστ' εἰκότως ὁ τὰ ἄριστα ἐπὶ θεὸν ἀναφέρων
Ἄβελ ποιμὴν κέκληται, ὁ δὲ ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὸν
ἴδιον νοῦν γῆς ἐργάτης ὁ Κάιν. τί δέ ἐστι τὸ
γῆν ἐργάζεσθαι* (Gen. iv. 2), *διὰ τῶν προτέρων
βιβλίων ἐδηλώσαμεν.*

52 XIII. *"Καὶ ἐγένετο μεθ' ἡμέρας, ἤνεγκε Κάιν
ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς θυσίαν τῷ κυρίῳ"*
(Gen. iv. 3). *δύο ἐγκλήματα τοῦ φιλαύτου· ἓν
μὲν τὸ "μεθ' ἡμέρας" ἀλλ' οὐκ εὐθὺς εὐχαρι-
στῆσαι θεῷ, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ "ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν"*
[172] *ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων | καρπῶν, ὧν σύνθετον
ὄνομα πρωτογεννήματα. ἑκατέραν δὲ τῶν αἰτιῶν*

[a] See App. p. 490.

[b] The LXX. has *τῶν Αἰγυπτίων*. Note that this verse does not assist the argument, which shows the nature of the shepherd's calling, but is introduced and explained merely because of its close resemblance to Gen. xlvi. 34.

the guardian of the laws, who, judging the business of a shepherd to be a great and glorious task, took it upon himself. For we find him ruling and leading the thoughts and counsels of the worldling [a] Jethro and drawing them away from the absorbing crowd and tumult of the citizen's life into the lonely land where injustice is not; for he "led his sheep down into the wilderness" (Exod. iii. 1). It is a natural consequence of what we have said, that "every shepherd of sheep is an abomination to the Egyptians" (Gen. xlvi. 34). For the right reason which is our pilot and guide to things excellent is an abomination to all who love the passions, just as really foolish children hate their teachers and tutors and every form of reason which would warn them and bring them to wisdom. And we find Moses saying that "he will sacrifice to God the abominations of Egypt" (Exod. viii. 26),[b] meaning thereby the virtues, these offerings unblemished and most worthy, which are the abominations of every fool.

With good reason then is Abel who refers all that is best to God called a shepherd, while Cain who refers them to himself and his own mind is called a tiller of the soil. But what is meant by a tiller of the soil (Gen. iv. 2) I have shown in earlier books.[c]

XIII. "And it came to pass after some days that Cain brought of the fruits of the earth as an offering to God" (Gen. iv. 3). There are two charges against the self-lover: one that he made his thank-offering to God "after some days," instead of at once; the other that he offered of the fruits and not of the earliest fruits, or in a single word the first-fruits. Let us

[c] See App. pp. 490, 491.

ἐρευνήσωμεν, καὶ προτέραν γε τὴν προτέραν τῇ
53 τάξει. φθάνοντας καὶ προεκτρέχοντας δεῖ πράττειν τὰ καλὰ τῶν ἔργων βραδυτῆτα καὶ μέλλησιν ἐκποδὼν ποιουμένους· ἔργον δὲ ἄριστον ἡ πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον καλὸν ἀνυπέρθετος ἀρέσκεια. διὸ καὶ προστέτακται· "ἐὰν εὔξῃ εὐχήν, μὴ χρονίσῃς[1] ἀποδοῦναι αὐτήν" (Deut. xxiii. 21). εὐχὴ μὲν οὖν ἐστιν αἴτησις ἀγαθῶν παρὰ θεοῦ,[2] ἡ δὲ πρόσταξις τυχόντα τῶν ἐλπισθέντων στεφανῶσαι θεόν, μὴ ἑαυτόν, καὶ εἰ οἷόν τε ἀχρόνως καὶ ἀμελλητὶ
54 στεφανῶσαι. τῶν δὲ μὴ κατορθούντων ἐν τούτῳ οἱ μὲν διὰ λήθην ὧν εὖ πεπόνθασι μεγάλου κτήματος εὐχαριστίας ἐσφάλησαν, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ σφοδρᾶς οἰήσεως ἑαυτοὺς τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους ἐνόμισαν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ ὄντως αἴτιον, τρίτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἳ τούτων μὲν κουφότερον ἁμάρτημα τῶν δὲ προτέρων βαρύτερον δρῶσιν· ἀναγράφοντες γὰρ αἴτιον τῶν καλῶν τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν φασιν εἰκότως τυχεῖν αὐτῶν, εἶναι γὰρ φρόνιμοι καὶ ἀνδρεῖοι καὶ σώφρονες καὶ δίκαιοι, ὥστε ἄξιοι διὰ ταῦτα καὶ παρὰ θεῷ χαρίτων νομισθῆναι.

55 XIV. πρὸς ἕκαστον οὖν ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος ἀντιταχθείς φησι πρώτῳ τῷ μνήμην μὲν ἀνῃρηκότι λήθην δὲ ζωπυροῦντι· "μὴ φαγών, ὦ οὗτος, καὶ ἐμπλησθεὶς καὶ οἰκίας καλὰς οἰκοδομήσας καὶ κατοικήσας καὶ τῶν προβάτων σου καὶ βοῶν αὐξηθέντων καὶ ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσίου καὶ πάντων ὅσα σοί ἐστι

[1] MSS. μὴ χρονίσαι (some οὐ χρονίσεις).

[2] After θεοῦ perhaps a lacuna is to be supplied from Ambrose who has "votum est autem postulatio bonorum a deo *cum solvendi promissione*."

examine each of the charges, taking first that which is first in order. Our good deeds should be done in the spirit of eagerness to anticipate the call, and with slackness and hesitation put right away; and the best of deeds is to do without delay the pleasure of the Primal Good. And therefore it is commanded "if thou vowest a vow, delay not to pay it" (Deut. xxiii. 21). Now the vow is a request of good things from God, and this commandment bids him, whose hopes have been fulfilled, to give the crown of honour to God and not to himself, and to give that crown, if it may be, without delay or loss of time.

Those who fail in this fall into three classes. The first are those who through forgetfulness of their blessings have lost that great treasure, the spirit of thankfulness. The second are those who through overweening pride think that they themselves have caused the good things which have fallen to them, and not He who is the true cause. But there is also a third class who are guilty of an error less blameworthy than these last, but more so than the first named. They accept the Ruling Mind as the cause of the good, yet they say that these good things are their natural inheritance. They claim that they are prudent, courageous, temperate, and just, and are therefore in the sight of God counted worthy of His favours.

XIV. To each of these the sacred pages have their counterword. To the first, with whom memory is dead and oblivion strong and living, the scripture says: "When thou hast eaten and art filled, and hast built fair houses and dwelt in them, and thy sheep and oxen are increased, and thy silver and gold and all that thou hast is multiplied, take heed lest thou

πληθυνθέντων ὑψωθῇς τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ ἐπιλάθῃ κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου" (Deut. viii. 12-14). πότε οὖν οὐκ ἐπιλήσῃ θεοῦ; ὅταν μὴ ἐπιλάθῃ σεαυτοῦ· μεμνημένος γὰρ τῆς ἰδίου περὶ πάντα οὐδενείας μεμνήσῃ καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ πάντα ὑπερβολῆς.

56 τὸν δὲ ἑαυτὸν νομίζοντα τῶν συμβαινόντων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιον σωφρονίζει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· "μὴ εἴπῃς," φησίν "ἡ ἰσχύς μου ἢ τὸ κράτος τῆς χειρός μου ἐποίησέ μοι πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν ταύτην· ἀλλὰ μνείᾳ μνησθήσῃ κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου τοῦ διδόντος σοι ἰσχὺν ποιῆσαι δύναμιν"

57 (Deut. viii. 17, 18). ὁ δὲ ἀξιόχρεων ἑαυτὸν ὑπολαμβάνων κτήσεως καὶ ἀπολαύσεως ἀγαθῶν χρησμῷ μεταδιδαχθήτω λέγοντι· "οὐχὶ διὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην σου οὐδὲ διὰ τὴν ὁσιότητα τῆς καρδίας σου εἰσπορεύῃ τὴν γῆν κληρονομῆσαι αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ" πρῶτον μὲν "διὰ τὴν ἀνομίαν τῶν ἐθνῶν τούτων," ὄλεθρον κακίαις ἐπάγοντος θεοῦ, ἔπειθ' "ἵνα στήσῃ τὴν διαθήκην, ἣν ὤμοσε τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν" (Deut. ix. 5). διαθήκη δ' ἐστὶ [173] θεοῦ συμβολικῶς | αἱ χάριτες αὐτοῦ, θέμις δὲ οὐδὲν ἀτελὲς αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι, ὥσθ' ὁλόκληροι καὶ παντελεῖς αἱ τοῦ ἀγενήτου δωρεαὶ πᾶσαι· ὁλόκληρον δὲ ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἀρετὴ καὶ αἱ κατ' ἀρετὴν πράξεις.

58 Ἐὰν οὖν λήθην καὶ ἀχαριστίαν καὶ φιλαυτίαν καὶ τὴν γεννητικὴν τούτων κακίαν[1] ἀνέλωμεν οἴησιν, οὐκέτι διαμέλλοντες ὑστεριοῦμεν γνησίου θεραπείας, ἀλλ' ὑπερτροχάζοντες καὶ ὑπερπηδῶντες τὰ ἐν γενέσει, πρὶν ἀσπάσασθαί τι τῶν θνητῶν, ἐντευξόμεθα τῷ δεσπότῃ παρεσκευακότες ἑτοίμους τὰ

[1] Cohn suggests τούτων τῶν κακιῶν.

be uplifted in thy heart and forget the Lord thy God" (Deut. viii. 12-14). When then wilt thou not forget God? Only when thou dost not forget thyself. For if thou rememberest thine own nothingness in all things, thou wilt also remember the transscendence of God in all things. But him that believes himself to be the cause of the good things which befall him the scripture recalls to wisdom thus: "Say not 'my strength or the might of my hand hath gotten me all this power,'[a] but thou shalt keep ever in remembrance the Lord thy God who gave thee strength to get power" (Deut. viii. 17 f.). The third, he, that is, who thinks himself worthy of the possession and enjoyment of good, may learn a better lesson from the oracle which says "Not for thy righteousness nor for the holiness of thy heart dost thou go into the land to inhabit it," but first "because of the iniquity of these nations," since God visited their wickedness with destruction, and next "that he might establish the covenant which he sware to our fathers" (Deut. ix. 5). Now the covenant of God is an allegory of His gifts of grace, and it may not be that any of His gifts should be imperfect. Thus, all the bounty of the Uncreated must be perfect and complete. But amongst all existing things the one that is complete is virtue and virtuous actions.[b]

If then we destroy forgetfulness and ingratitude and self-love and their parent vice, vainglory, we shall no longer through backwardness fall short of true service, but passing over things created, and staying not to embrace aught that is mortal, we shall run and leap to meet our Master, having made

[a] Or "wealth."

[b] See App. p. 491.

59 κελευόμενα ποιεῖν ἑαυτούς. XV. καὶ γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ τάχους καὶ προθυμίας πάσης ἐλθὼν παρακελεύεται τῇ ἀρετῇ Σάρρᾳ σπεῦσαι καὶ φυρᾶσαι τρία μέτρα σεμιδάλεως καὶ ποιῆσαι ἐγκρυφίας (Gen. xviii. 6), ἡνίκα ὁ θεὸς δορυφορούμενος ὑπὸ δυεῖν τῶν ἀνωτάτω δυνάμεων ἀρχῆς τε αὖ καὶ ἀγαθότητος εἷς ὢν ὁ μέσος τριττὰς φαντασίας ἐνειργάζετο τῇ ὁρατικῇ ψυχῇ, ὧν ἑκάστη μεμέτρηται μὲν οὐδαμῶς—ἀπερίγραφος γὰρ ὁ θεός, ἀπερίγραφοι δὲ καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ—, μεμέτρηκε δὲ τὰ ὅλα· ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀγαθότης αὐτοῦ μέτρον ἀγαθῶν ἐστιν, ἡ δὲ ἐξουσία μέτρον ὑπηκόων, ὁ δὲ ἡγεμὼν αὐτὸς ἁπάντων καὶ σωμάτων καὶ ἀσωμάτων, δι' ὃν καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις κανόνων καὶ παραπηγμάτων λαβοῦσαι λόγον τὰ μεθ' αὐτὰς
60 ἐσταθμήσαντο. τὰ δὴ τρία μέτρα ταῦτα καλὸν ἐν ψυχῇ ὥσπερ φυραθῆναί τε καὶ συνενεχθῆναι, ἵνα πεισθεῖσα τὸν ἀνωτάτω εἶναι θεόν, ὃς ὑπερκέκυφε τὰς δυνάμεις ἑαυτοῦ καὶ χωρὶς αὐτῶν ὁρώμενος καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ἐμφαινόμενος, δέξηται χαρακτῆρας ἐξουσίας τε καὶ εὐεργεσίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν τελείων μύστις γενομένη τελετῶν μηδενὶ προχείρως ἐκλαλῇ τὰ μυστήρια, ταμιευομένη δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ ἐχεμυθοῦσα ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ φυλάττῃ·
[174] γέγραπται γὰρ | "ἐγκρυφίας ποιεῖν,"[a] ὅτι κεκρύφθαι δεῖ τὸν ἱερὸν περὶ τοῦ ἀγενήτου καὶ τῶν δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ μύστην λόγον, ἐπεὶ θείων παρακαταθήκην
61 ὀργίων οὐ παντός ἐστι φυλάξαι. XVI. τὸ γὰρ τῆς ἀκράτορος ψυχῆς νᾶμα ἔξω ῥέον διὰ στόματός τε καὶ γλώττης πάσαις ἀκοαῖς ἐπ-

[a] Philo deduces an allegory from ἐγκρυφίας (so the LXX.) which means "cakes baked in the ashes."

ourselves ready to do His bidding. XV. For Abraham went with all zeal and speed and eagerness and bade Sarah (that is Virtue) hasten and knead three measures of meal and make "buried"[a] cakes (Gen. xviii. 6), when God came attended by His two highest potencies, sovereignty and goodness, and He, the one between the two, called up before the eye of the soul, which has power to see, three separate visions or aspects. Each of these aspects, though not subject itself to measurement—for God and His potencies are alike uncircumscribed—is the measure of all things. His goodness is the measure of things good, His sovereignty of its subjects, and the Ruler Himself is the measure of all things corporeal and incorporeal, and it is to serve Him that these two potencies assume the functions of rules and standards, and measure what lies within their province.[b]

It is well that these three measures should be as it were kneaded and blended in the soul, that she, convinced that God who is above all exists—God who overtops His potencies in that He is visible apart from them and yet is revealed in them—may receive the impression of His sovereignty and beneficence. Thus too, being admitted into the inmost mysteries, she will learn not to blab or babble them thoughtlessly, but to store them up and guard them in secrecy and silence. For it is written "make buried cakes," because the sacred story that unveils to us the truth of the Uncreated and His potencies must be buried, since the knowledge of divine rites is a trust which not every comer can guard aright.

XVI. The stream that issues through the mouth and tongue of the ill-controlled soul floods in wherever

[b] Or "the things below them."

ἀντλεῖται, ὧν αἱ μὲν εὐρυχώρους δεξαμενὰς ἔχουσαι τὸ ἐπεισχεόμενον φυλάττουσιν, αἱ δὲ διὰ στενότητα πόρων ἀδυνατοῦσιν ἄρδεσθαι· τὸ δ' ὑπερβλύζον ἀκατασχέτως ἐκχεόμενον σκίδναται πάντῃ, ὡς ὑπαναπλεῖν καὶ ἐπινήχεσθαι τὰ κεκρυμμένα καὶ φορυτοῦ τρόπον εἰκαίου τὰ πάσης ἄξια σπουδῆς
62 μετὰ συρμοῦ καταφέρεσθαι. παρό μοι δοκοῦσιν ὀρθῶς βεβουλεῦσθαι οἱ πρὸ τῶν μεγάλων τούτων τὰ μικρὰ μυστήρια μυηθέντες· "ἔπεψαν γὰρ τὸ σταῖς αὐτῶν, ὃ ἐξήνεγκαν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, ἐγκρυφίας ἀζύμους" (Exod. xii. 39), τουτέστι τὸ ἀτίθασον καὶ ὠμὸν πάθος κατειργάσαντο ὥσπερ τροφὴν λόγῳ πεπαίνοντι, καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς πεπάνσεως καὶ βελτιώσεως ἔκ τινος θείας κατοκωχῆς γεγενημένον οὐκ ἐξελάλησαν, ἀλλὰ ἐν ἀποκρύφοις αὐτὸν ἐθησαυρίσαντο, οὐκ ἐπαρθέντες τῇ τελετῇ, ὑπενδόντες δὲ καὶ ταπεινωθέντες τὸ
63 αὔχημα. XVII. πρὸς οὖν εὐχαριστίαν καὶ τιμὴν τοῦ παντοκράτορος εὔζωνοι καὶ εὐτρεπεῖς ἀεὶ γινώμεθα μέλλησιν παραιτούμενοι. καὶ γὰρ τὸ Πάσχα, τὴν ἐκ παθῶν εἰς ἄσκησιν ἀρετῆς διάβασιν, προστέτακται ποιεῖσθαι "τὰς ὀσφῦς περιεζωσμένους" ἑτοίμως πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν ἔχοντας, καὶ τὸν σάρκινον ὄγκον, "τὰ ὑποδήματα" λέγω,[1] περιειληφότας ἀκλινῶς καὶ παγίως ἑστῶσι[2] "τοῖς ποσί," καὶ τὴν παιδείαν "διὰ χειρὸς" ἔχοντας "ῥάβδον" πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ πραγμάτων πάντων ἄπταιστον κατόρθωσιν, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον "μετὰ σπουδῆς" ἐντραφῆναι (Exod.

[1] MSS. λόγῳ.
[2] Pap. ἑστῶτες, from which Wendland conj. ἑστῶτας.

there are ears to hear. Some of these have spacious cisterns which retain the influx. Others, because the passages are narrow, cannot imbibe the stream, and the overflow pouring forth unchecked is dispersed in all directions, while to its surface rise and float the secret truths, and thus like a mass of flotsam our most precious treasures are borne away in the current.

And therefore they, who became partakers in the lesser before the greater mysteries,[a] judged wisely, as I think, for they "baked[b] their dough which they brought out of Egypt into buried unleavened cakes" (Exod. xii. 39), that is, they kneaded the savage untamed passion with aid of reason that softened it as though it were food. And the method by which they softened it and wrought it to something better was revealed to them by divine inspiration, and they did not utter it aloud, but treasured it in silence. Their hearts were not lifted up by the revelation; rather they were bowed in submission, and all proud thoughts were humbled.

XVII. Let us then say nay to all hesitation, and present ourselves ever up-girded and ready to give thanks and honour to the Almighty. For we are bidden to keep the Passover, which is the passage from the life of the passions to the practice of virtue, "with our loins girded" ready for service. We must grip the material body of flesh, that is the sandals,[a] with "our feet," that stand firm and sure. We must bear "in our hands the staff" of discipline, to the end that we may walk without stumbling through all the business of life. Last of all we must eat our

[a] See App. p. 491.

[b] Philo in the following words plays with the double sense of πέσσω, (a) bake, (b) ripen and thus soften.

xii. 11)· διάβασις γάρ ἐστιν οὐ θνητή, ἐπεὶ τοῦ ἀγενήτου καὶ ἀφθάρτου τὸ Πάσχα εἴρηται· καὶ σφόδρα προσηκόντως· οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστι τῶν καλῶν, ὃ μὴ θεοῦ τε καὶ θεῖον.

64 Ταχέως οὖν αὐτὸ ἀναζήτησον, ὦ ψυχή, καθάπερ ὁ ἀσκητὴς Ἰακώβ, ὃς πυνθανομένου τοῦ πατρὸς "τί τοῦτο ὃ ταχὺ εὗρες, ὦ τέκνον;" δογματικῶς ἀποκρίνεται "ὃ παρέδωκε κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ" (Gen. xxvii. 20)· πολλῶν γὰρ ἔμπειρος [175] πραγμάτων γεγονὼς | ἠπίστατο, ὅτι ἃ μὲν ἂν διδῷ γένεσις ψυχῇ χρόνῳ μακρῷ βεβαιοῦται, ὥσπερ οἱ τὰς τέχνας καὶ τὰ τῶν τεχνῶν παραγγέλματα τοῖς μανθάνουσι παραδιδόντες· οὐ γὰρ εὐθὺς[1] ὥσπερ οἱ προχέοντες εἰς ἄγγος ἰσχύουσιν ἀποπληρῶσαι τὴν τῶν εἰσαγομένων διάνοιαν· ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἡ πηγὴ τῆς σοφίας, ὁ θεός, παραδιδῷ τὰς ἐπιστήμας τῷ θνητῷ γένει, παραδίδωσιν ἀχρόνως· οἱ δ' ἅτε τοῦ μόνου σοφοῦ μαθηταὶ γεγονότες εὐφυεῖς ταχέως τὰς εὑρέσεις ὧν ἐζήτησαν ἔλαβον.

65 XVIII. πρώτη δὲ τῶν εἰσαγομένων ἀρετὴ τὸ διδάσκαλον ὡς ἔνεστι τέλειον ἀτελεῖς μιμεῖσθαι γλίχεσθαι. ὁ δὲ διδάσκαλος φθάνει καὶ τὸν χρόνον οὐδ' ὅτε τὸ πᾶν ἐγέννα συνεργήσαντα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτὸς γινομένῳ τῷ κόσμῳ συνυφίστατο· ὁ γὰρ θεὸς λέγων ἅμα ἐποίει, μηδὲν μεταξὺ ἀμφοῖν τιθείς· εἰ δὲ χρὴ δόγμα κινεῖν ἀληθέστερον, ὁ λόγος ἔργον ἦν αὐτοῦ. λόγου δὲ ὀξυκινητότερον οὐδὲν καὶ παρὰ τῷ θνητῷ γένει, παραμείβεται γὰρ ἡ ῥύμη τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς 66 φθάνουσα κατάληψιν. ὥσπερ οὖν τὰ διὰ κρουνῶν

[1] To avoid the loose construction Cohn suggests παραδιδόντες οὐ [γὰρ] εὐθύς.

meal "in haste" (Exod. xii. 11). For it is no mortal passage, since it is called the passover of the Uncreate and Immortal one. And right fitly is it so called, for there is no good thing which is not divine and is not of God.

Be this then thy quest, my soul, and that quickly, even as it was with the Practiser Jacob. He, when his father asked him "What is this that thou hast found so quickly, my son?" replied (and the words convey an important truth), "It is what the Lord God set before me" (Gen. xxvii. 20). Long experience had taught him that what the world of creation gives [a] to the soul it makes secure [a] only after long time, as it is with those who impart the arts and their rules to their pupils. They cannot at once fill to the brim the mind of the beginners,[b] as one fills a vessel. But when the fountain of wisdom, God, imparts each form of knowledge to the mortal race, He needs not time for the work. Such persons become apt disciples of the only wise Being and discover quickly what they seek. XVIII. Now the first virtue of beginners[b] is to desire that their imperfection may imitate as far as possible the perfection of the teacher. But the divine Teacher is swifter even than time, for not even when He created the Universe did time co-operate with Him, since time itself only came into being with the world. God spake and it was done—no interval between the two—or it might suggest a truer view to say that His word was deed. Now even amongst us mortals there is nothing swifter than word, for the outrush of the parts of speech leaves behind the hearer's understanding of them. As the perennial streams which pour through the

[a] Or "offers . . . carries out." [b] Or "pupils."

ἐκχεόμενα ἀέναα ῥεῖθρα ἄληκτον ἔχει τὴν φοράν, ἐπικαταλαμβάνοντος ἀεὶ τὴν λῆξιν τοῦ ἐπιόντος ῥεύματος, οὕτως ἡ τοῦ λόγου πλήμμυρα, ὅταν ἄρξηται φέρεσθαι, τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν τῷ ὀξυκινητοτάτῳ διανοίᾳ, ὃ καὶ τὰς πτηνὰς παραμείβεται φύσεις, συντρέχει. καθάπερ οὖν ὁ ἀγένητος φθάνει πᾶσαν γένεσιν, οὕτως καὶ ὁ τοῦ ἀγενήτου λόγος παραθεῖ τὸν γενέσεως, κἂν ὀξύτατα ἐπὶ νεφῶν καταφέρηται· διὸ καὶ παρρησιάζεται φάσκων· "ἤδη ὄψει, εἰ ἐπικαταλήψεταί σε ὁ λόγος μου ἢ οὔ" (Num. xi. 23), ὡς πάντα ἐφθακότος καὶ κατειληφότος τοῦ
67 θείου λόγου. εἰ δὲ ὁ λόγος ἔφθακε,
πολὺ μᾶλλον ὁ λέγων αὐτός, καθάπερ ἐν ἑτέροις μαρτυρεῖ φάσκων· "ὧδε ἐγὼ ἕστηκα ἐκεῖ πρὸ τοῦ σέ" (Exod. xvii. 6)· δηλοῖ γὰρ ὅτι πρὸ παντὸς ὑφέστηκε τοῦ γενομένου καὶ ὁ ἐνταῦθα ὢν κἀκεῖ καὶ ἀλλαχόθι καὶ πανταχοῦ πεπληρωκὼς πάντα διὰ πάντων καὶ οὐδὲν ἔρημον ἑαυτοῦ καταλελοιπὼς
68 ὑπάρχει· οὐ γάρ φησιν "ὧδε ἐγὼ στήσομαι καὶ
ἐκεῖ," ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ὅτε πάρειμι ἕστηκα κατὰ τὸν
[176] αὐτὸν | χρόνον κἀκεῖθι, ἀλλ' οὐ μεταβατικῶς
κινούμενος, ὡς τὸν μὲν ἐπιλαμβάνειν τὸν δὲ ἀπολείπειν τόπον, ἀλλὰ τονικῇ χρώμενος τῇ κινήσει.

Λεόντως οὖν μιμούμενοι τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς φύσιν οἱ ὑπήκοοι παῖδες ἀμελλητὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς πάσης τὰ καλὰ δρῶσιν, ὧν ἔργον ἐστὶ κάλλιστον ἡ
69 ἀνυπέρθετος θεοῦ τιμή. XIX. Φαραὼ

[a] Literally, "overtakes their cessation."

[b] The LXX. has ὅδε for ὧδε and of course does not intend the meaning which Philo deduces of the omnipresence of God. Similarly the elliptical phrase πρὸ τοῦ σέ means "before

outlets of their springs never cease their motion, and cannot rest, for the oncoming flow ever impels them,[a] so the current of words, when it begins to move, keeps pace with that swiftest of things in us—swifter than the flight of birds—the understanding. Thus as the Uncreated anticipates all created being, so the word of the Uncreated outruns the word of the created, though that ride with all speed upon the clouds. Therefore it is that He does not hesitate to say, "now thou shalt see if my word shall overtake thee or not" (Numb. xi. 23), implying that the divine word has outrun and overtaken all things.

But if the word has proved swifter than all, much more is it so with Him who speaks, as He testifies in another place. "Here I stand there before thou wast" (Exod. xvii. 6).[b] He shows hereby that His subsistence is before all created being, and that He who is here exists also there and elsewhere and everywhere, for He has filled all wholly and entirely and left nothing where His presence is not. For He does not say "I will stand here and there," but even now, when I am present here, I stand at the same time there also. My motion is not one of transference in space, where the traveller leaves one place when he occupies another, but it is a motion of self-extension [c] and self-expansion.

Necessarily then do His loyal children imitate their Father's nature and, with a forwardness that brooks no delay, do what is excellent, and the most excellent deed of all is before aught else to honour God. XIX. But Pharaoh the "Disperser

thou comest," but the next words show that Philo took it as in the translation. *Cf. L.A.* iii. 4.

[c] See App. p. 491.

δὲ ὁ σκεδαστὴς τῶν καλῶν ἀχρόνων δυνάμεων φαντασίαν οὐχ οἷός τε ὢν δέξασθαι, τὰ ψυχῆς ὄμματα πεπηρωμένος, οἷς μόνοις αἱ ἀσώματοι καταλαμβάνονται φύσεις, οὐδὲ ὠφεληθῆναι δι' ἀχρόνων ὑπομένει, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἀψύχοις δόξαις, λέγω δὲ "βατράχοις," πιεσθεὶς ἦχον καὶ ψόφον ἔρημον καὶ κενὸν πραγμάτων ἀποτελούσαις, εἰπόντος Μωυσέως "τάξαι πρὸς μέ, πότε εὔξομαι περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν θεραπόντων σου, ἀφανίσαι τοὺς βατράχους" (Exod. viii. 9), δέον ἐν ἀνάγκαις σφοδραῖς ὄντα εἰπεῖν "εὐθὺς εὔχου," ὑπερτίθεται λέγων "εἰς αὔριον," ἵνα διὰ πάντων τὴν ὁμαλότητα
70 τῆς ἀθεότητος διαφυλάξῃ. τοῦτο σχεδὸν ἅπασι παρακολουθεῖ τοῖς ἐπαμφοτερισταῖς, κἂν μὴ διὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων ὁμολογῶσιν· ἐπειδὰν γὰρ συμβῇ τι τῶν ἀβουλήτων, ἅτε μὴ πεπιστευκότες παγίως τῷ σωτῆρι θεῷ πρότερον καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν γενέσει βοηθείας, ἰατρούς, βοτάνας, φαρμάκων συνθέσεις, δίαιταν ἠκριβωμένην, τἄλλα πάνθ' ὅσα παρὰ τῷ θνητῷ γένει βοηθήματα· κἂν ἄρα εἴπῃ τις "καταφεύγετε, ὦ μάταιοι, ἐπὶ τὸν μόνον ἰατρὸν ψυχῆς ἀρρωστημάτων μεθέμενοι τὴν ἀπὸ γενέσεως τῆς παθητῆς ψευδώνυμον ὠφέλειαν," γελῶσι καὶ χλευάζουσιν ἐπιφωνοῦντες "ταῦτα εἰς αὔριον," ὡς οὐδ' ἂν εἴ τι γένοιτο περὶ τῆς τῶν παρόντων κακῶν
71 ἀποτροπῆς ἱκετεύσοντες τὸ θεῖον· ἀλλ' ὅταν γε τῶν ἀνθρωπείων μηδὲν ἀρκῇ, πάντα δὲ εὑρίσκηται καὶ τὰ παιώνια βλαβερά, τηνικαῦτα ἐξ ἀμηχανίας πολλῆς, τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὠφέλειαν ἀπογνόντες, ἄκοντες οἱ δείλαιοι καταφεύγουσιν ὀψὲ καὶ μόλις ἐπὶ τὸν μόνον σωτῆρα θεόν· ὁ δ' ἅτε εἰδὼς τὰ ἐν

of the excellent" cannot receive the vision of timeless values, for the eyes of the soul, whereby alone incorporeal natures are apprehended, are blinded in him, nor will he bring himself to get help through what is timeless. When he is plagued by the frogs, those soulless opinions and conjectures, which produce noise and sound destitute and devoid of all reality, Moses said to him, "Appoint with me a time, when I shall pray for thee and thy servants, to take away the frogs" (Exod. viii. 9). Though in that dire strait he should have said "Pray for me at once," he puts it off with the word "to-morrow." He must needs maintain to the end the unchanging level of his godlessness. This is the case with almost all the Facing-both-ways, even though they do not admit it in so many words. When anything befalls them which they would not, since they have never had any firm faith in God their Saviour, they first flee to the help which things created give, to physicians, herbs, drug-mixtures, strict rules of diet, and all the other aids that mortals use. And if one say to them, "Flee, ye fools, to the one and only physician of soul-sickness and cast away the help, miscalled as such, of the created and the mutable," they laugh and mock, and all their answer is "to-morrow for that," as though, whatever may befall, they would never supplicate God to save them from the ills that beset them. But when no human help avails, and all things, even healing remedies, prove to be but mischievous, then out of the depths of their helplessness, despairing of all other aid, still even in their misery reluctant, at this late hour they betake themselves to the only saviour, God. He, for He

ἀνάγκαις ἄκυρα οὐκ ἐπὶ πάντων χρῆται τῷ νόμῳ,
ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὧν καλὸν καὶ συμφέρον χρῆσθαι.

Πᾶς οὖν λογισμὸς κτήματα ἑαυτοῦ τὰ πάντα
ἡγούμενος καὶ ἑαυτὸν προτιμῶν θεοῦ—τὸ γὰρ
"μεθ' ἡμέρας θύειν" τοιοῦτον ὑποβάλλει νοῦν—
ἔνοχος ὢν ἀσεβείας ἴστω γραφῇ.

72 XX. Καὶ τὸ μὲν πρότερον ἔγκλημα τοῦ Κάιν
ἀποχρώντως ἐπεξήλθομεν. τὸ δ' ἕτερον τοιοῦτον
ἦν· τί δήποτε ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ
[177] τῶν πρώτων καρπῶν φέρει τὴν ἀπαρχήν; μήποτε
διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν, ἵνα τὰ μὲν πρεσβεῖα γενέσει
δῷ, τοῖς δὲ δευτερείοις ἀμείψηται τὸ θεῖον· ὥσπερ
γὰρ εἰσί τινες οἳ ψυχῆς προκρίνουσι σῶμα, τῆς
δεσποίνης τὸ δοῦλον, οὕτως εἰσὶν οἳ γένεσιν μᾶλλον
θεοῦ τετιμήκασι, πρόσταγμα τεθεικότος τοῦ νομο-
θέτου, ἵνα "τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τῶν πρωτογεννημάτων
τῆς γῆς εἰσφέρωμεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον κυρίου τοῦ
θεοῦ" (Exod. xxiii. 19), ἀλλὰ μὴ ἑαυτοῖς ἐπι-
γράφωμεν· καὶ γὰρ δίκαιον τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς κινη-
μάτων ὅσα πρῶτα ἢ τάξει ἢ δυνάμει θεῷ ὁμολογεῖν.
73 τὰ μὲν οὖν τῇ τάξει πρῶτα τοιαῦτά
ἐστιν, οἷς κατὰ τὴν πρώτην γένεσιν εὐθὺς ἐκοινωνή-
σαμεν, τροφὴ αὔξησις ὅρασις ἀκοὴ γεῦσις ὄσφρησις
ἁφὴ λόγος νοῦς, μέρη ψυχῆς, μέρη σώματος, αἱ
τούτων ἐνέργειαι, συνόλως κινήσεις αὐτῶν καὶ
σχέσεις αἱ κατὰ φύσιν· τὰ δὲ ἀξιώματι καὶ δυνάμει
τὰ κατορθώματα, αἱ ἀρεταί, αἱ κατ' ἀρετὰς
74 πράξεις. δίκαιον οὖν ἀπὸ τούτων ἀπ-
άρχεσθαι. αἱ δὲ ἀπαρχαὶ λόγος ἐστὶν ἐκ διανοίας

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[a] A strange use of νόμος, but neither Mangey's εὐμενεια nor Wendland's δυνάμει are satisfactory.

knows that what is done under stress of necessity has no sure foundation, does not in all cases follow His law (of mercy),[a] but only when it may be followed for good and with profit.

So then every imagination which counts that all things are its own possession and honours itself before God—and such a mind is shown by the words "to sacrifice after some days"—may know that it stands in danger to be brought to the judgement-bar for impiety.

XX. We have now sufficiently considered the first charge against Cain. The second was as follows. Why does he make his offering of firstlings from the fruits instead of from the first-fruits? Surely for the same reason, namely to give the first honour to created being and render only the second to God. For as there are some who prefer the body to the soul, the slave to the mistress, so there are those who have honoured the created rather than God. And yet the Lawgiver laid down that we should bring "the firstlings of the first-fruits of the land into the house of the Lord God" (Exod. xxiii. 19), and not ascribe them to ourselves. For it is right that we should acknowledge as belonging to God all the movements of the soul that come first either in order or in value. The first in order are those in which we became at once participators, when we came into existence, taking nourishment, growth, sight, hearing, taste, smell, touch, reason, mind, the parts of the soul, the parts of the body, their activities, in general their natural movements and states. The first in worth and value are righteous conduct, virtues, and virtuous actions. Of these then it is right to offer the firstlings, and the

ἀληθοῦς ἀναπεμπόμενος εὐχαριστητικός· τέμνε δὲ αὐτὸν κατὰ τὰς οἰκείας τομάς, ὅνπερ τρόπον ἡ λύρα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μουσικῆς ὄργανα τέτμηται· τῶν γὰρ ἐν τούτοις φθόγγων καὶ καθ᾿ αὑτὸν ἕκαστος ἥρμοσται καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἑτέρου συμφωνίαν μάλιστα ᾠκείωται, καθάπερ καὶ τῶν ἐν γραμματικῇ στοιχείων τὰ λεγόμενα φωνήεντα, ἃ καὶ καθ᾿ αὑτὰ φωνεῖται καὶ σὺν ἑτέροις ὁλόκληρον ἀποτελεῖ
75 φωνήν. πολλὰς γὰρ δυνάμεις αἰσθητικάς τε καὶ λογικὰς καὶ νοητὰς ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἡ φύσις δημιουργήσασα καὶ πρός τι τῶν οἰκείων ἑκάστην τείνασα ἔργων καὶ πάλιν πάσας ἁρμοσαμένη δι᾿ ἀναλογίας κοινωνίᾳ καὶ συμφωνίᾳ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλας ὀρθότατα ἂν καὶ ἐφ᾿ ἑκάστῃ καὶ ἐφ᾿ ἁπάσαις εὐδαιμονίζοιτο.

76 XXI. Διόπερ "ἐὰν προσφέρῃς θυσίαν πρωτογεννημάτων," οὕτως διαιρεῖ, ὡς ὑφηγεῖται ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος (Lev. ii. 14)· "νέα" τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα "πεφρυγμένα," ἔπειτα "χίδρα," καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν "ἐρικτά." "νέα" μὲν διὰ τόδε· τοὺς τὸν παλαιὸν καὶ γέροντα καὶ μυθώδη χρόνον ἀσπαζομένους, ταχεῖαν δὲ καὶ ἄχρονον θεοῦ δύναμιν μὴ συνεωρακότας ἐκδιδάσκει νέα καὶ ἐπακμάζοντα καὶ ἀνηβῶντα προτρέπων ἐνθύμια λαμβάνειν, ἵνα μὴ παλαιαῖς ἐντρεφόμενοι μυθο-
[178] ποιίαις, | ἃς ὁ μακρὸς αἰὼν ἐπὶ ἀπάτῃ τοῦ θνητοῦ παραδέδωκε, ψευδοδοξῶσιν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ ἀεὶ ἀγήρω [νέου] θεοῦ τὰ νέα καὶ καινὰ ἀγαθὰ μετὰ πάσης ἀφθονίας λαμβάνοντες ἐκδιδάσκωνται μηδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι παρ᾿ αὐτῷ παλαιὸν ἢ συνόλως

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[a] That Philo gives this meaning to χίδρα is clear from 82 ff., but it is difficult to see what process he is thinking

firstlings are the word of thanksgiving, sent up out of a true and sincere mind. This thank-offering we should divide into its proper sections, just as the lyre and other musical instruments have their parts. There each of the notes has music in itself and also is fully adapted to make harmony with another. Or again in the alphabet the vocals or vowels are each sounded by themselves and also with the consonants form entire and single sounds. So with ourselves, for nature has framed in us manifold powers of sense-perception and reason and intelligence, each attuned to some function of its own, and also she has so adjusted them all in due proportion, that they work in unity and harmony with each other. Whether we consider each severally or all together, we may justly say that nature has indeed been happy in her work.

XXI. Wherefore, "if you bring an offering of first-fruits," make such division as Holy Writ prescribes (Lev. ii. 14). First the new, then the roasted, then the sliced,[a] and last the ground. The new is for the following reason. To those who cling to the old-world days with their fabled past and have not realized the instantaneous and timeless power of God, it is a lesson bidding them accept ideas that are new and fresh and in the vigour of youth. It bids them feed no more on effete fables, which the long course of the ages has handed down for the deception of mortal kind, and thus be filled with false opinions, but rather receive in full and generous measure new, fresh, blessed thoughts from the ever ageless God. So shall they be schooled to understand that with Him nothing is ancient, nothing

of. In the LXX. the word properly means "groats" and is the substantive to which the other three are adjectives.

παρεληλυθός, ἀλλὰ γινόμενόν τε ἀχρόνως καὶ ὑφ-
77 εστηκός. XXII. οὗ χάριν καὶ δι' ἑτέρων
φησίν· "ἀπὸ προσώπου πολιοῦ ἐξαναστήσῃ, καὶ
τιμήσεις πρόσωπον πρεσβυτέρου" (Lev. xix. 32),
ὡς παμμεγέθους διαφορᾶς οὔσης· πολιὸς μὲν γὰρ
ὁ μηδὲν ἐνεργῶν ἐστι χρόνος, ἀφ' οὗ μετανίστασθαι
καὶ ἀποδιδράσκειν δεῖ τὴν μυρίους ἀπατῶσαν
ἐκκλίνοντας ὑπόληψιν, ὡς ἄρα τι ποιεῖν οὗτος
πέφυκε· πρεσβύτερος δὲ ὁ τιμῆς καὶ γέρως καὶ
πρεσβείων ἐπάξιος ὤν, ὃν Μωυσῇ τῷ θεοφιλεῖ
δοκιμάζειν ἐπιτέτραπται· "οὓς γὰρ σὺ οἶδας,"
φησίν "οὗτοί εἰσι πρεσβύτεροι" (Num. xi. 16),
ὡς ἂν μηδεμίαν ἀποδεχομένου νεωτεροποιίαν,
ἀλλὰ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτω τιμῆς ἀξίων
78 δογμάτων εἰωθότος ἐρᾶν. ὠφέλιμον μὲν
οὖν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἀρετῆς κτῆσιν τελείας, ἀλλά
τοι πρὸς πολιτείαν, καὶ τὸ παλαιαῖς καὶ ὠγυγίοις
ἐντρέφεσθαι δόξαις καὶ ἀρχαίαν ἀκοὴν ἔργων
καλῶν μεταδιώκειν, ἅπερ ἱστορικοὶ καὶ σύμπαν
τὸ ποιητικὸν γένος τοῖς τε καθ' αὑτοὺς καὶ τοῖς
ἔπειτα μνήμῃ παραδεδώκασιν. ἀλλ' ὅταν γε μὴ
προϊδομένοις μηδὲ ἐλπίσασι φέγγος αἰφνίδιον ἐπι-
λάμψῃ τὸ αὐτομαθοῦς σοφίας, ἢ δὲ τὸ μεμυκὸς ὄμμα
ψυχῆς διοίξασα ἀντὶ ἀκροατῶν θεατὰς ἐπιστήμης
ἐργάσηται τὴν ὠκυδρομωτάτην αἰσθήσεων ὄψιν
πρὸ τῆς βραδυτέρας ἀκοῆς ἐν διανοίᾳ θεῖσα,
79 μάταιον ἔτι διὰ λόγων ὦτα γυμνάζειν. XXIII.

[a] Or perhaps "using another figure," literally "through other things."

at all past, but all is in its birth and existence timeless. XXII. And therefore in another place[a] we find, "thou shalt rise up away from the head of the hoary[b] and thou shalt honour the head of the elder" (Lev. xix. 32). He suggests a vast contrast between the two words. For by "hoary" is meant time which has no activity, from whose presence we must hurry to depart and shun the illusion which deceives the multitude, that time is capable of effecting anything. By "elder" is meant he that is worthy of honour and privilege and high place, and to approve such was the task entrusted to Moses, the friend of God. For "whom thou knowest," it runs, "these are the elders" (Numb. xi. 16), meaning that he would welcome no mere innovation, but his wont is to love the truths that come from older days and are worthy of the highest reverence. No doubt it is profitable, if not for the acquisition of perfect virtue, at any rate for the life of civic virtue, to feed the mind on ancient and time-honoured thoughts, to trace the venerable tradition of noble deeds, which historians and all the family of poets[c] have handed down to the memory of their own and future generations. But when, unforeseen and unhoped for, the sudden beam of self-inspired wisdom has shone upon us, when that wisdom has opened the closed eye of the soul and made us spectators rather than hearers of knowledge, and substituted in our minds sight, the swiftest of senses, for the slower sense of hearing, then it is idle any longer to exercise the ear with words. XXIII. And

[b] The LXX. no doubt means, as in our version, "thou shalt rise up before the hoary head."

[c] *Cf.* description of γραμματική in *De Cher.* 105 and note in App. p. 485.

διὸ καὶ λέγεται· "φάγεσθε παλαιὰ καὶ παλαιὰ παλαιῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παλαιὰ ἐκ προσώπου νέων ἐξοίσετε" (Lev. xxvi. 10), ὡς δέον πολιὸν μὲν μάθημα χρόνῳ μηδὲν ἀρνεῖσθαι πειρωμένους καὶ γράμμασι σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐντυγχάνειν καὶ γνώμαις καὶ διηγήσεσιν ἀρχαιολογούντων παρεῖναι καὶ φιλοπευστεῖν ἀεὶ περὶ τῶν προτέρων καὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ πραγμάτων, τοῦ μηδὲν ἀγνοεῖν ὄντος ἡδίστου, νέας δὲ ὅταν ἀνατείλῃ βλάστας αὐτοδιδάκτου σοφίας ὁ θεὸς ἐν ψυχῇ, τὰ ἐκ διδασκαλίας εὐθὺς περιγράφειν καὶ περισύρειν ὑπονοστοῦντα καὶ ὑπορρέοντα ἐξ ἑαυτῶν· τὸν γὰρ θεοῦ φοιτητὴν ἢ γνώριμον ἢ μαθητὴν ἢ ὅ τι ποτε χρὴ θεμένους ὄνομα καλεῖν αὐτὸν ἀμήχανον ἔτι θνητῶν ὑφηγήσεως ἀνέχεσθαι.

80 XXIV. Ἔστω δὲ ἡ νέα[1] ψυχῆς ἀκμὴ "πεφρυγ-
[179] μένη," τουτέστιν, | ὡς πυρὶ χρυσός, λόγῳ δυνατῷ βεβασανισμένη· τοῦ δὲ βεβασανίσθαι καὶ δεδοκιμάσθαι σημεῖον τὸ πεπηγέναι· καθάπερ γὰρ ὁ τῶν τεθηλότων ἀσταχύων καρπός, ἵνα μηκέτι πλαδᾷ, φρύγεται, τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἄνευ πυρὸς πέφυκε συμβαίνειν, οὕτως καὶ τὴν νέαν πρὸς ἀρετῆς ἀκμὴν ἀνάληψιν[2] δυνατῷ καὶ ἀνικήτῳ λόγῳ χρὴ πάγιον καὶ σταθερωτάτην ἀπεργάζεσθαι· πέφυκε δὲ ὁ λόγος οὐ μόνον πήττειν ἐν ψυχῇ τὰ θεωρήματα διαρρεῖν αὐτὰ κωλύων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀλόγου
81 πάθους ὁρμὴν εὐτόνως ἐκλύειν. ἴδε γέ τοι τὸν

[1] MSS. νέας.
[2] Conj. Mangey ἀνάληψιν ἀκμήν.

[a] Literally "old of old." The real meaning of the verse

so we read "ye shall eat the old and older yet,[a] but also bear out the old from the face of the new" (Lev. xxvi. 10). The meaning is this. We must not indeed reject any learning that has grown grey through time, nay, we should make it our aim to read the writings of the sages and listen to proverbs and old-world stories from the lips of those who know antiquity, and ever seek for knowledge about the men and deeds of old. For truly it is sweet to leave nothing unknown. Yet when God causes the young shoots of self-inspired wisdom to spring up within the soul, the knowledge that comes from teaching must straightway be abolished and swept off. Ay, even of itself it will subside and ebb away. God's scholar, God's pupil, God's disciple, call him by whatever name you will, cannot any more suffer the guidance of men.

XXIV. Again, let the fresh ripeness of the soul be "roasted," that is tested by the might of reason, as gold is tested by the furnace. The sign that it has been tested and approved is its solidity. For as the grain in the full-grown ears is roasted, that it may no longer be soft and flaccid, and this result can only be attained by fire, so too young aspirations to the ripeness of virtue must be made solid and steadfast by the invincible power of reason. Reason indeed not only can harden[b] within the soul the principles it has acquired and save them from looseness and dissolution, but it also has the vigour[c] to reduce to weakness the impulses of unreasoning passion. Behold the Practiser Jacob "seething"

presumably is "you shall have so much old corn, that you will cast it away when the new is ready."

[b] Or "fix." [c] See App. p. 491.

ἀσκητὴν Ἰακὼβ ἕψοντα αὐτήν, ὅτε καὶ "Ἠσαῦ
ἐκλείπων" (Gen. xxv. 29) εὐθὺς εὑρίσκεται·
θεμέλιος γὰρ τῷ φαύλῳ κακία καὶ πάθος, οἷς
ἐπερηρεισμένος, ὅταν ἐξηττημένα καὶ παρειμένα
ὑπὸ τοῦ αἱροῦντος αὐτὰ λόγου θεάσηται, κατὰ τὸ
εἰκὸς ἐκλύεται τοὺς ἰσχύος δεσμούς.
82 Ἔστω δὲ ὁ λόγος μὴ συγκεχυμένος, ἀλλ' εἰς
οἰκείους τετμήσθω τομάς· τὸ "χίδρα" ποιῆσαι
τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν· ἐν ἅπαντι μὲν γὰρ ἀταξίας ἄμεινον
ἡ τάξις, μάλιστα δ' ἐν ὀξύτατα ῥεούσῃ φύσει, τῷ
λόγῳ. XXV. διαιρετέον οὖν αὐτὸν εἰς κεφάλαια
προηγούμενα, τὰ λεγόμενα ἐμπίπτοντα, καὶ ἐφ-
αρμοστέον ἑκάστῳ τὰς οἰκείους κατασκευάς, μι-
μουμένους τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τῶν τοξοτῶν, οἳ σκοπόν
τινα προθέμενοι τὰ βέλη πάντα ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀφιέναι
πειρῶνται· σκοπῷ μὲν γὰρ τὸ κεφάλαιον, βέλεσι
83 δὲ ἔοικεν ἡ κατασκευή. οὕτως τὸ πάντων ἄριστον
ἐσθημάτων ὁ λόγος ἁρμονίως συνυφαίνεται· καὶ
γὰρ τὰ πέταλα τοῦ χρυσίου κατατέμνει ὁ νομο-
θέτης εἰς τρίχας, ὥστε συνυφῆναι τὰ οἰκεῖα ἐπι-
μόνως (Exod. xxxvi. 10)· οὕτως ὁ τιμιώτερος
χρυσοῦ λόγος ποίκιλμα ὢν ἐκ μυρίων ἰδεῶν ἐπ-
αινετῶς τελεσιουργεῖται, ὅταν ἄχρι τῶν λεπτοτάτων
κεφαλαίων τμηθεὶς τρόπον τινὰ νήματος δέξηται
84 καθάπερ κρόκην ἀποδείξεις ἐναρμονίους. προσ-
τέτακται μέντοι καὶ "τὸ ὁλοκαύτωμα δείραντας εἰς
μέλη διανεῖμαι" (Lev. i. 6), ὑπὲρ τοῦ πρῶτον μὲν
γυμνὴν ἄνευ σκεπασμάτων, ὅσα περιποιοῦσιν αἱ

[a] The whole verse in the LXX. is ἥψησε δὲ Ἰακὼβ ἕψημα, ἦλθε δὲ Ἠσαῦ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου ἐκλείπων. Philo deduces from the juxtaposition of Jacob's "seething" and Esau's "fainting" that the bad man's power is destroyed by the fire of reason, which subdues passion.

[b] See App. p. 491.

these impulses, and then the next moment we find Esau "fainting" (Gen. xxv. 29).[a] For the bad man is based on vice and passion and, when he sees the props on which he rests conquered and robbed of strength by the reason which convicts them, he must in natural consequence find the bonds loosened which knit his strength together.

But again this reason[b] must not be a confused mass, but divided into its proper sections. This is the meaning of "slicing" the offering. Order is better than disorder everywhere, but especially in that nature of swiftest outflow, reason. XXV. It must therefore be divided into main or leading thoughts, the so-called 'relevant topics,' and each of these must be provided with its properly constructed development. In this way we shall imitate the skilled archers, who set up a target and aim all their arrows at it. For the main thought is like the target and the developments like the arrows. In this way we weave into a harmonious whole that noblest of garments, reason; for the lawgiver cuts the plate of gold into threads, to weave them each in its fitting place into a lasting whole (Exod. xxxvi. 10). And so reason, which is more precious than gold, the rich and manifold union of myriad forms, is brought to its excellent perfection, if first it be shredded into the utmost nicety of leading thoughts and points, and then through these the arguments and demonstrations which they need are passed like woof through the warp. Further, there is the command that, when the victim destined to be burnt whole has been flayed, it shall be divided into its limbs (Lev. i. 6), in order that first the soul should be seen in its nakedness without the covering with

κεναὶ καὶ ψευδεῖς ὑπολήψεις, τὴν ψυχὴν φανῆναι,
εἶτα δέξασθαι διαιρέσεις ἐμμελεῖς· τὸ γὰρ ὅλον
καὶ ἐν γένει ἡ ἀρετή, ἣ κατὰ εἴδη τὰ προσεχῆ
[180] τέμνεται, φρόνησιν καὶ σωφροσύνην | καὶ ἀνδρείαν
καὶ δικαιοσύνην, ἵνα τὰς καθ' ἕκαστον εἰδότες
διαφορὰς ἑκούσιον ὑπομένωμεν λατρείαν καὶ καθ'
85 ὅλα καὶ κατὰ μέρη. σκοπῶμεν δὲ ὅπως
τήν τε ψυχὴν γυμνάσομεν, μὴ ὁλοσχερέσι καὶ
ἀτυπώτοις φαντασίαις ὑποσυγχύτως ἀπατᾶσθαι,
τομὰς δὲ καὶ διαιρέσεις ποιουμένην τῶν πραγ-
μάτων διακύπτειν εἰς ἕκαστον ἔρευναν μετὰ πάσης
ἀκριβείας λημψομένην, τόν τε λόγον, ὃς [οὐκ]
ἀτάκτῳ ῥύμῃ φερόμενος ἀσάφειαν ἐργάσεται, τμη-
θεὶς δὲ εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα κεφάλαια καὶ τὰς εἰς ἕκαστον
ἀποδείξεις ὥσπερ ζῷον ἐκ τελείων μερῶν συμ-
παγεὶς ἁρμοσθήσεται.

Χρὴ δέ, εἰ μέλλει ταῦτα παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς βεβαιοῦ-
σθαι, μελέτην καὶ ἄσκησιν αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι συνεχῆ·
ὡς τό γε ἁψαμένους ἐπιστήμης μὴ ἐπιμεῖναι ὅμοιόν
ἐστι τῷ γευσαμένους σιτίων ἢ ποτῶν εἰς κόρον
86 κωλυθῆναι τραφῆναι. XXVI. μετὰ τὸ "χίδρα"
οὖν ἁρμόττει ποιεῖν "ἐρικτά," τουτέστι μετὰ τὴν
διαίρεσιν ἐνδιατρίβειν καὶ ἐνσχολάζειν τοῖς ἐπι-
νοηθεῖσι· συνεχὴς γὰρ ἄσκησις ἐπιστήμην πάγιον
ἐργάζεται, ὡς ἀμαθίαν ἀμελετησία· μυρίοι γοῦν
ἀθλήσεως ὄκνῳ καὶ τὴν ἐκ φύσεως ἰσχὺν ἐξέλυσαν,
οὓς οὐκ ἐμιμήσαντο οἱ τροφῇ θείᾳ τὴν ψυχὴν τρα-

[a] γυμνάζω in ordinary use means simply "exercise." But there is perhaps a play on its derivation from γυμνός.

which false and idle conjectures invest it, and then be divided as the limbs demand. It is virtue which is the whole and is seen as a genus, and it is then divided into its primary species, prudence, temperance, courage, and justice, so that observing the distinctions between each of these we may undertake willing service to them both severally and together.

Let us see to it that we exercise our soul stripped of its encumbrances,[a] that it be not confused and deceived by vague, wholesale, indiscriminate ideas of things, but may divide and classify such things as come before it, and look closely into each, so that it may make its scrutiny with strictest care. And so too we must train our reason, which so long as it flows in disordered current can only create obscurity, but when divided into its proper heads, with the arguments and demonstrations suited to each, will like a living animal be compacted of parts complete in themselves, and made into a harmonious whole.

Once more, if these things are to be our lasting possession we must continually exercise and discipline ourselves therein. For contact with knowledge without abiding in it is as if we should taste food or drink, and then be barred from receiving its nourishment to the full. XXVI. So after the "slicing" must come the "pounding," that is, after division and classification we must continually dwell in and linger over the thoughts presented to our minds. Continued exercise makes solid knowledge, as its absence makes ignorance. We see how great is the multitude of those who, through shirking bodily training, have enfeebled their natural strength. Not such an example did those follow who fed their

φέντες τῷ λεγομένῳ μάννα· οὗτοι γὰρ ἤλουν καὶ ἔτριβον αὐτὸ ποιοῦντες ἐγκρυφίας (Num. xi. 8), τὸν οὐράνιον ἀρετῆς λόγον ἀνατρίβειν καὶ ἐπιλεαίνειν ἕνεκα τοῦ τυπῶσαι βεβαιότερον τὴν διάνοιαν ἐγνωκότες.

87 Ὅταν οὖν "νέα" τὴν ἀκμὴν καὶ "πεφρυγμένα" τὸν πεπυρωμένον καὶ ἀνίκητον λόγον καὶ "χίδρα" τὴν τομὴν καὶ διαίρεσιν τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ "ἐρικτὰ" τὴν τριβὴν καὶ μελέτην τῶν ἐπινοηθέντων ὁμολογῇς κατὰ θεόν, πρωτογεννημάτων οἴσεις θυσίαν, ὧν πρώτων καὶ ἀρίστων ἐγέννησεν ἡ ψυχή. κἂν ἡμεῖς μέντοι βραδύνωμεν, αὐτὸς οὐ βραδύνει τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους πρὸς θεραπείαν λαβεῖν ἑαυτῷ· "λήψομαι" γάρ φησιν "ὑμᾶς ἐμαυτῷ λαὸν ἐμοὶ καὶ ἔσομαι ὑμῶν θεὸς" (Exod. vi. 7) "καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθέ μοι λαός· ἐγώ εἰμι κύριος" (Lev. xxvi. 12).

88 XXVII. Τὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Κάιν μεθ' ἡμέρας φέροντος θυσίαν ἐγκλήματα τοιαῦτα ἦν. Ἄβελ δὲ ἤνεγκεν οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ οὐδὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ μὲν ἀψύχων ἔμψυχα, ἀντὶ δὲ νεωτέρων καὶ δευτερείων πρεσβύτερα καὶ πρῶτα, ἀντὶ δὲ ἠσθενηκότων ἐρρωμένα καὶ πιότερα· "ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν πρωτοτόκων τῶν προβάτων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν στεάτων αὐτῶν" φησι τὴν θυσίαν ποιήσασθαι
89 (Gen. iv. 4), κατὰ τὸ ἱερώτατον διάταγμα· ἔστι
[181] δὲ τοιόνδε· "καὶ ἔσται" | φησίν "ὡς ἂν εἰσαγάγῃ σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου εἰς τὴν γῆν τῶν Χαναναίων, ὃν τρόπον ὤμοσε τοῖς πατράσι σου, καὶ δῷ σοι αὐτήν, καὶ ἀφελεῖς πᾶν διανοῖγον μήτραν, τὰ

soul with the heavenly food called manna. They ground and chafed it and made of it "buried" cakes (Numb. xi. 8), judging it right to crush and grind virtue's heaven-sent discourse, that its impress on their understanding might be the firmer.

When then you acknowledge as God wills these four things, the 'new,' that is the blossom or vigour; the 'roasted,' that is the fire-tested and invincible reason; the 'sliced,' that is the division of things into their classes; the 'pounded,' that is the persistent practice and exercise in what the mind has grasped, you will bring an offering of the first-fruits, even the first and best offspring of the soul. Yet even if we are slow to do this, He Himself is not slow to take to Himself those who are fit for His service. "I will take you," He says, "to be My people and I will be your God (Exod. vi. 7), and ye shall be to Me a people. I am the Lord" (Lev. xxvi. 12).

XXVII. Such were the charges brought against Cain who made his offering after many days. But Abel brought other offerings and in other manner. His offering was living, Cain's was lifeless. His was first in age and value, Cain's but second. His had strength and superior fatness, Cain's had but weakness.[a] For we are told that Abel offered of the firstlings of the sheep and of their fat (Gen. iv. 4) And thus he fulfilled the sacred ordinance, "It shall be when the Lord thy God has brought thee into the land of the Canaanites, as He sware to thy fathers, and shall give it unto thee, thou shalt separate everything that opens the womb that is

[a] If the tense of ἠσθενηκότων is to be pressed the idea may be that Cain's fruits, not being first-fruits, had lost their strength.

ἀρσενικά, τῷ κυρίῳ, πᾶν διανοῖγον <μήτραν> ἐκ
τῶν βουκολίων ἐν τοῖς κτήνεσιν ὅσα ἂν γένηταί
σοι, τὰ ἀρσενικά, τῷ κυρίῳ. πᾶν διανοῖγον μήτραν
ὄνου ἀλλάξεις προβάτῳ· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀλλάξῃς,
λυτρώσῃ αὐτό" (Exod. xiii. 11-13). τὸ γὰρ
διανοῖγον μήτραν τὸ Ἄβελ δῶρόν ἐστι πρωτό-
τοκον, ὃ πότε καὶ πῶς δεῖ φέρειν ἐρεύνησον.

90 καιρὸς μὲν δὴ ἐπιτηδειότατος, ὅταν
εἰσαγάγῃ σε ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸν σαλεύοντα λόγον, τὴν
τῶν Χαναναίων γῆν, οὐχ ὃν τύχοι τρόπον, ἀλλ'
ὃν ὤμοσεν αὐτός· οὐχ ἵνα σάλον καὶ τροπὴν καὶ
κλύδωνα ὧδε κἀκεῖσε φορούμενος ἀστάτως ὑπο-
μένῃς, ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῦ σάλου παυσάμενος αἰθρίαν
καὶ γαλήνην ἀγάγῃς καὶ ὥσπερ εἰς ὑπόδρομον ἢ
ὕφορμον ἢ ναυλοχώτατον λιμένα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀφ-
ικόμενος βεβαίως ἱδρυθῇς.

91 XXVIII. Ὅταν δὲ λέγῃ τὸν θεὸν ὀμνύναι,
σκεπτέον εἰ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὡς ἐπιβάλλον αὐτῷ
τοῦτο ἀποφαίνεται, ἐπεὶ μυρίοις ἔδοξεν ἀνοίκειον
εἶναι· ὅρκου γὰρ ἔννοιά ἐστι μαρτυρία θεοῦ περὶ
πράγματος ἀμφισβητουμένου· θεῷ δὲ οὐδὲν ἄδηλον
οὐδὲ ἀμφισβητούμενον, ὃς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὰ
γνωρίσματα τῆς ἀληθείας ἐναργῶς ἐπιδέδειχε·
μάρτυρός γε μὴν οὐδενὸς δεῖται, οὐδὲ γάρ ἐστιν
92 ἄλλος θεὸς ἰσότιμος αὐτῷ. ἐῶ λέγειν ὅτι ὁ μαρ-
τυρῶν, παρόσον μαρτυρεῖ, κρείττων ἐστὶ τοῦ
ἐκμαρτυρουμένου· ὁ μὲν γὰρ δεῖται, ὁ δὲ ὠφελεῖ,
τὸ δὲ ὠφελοῦν ἀξιονικότερον[1] ἀεὶ τοῦ δεομένου.

[1] So Cohn from Pap. ἀξιηκότερον. Other mss. ἀξιοπιστότερον.

[a] In the Hebrew "Thou shalt break its neck."

male unto the Lord; everything that opens the womb from thy herds among thy cattle, all that are born to thee, the males to the Lord. All that opens the womb of an ass, thou shalt exchange for a sheep; but if thou dost not exchange it, thou shalt redeem it"[a] (Exod. xiii. 11-13). That which opens the womb is the first-born, that is Abel's gift, and the time and method of this offering is a matter for thy search. The fittest time indeed is when God has brought thee where reason is tossed to and fro, that is to the land of the Canaanites. He brought thee there in no random manner, but according to His own oath. And He brought thee there not to be carried hither and thither, ever passive amid the surge and eddy and swirl, but that quit of the wild sea thou shouldst spend thy days under clear sky and in calm water, and reaching virtue as an anchorage or roadstead, or haven of most sure shelter, mightest there find a stable resting-place.

XXVIII. But, when he tells us that God sware an oath, we must consider whether he lays down that such a thing can with truth be ascribed to God, since to thousands it seems unworthy of Him. For our conception of an oath is an appeal to God as a witness on some disputed matter. But nothing is uncertain or open to dispute with God. He it is who has shown to all others plainly the signs whereby they may know the truth. Truly He needs no witness, for there is no other god to be His peer. I need not argue that he who bears witness, in so far as he is a witness, is superior to him for whom the witness is given. For the one craves help, the other renders it, and the latter condition is always more excellent than the former. But there is

ἄμεινον δὲ οὐδὲ ἐπινοῆσαι θέμις τοῦ αἰτίου, ὁπότε
οὐδὲ ἴσον αὐτοῦ ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὀλίγῳ καταδεέστερον,
ἀλλ' ὅλῳ γένει καταβεβηκὸς ἅπαν τὸ μετὰ θεὸν
93 εὑρίσκεται. τοῦ γε μὴν πιστευθῆναι χάριν ἀ-
πιστούμενοι καταφεύγουσιν ἐφ' ὅρκον ἄνθρωποι· ὁ
δὲ θεὸς καὶ λέγων πιστός ἐστιν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς
λόγους αὐτοῦ βεβαιότητος ἕνεκα μηδὲν ὅρκων
διαφέρειν. καὶ συμβέβηκε τὴν μὲν ἡμετέραν γνώ-
μην ὅρκῳ, τὸν δὲ ὅρκον αὐτὸν θεῷ πεπιστῶσθαι·
οὐ γὰρ δι' ὅρκον πιστὸς ὁ θεός, ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτὸν
94 καὶ ὁ ὅρκος βέβαιος. XXIX. τί οὖν
ἔδοξε τῷ ἱεροφάντῃ παρεισαγαγεῖν αὐτὸν ὀμνύντα;
ἵνα τὴν ἀσθένειαν διελέγξῃ τοῦ γενητοῦ καὶ
διελέγξας ἅμα παρηγορήσῃ· οὐ γὰρ δυνάμεθα
διηνεκῶς τὸ ἄξιον τοῦ αἰτίου κεφάλαιον ἐν ψυχῇ
ταμιεύεσθαι τῇ ἑαυτῶν, τὸ "οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ
θεός" (Num. xxiii. 19), ἵνα πάντα τὰ ἀνθρωπο-
95 λογούμενα ὑπερκύψωμεν· ἀλλὰ πλεῖστον μετ-
[182] έχοντες τοῦ θνητοῦ καὶ χωρὶς ἑαυτῶν | ἐπινοῆσαι
μηδὲν δυνάμενοι μηδὲ ἐκβῆναι τὰς ἰδίους κῆρας
ἰσχύοντες, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ θνητὸν εἰσδυόμενοι καθάπερ
οἱ κοχλίαι καὶ περὶ ἑαυτοὺς ὥσπερ οἱ ἐχῖνοι
σφαιρηδὸν εἱλούμενοι, καὶ περὶ τοῦ μακαρίου καὶ
ἀφθάρτου τὰ αὐτὰ ἃ καὶ περὶ ἑαυτῶν δοξάζομεν
τὴν μὲν ἀτοπίαν τοῦ λόγου, ὅτι ἀνθρωπόμορφον
τὸ θεῖον, ἀποδιδράσκοντες, τὴν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔργος
96 ἀσέβειαν, ὅτι ἀνθρωποπαθές, ἐπαναιρούμενοι. διὰ
τοῦτο χεῖρας πόδας εἰσόδους ἐξόδους ἔχθρας ἀπο-
στροφὰς ἀλλοτριώσεις ὀργὰς προσαναπλάττομεν,

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[a] Literally "everything which comes after God is found to have descended by a whole genus."

nothing better than the Cause—even to think the thought were blasphemy—since there is nothing equal to Him, or even but a little below. The gulf that separates God from what comes next to Him is one of kind and nature.[a] Now men have recourse to oaths to win belief, when others deem them untrustworthy; but God is trustworthy in His speech as elsewhere, so that His words in certitude and assurance differ not a whit from oaths. And so it is that while with us the oath gives warrant for our sincerity, it is itself guaranteed by God. For the oath does not make God trustworthy; it is God that assures the oath. XXIX. Why then did it seem well to the prophet and revealer to represent God as binding Himself by an oath? It was to convince created man of his weakness and to accompany conviction with help and comfort. We are not able to cherish continually in our souls the thought which sums so worthily the nature of the Cause, that "God is not as man" (Numb. xxiii. 19), and thus rise superior to all the human conceptions of Him. In us the mortal is the chief ingredient. We cannot get outside ourselves in forming our ideas; we cannot escape our inborn infirmities. We creep within our covering of mortality, like snails into their shells, or like the hedgehog we roll ourselves into a ball, and we think of the blessed and the immortal in terms of our own natures. We shun indeed in words the monstrosity of saying that God is of human form, but in actual fact we accept the impious thought that He is of human passions. And therefore we invent for Him hands and feet, incomings and outgoings, enmities, aversions, estrangements, anger, in fact such parts and passions as can never

ἀνοίκεια καὶ μέρη καὶ πάθη τοῦ αἰτίου· ὧν ἐστι καὶ ὁ ὅρκος τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐπίκουρος ἀσθενείας.

97 "'Εὰν οὖν δῷ σοι ὁ θεός, ἀφελεῖς" (Exod. xiii. 11) λέγει Μωυσῆς ὁριζόμενος· μὴ δόντος γὰρ οὐχ ἕξεις, ἐπεὶ πάντα αὐτοῦ κτήματα, καὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἡ αἴσθησις καὶ ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ νοῦς καὶ αἱ πάντων ἐνέργειαι καὶ οὐ σὺ μόνος ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅδε ὁ κόσμος· ὅ τι ἂν ἀποτέμνῃ καὶ διαιρῇ, τοῦτ' ἀλλότριον εὑρήσεις· καὶ γὰρ γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ πνεῦμα καὶ οὐρανὸν καὶ ἀστέρας καὶ ζῴων καὶ φυτῶν ἀφθάρτων τε καὶ φθαρτῶν ἰδέας ἁπάσας οὐκ ἴδια κέκτησαι, ὥσθ' ὅ τι ἂν αὐτῶν ἱερείου τρόπον προσάγῃς, τὸ θεοῦ προσάξεις κτῆμα, οὐ τὸ σαυτοῦ.

98 XXX. Παρατήρει δὲ ὡς πάνυ εὐαγῶς ἀπὸ τῶν δοθέντων ἀφελεῖν διείρηται, οὐχ ὅλα προσάγειν τὰ δοθέντα. μυρία γὰρ ἡμῖν ἡ φύσις ἐπιβάλλοντα ἀνθρώπων γένει δεδώρηται, ὧν ἀμέτοχος ἁπάντων ἐστὶν αὐτή, γένεσιν ἀγένητος οὖσα, τροφὴν τροφῆς οὐ δεομένη, αὔξησιν ἐν ὁμοίῳ μένουσα, τὰς κατὰ χρόνον ἡλικίας ἀφαίρεσιν ἢ πρόσθεσιν οὐκ ἐπιδεχομένη, σῶμα ὀργανικὸν ᾧ λαβεῖν, ᾧ δοῦναι, προελθεῖν, ἰδεῖν, ἀκοῦσαι, προσενέγκασθαι τροφήν, τὴν ἐξικμασθεῖσαν ἀποπέμψασθαι πάλιν, ἀτμῶν ἐπικρῖναι διαφοράς, λόγῳ χρήσασθαι γεγωνῷ, πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα τῶν εἰς τὰς ἀναγκαίας ἅμα καὶ ὠφελίμους ὑπηρεσίας ἔνεστιν.

99 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἀδιάφορα ἄν τις εἴποι, τὰ δὲ ὁμολογούμενα

[a] Nature here, as often in Philo, is practically identified with the Divine Agency in things. Thus it is called in 100 "the uncreated." Philo's point is that, if blessings are bestowed on us by nature, it does not follow that they are worthy as offerings to the power behind nature.

belong to the Cause. And of such is the oath—a mere crutch for our weakness.

So to resume, "if God gives such and such to thee, thou shalt separate them" (Exod. xiii. 11). Thus does Moses condition his command. Yes, for unless He gives, thou shalt not have, since all things are His possessions, all things outside thee, and the body, the senses, the reason, the mind, and the functions of them all; and not thyself only, but this world also. And whatsoever thou severest or dividest from it for thy use, thou shalt find to be not thine but Another's. Earth and water, air, sky, stars, all forms of living creatures and plants, things that perish and things that perish not, thou dost not hold in ownership. Therefore whatsoever thou bringest as an offering, thou wilt offer God's possession and not thine own.

XXX. Again note the true sense of holiness shown in the command to separate from what has been given us, not to bring all. For numberless are the gifts assigned by nature[a] to mankind as their portion, in none of which does she herself participate. She is unborn yet gives birth, needs no nourishment yet gives it, changes not yet gives growth, admits neither of diminishment nor increase yet gives the ages of life in succession; she gives that bodily organization which has the power to take and give, advance, see, hear, absorb food, cast it forth when digested, distinguish flavours, utter speech, and do the many other things which belong to those offices which are at once useful and necessary. Perhaps it may be said that, while these are but indifferent things, nature must have taken for her own undoubted forms

ἀγαθὰ δεῖν ἀνῆφθαι τὴν φύσιν. φέρ' οὖν ἐξετάσωμεν καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθῶν τὰ μάλιστα παρ' ἡμῖν θαυμαζόμενα, ὧν ἁπάντων μὲν τυχεῖν κατὰ καιροὺς τοὺς ἁρμόζοντας εὐχόμεθα, τυχόντες
100 δὲ εὐδαιμονέστατοι νομιζόμεθα. τίς οὖν ἀγνοεῖ ὅτι εὐγηρία καὶ εὐθανασία μέγιστα τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἀγαθῶν ἐστιν, ὧν οὐδετέρου κοινωνὸς ἡ φύσις ἀγήρως τε καὶ ἀθάνατος οὖσα; καὶ τί
[183] παράδοξον, εἰ τὸ | ἀγένητον γενητῶν ἀγαθοῖς οὐκ ἀξιοῖ προσχρῆσθαι, ὁπότε καὶ τὸ γενόμενον αὐτὸ κατὰ τὰς τῶν εἰδῶν εἰς ἃ τέμνεται διαφορὰς ἀνομοίων μεταποιεῖται ἀρετῶν; ἄνδρες γοῦν <οὐ> γυναιξὶν οὐδὲ γυναῖκες ἀνδράσιν ἁμιλλήσαιντο ἂν περὶ ὧν μόνοις τοῖς ἑτέροις ἁρμόττει προσεῖναι· ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν γυνάνδρων, εἰ ζηλώσαιεν τὰ ἀνδρῶν, οἱ δὲ ἀνδρογύνων, εἰ τοῖς γυναικῶν ἐπίθοιντο
101 ἐπιτηδεύμασι, δύσκλειαν οἴσονται. ἐνίας δὲ ἀρετὰς ἡ φύσις οὕτως διακέκρικεν, ὡς μηδὲ ἐξ ἐπιτηδεύσεως εἰς κοινωνίαν ἀχθῆναι δύνασθαι· τὸ γοῦν σπείρειν καὶ γεννᾶν κατ' ἀρετὴν ἀνδρῶν ἴδιον, οὐκ ἂν εὕροι τοῦτό γε γυνή· καὶ μὴν ἀγαθὸν οὖσαν γυναικῶν εὐτοκίαν ἀνδρὸς οὐ δέχεται φύσις. ὥστε οὐδὲ τὸ "ὡς ἄνθρωπος"[1] (Deut. i. 31) ἐπὶ θεοῦ κυριολογεῖται, κατάχρησις δὲ ὀνομάτων ἐστὶ παρηγοροῦσα τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀσθένειαν. ἀφελεῖς οὖν, ὦ ψυχή, πᾶν γενητὸν θνητὸν μεταβλητὸν βέβηλον ἀπὸ ἐννοίας τῆς περὶ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγενήτου καὶ

[1] MSS. τὰ ὅσα ἀνθρώποις with variations.

[a] This sentence is added as another illustration of the truth that what are ἀγαθά with men cannot necessarily be predicated of God.

[b] See App. p. 486, note on *De Cher.* 121.

[c] The word 'separate' is clearly used with reference to its

of good. Let us test then, among these truly named "good" things, those which in our judgement are most admired, all of which we pray to attain at their proper seasons, and whose attainment is counted our greatest happiness. Such are a happy old age and a happy death. We all know that they are the greatest blessings that can befall mankind, and yet in neither has nature any share, for she knows neither old age nor death. And why should we count it strange that the uncreated does not deign to use the good which belongs to the created, when even the created itself lays claim to virtues varying according to the different species into which it is divided? Men could not contest with women, nor women with men, the functions which fitly belong only to the other sex. If women should affect the practices of men, or men attempt those of women, they will in each case be held to belie their sex and win an ill name thereby. And some virtues and excellences nature has so discriminated, that not even long practice could make them common property. To sow and beget belongs to the man and is his peculiar excellence, and no woman could attain to it. Again welfare in child-bearing is a good thing belonging to women, but the nature of man admits not of it. Thus even the phrase [a] "as a man" (cherisheth his son) (Deut. i. 31) is not used of God in its literal sense, but is a term used in figure,[b] a word of help to our feeble apprehension. Separate,[c] therefore, my soul, all that is created, mortal, mutable, profane, from thy conception of God the uncreated, the

use in Ex. xiii. 11, though there properly the thing set apart or separated was to be offered, not as here, discarded.

ἀφθάρτου καὶ ἀτρέπτου καὶ ἁγίου καὶ μόνου μακαρίου.

102 XXXI. Τὸ δὲ "παντὸς διανοίγοντος μήτραν τὰ ἀρσενικὰ τῷ κυρίῳ" (Exod. xiii. 12) φυσικώτατα ἔχει. ὥσπερ γὰρ ταῖς γυναιξὶ πρὸς ζῴων γένεσιν οἰκειότατον μέρος ἡ φύσις ἔδωκε μήτραν, οὕτως πρὸς γένεσιν πραγμάτων ὥρισεν ἐν ψυχῇ δύναμιν, δι' ἧς κυοφορεῖ καὶ ὠδίνει καὶ ἀποτίκτει

103 πολλὰ διάνοια. τῶν δὲ ἀποκυουμένων ἐννοημάτων τὰ μὲν ἄρρενα, τὰ δὲ θήλεα, καθάπερ ἐπὶ ζῴων εἶναι συμβέβηκε· θῆλυ μὲν οὖν ἔγγονον ψυχῆς ἐστι κακία καὶ πάθος, οἷς καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐκθηλυνόμεθα, ἄρρεν δὲ εὐπάθεια καὶ ἀρετή, ὑφ' ὧν ἐγειρόμεθα καὶ ῥωννύμεθα. τούτων δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀνδρωνῖτιν ἑστίαν πᾶσαν ἀνιερωτέον θεῷ, τὴν δὲ γυναικωνῖτιν ἀπονεμητέον ἑαυτοῖς· διὸ καὶ προστέτακται· "πᾶν διανοῖγον μήτραν, τὰ ἀρσενικά, τῷ κυρίῳ."

104 XXXII. Ἀλλὰ καὶ "παντὸς" φησί "διανοίγοντος μήτραν ἐκ τῶν βουκολίων ἐν τοῖς κτήνεσιν ὅσα ἂν γένηταί σοι τὰ ἀρσενικὰ τῷ κυρίῳ" (Exod. xiii. 12). εἰπὼν περὶ τῶν τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ γεννημάτων ἄρχεται διδάσκειν καὶ περὶ τῶν τοῦ ἀλόγου, ὅπερ αἱ αἰσθήσεις κεκλήρωνται, ἃς κτήνεσιν ἀπεικάζει. θρεμμάτων δὲ ὅσα ἐν βουκολίοις ἀνατρέφεται τιθασὰ καὶ χειροήθη, ἅτε ὑπὸ ἐπιστάτου φροντίδος ἀγόμενα βουκόλου· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄφετα καὶ ἀπελευθεριάζοντα ἐρημίᾳ τοῦ πραΰνοντος ἐξαγριαίνεται, ὧν δὲ ἡγεμόνες αἰπόλοι βουκόλοι νομεῖς, τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον εἶδος ἐπιστάται

[a] Or, "a state of good affections"; see App. p. 495, note on *Quod Det.* 120.

unchangeable, the immortal, the holy and solely blessed.

XXXI. The words " of all that openeth the womb, the males to the Lord," are indeed true to nature. For as nature has given the womb to women as the proper part for generation of living offspring, so she has set in the soul for the generation of things a power by which the understanding conceives and travails and is the mother of many children. Of the thoughts thus brought to the birth some are male and some female, just as in the case of living beings. The female offspring of the soul is vice and passion, that emasculating influence which affects us in each of our pursuits. The male offspring is health of soul [a] and virtue, by which we are stimulated and strengthened. Of these the men's quarters must be dedicated wholly to God, the women's quarters must be set to our own account, and therefore we have the command " all that openeth the womb, the males to the Lord."

XXXII. But we also find " everything which openeth the womb from thy herds amongst thy cattle, all that are born to thee, the males to the Lord " (Exod. xiii. 12). Having spoken of the offspring of the ruling element he proceeds to instruct us as to the offspring of the unreasoning element, the element allotted to the senses, which he likens to cattle. Now the younglings that are reared among the herd are tame and docile, because they are guided by the care of the herdsman who rules them. For those that roam at large and in liberty become wild for want of one to tame them, but those who are led by goatherd, neat-herd, shepherd, and the like, the herdsman, that is, who tends whatever kind of animal it

105 ζῴων, ταῦτ᾿ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἡμεροῦται. πέφυκεν
[184] οὖν καὶ τὸ αἰσθήσεων γένος τῇ μὲν ἀτίθασον τῇ
δ᾿ εἶναι χειρόηθες· ἀτίθασον μὲν ὅταν ἀφηνιάσαν
ὥσπερ βουκόλου τοῦ νοῦ φέρηται πρὸς τὰ ἐκτὸς
ἀλόγως αἰσθητά, ἥμερον δὲ ὅταν ὑπεῖξαν πειθηνίως
τῷ τοῦ συγκρίματος ἡγεμόνι λογισμῷ κυβερνᾶταί
τε καὶ ἡνιοχῆται πρὸς αὐτοῦ. ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἂν ἴδῃ
ἢ ἀκούσῃ ἢ συνόλως αἴσθηται κατὰ τὴν ἐπικέλευσιν
τοῦ νοῦ, πάντα ἐστὶν ἄρρενα καὶ τέλεια, προσγίνεται
106 γὰρ ἑκάστῳ τὸ εὖ· ὅσα δ᾿ ἂν χωρὶς ἡγεμόνος, ὑπὸ
ἀναρχίας ὥσπερ πόλιν τὸ σῶμα ἡμῶν διόλλυσι.
πάλιν οὖν καὶ τῶν αἰσθήσεων τὰς μὲν ἑπομένας
τῷ νῷ κινήσεις, αἵπερ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀμείνους εἰσίν,
ὁμολογητέον κατὰ θεὸν συμβαίνειν, τὰς δὲ ἀφηνιαζούσας ἀναθετέον ἑαυτοῖς ἀλόγως ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν
ἐκτὸς αἰσθητῶν φορᾶς ἀγομένοις.

107 XXXIII. Ἀλλ᾿ οὐ μόνον ἀπὸ τούτων, ἀλλὰ
καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ φυράματος ὅλου προστέταχεν ἀφαιρεῖν.
ἡ δὲ πρόσταξίς ἐστι τοιάδε· “καὶ ἔσται, ὅταν
ἐσθίητε ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρτων τῆς γῆς, ἀφελεῖτε ἀφαίρεμα
ἀφόρισμα τῷ κυρίῳ· ἀπαρχὴν φυράματος ὑμῶν
ἄρτον, ἀφαίρεμα ἀφελεῖτε αὐτόν· ὡς ἀφαίρεμα
ἀπὸ ἅλωνος, οὕτως ἀφελεῖτε” (Num. xv. 19-20).
108 τὸ τοίνυν φύραμα κυρίως, εἰ χρὴ τἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν,
ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν αὐτοί, συμπεφορημένων καὶ συγκεκριμένων πλείστων οὐσιῶν, ἵνα ἀποτελεσθῶμεν·
ψυχρὸν γὰρ θερμῷ καὶ ξηρὸν ὑγρῷ, δυνάμεις
ἐναντίας, ἀναμίξας καὶ ἀνακερασάμενος ὁ ζῳο-

[a] The R.V. has “so shall ye heave it,” and above “heave-offering.”

may be, must needs be tame and gentle. So then, the senses also as a kind may be either wild or tame. They are wild when, throwing off the control of their herdsman the mind, they are carried away in their unreason into the outer sphere of things perceptible by them. They are tame when they respond submissively to reflection, the ruling element in our compound nature, and accept its guidance and control. Whatsoever then sense sees or hears or in general perceives under the direction of the mind is male and perfect, for each perception is made under good conditions. But whatsoever lacks that guide works destruction in our body, as anarchy does in a city. So then here, as in the former case, we must admit that the motions of the senses, which obey the mind and necessarily are of the better kind, come to pass through God's will, but those which reject control must be held to belong to ourselves, when propelled by the external objects of sense we are carried away in unreasoning course.

XXXIII. Again we are bidden to set apart not only from these but from the "whole mixture." The words of the commandment are as follows, "and it shall be that when ye eat of the bread of the land, ye shall set apart a portion marked out for the Lord : a loaf as the first offering of your mixture, ye shall set it apart as a portion. As ye do with a portion from the threshing-floor, so shall ye set it apart"[a] (Numb. xv. 19-20). The "mixture" then is ourselves, and indeed in a literal sense, so many substances are brought together and compounded in us, to make our complete selves. Cold and heat, wet and dry, such opposite forces as these were blended and combined by the moulder of living creatures to produce

πλάστης ἓν ἐκ πασῶν ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ἀπειργάζετο
συμφόρημα, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ φύραμα εἴρηται.
τούτου τοῦ συμφορήματος, ὃ ψυχὴ καὶ σῶμα δύο
τὰ ἀνωτάτω τμήματα κεκλήρωται, τὰς ἀπαρχὰς
109 ἀνιερωτέον. ἀπαρχαὶ δέ εἰσιν ἅγιαι κινήσεις αἱ
κατ' ἀρετὴν ἑκατέρου, διὸ καὶ ἅλῳ παραβέβληται·
καθάπερ οὖν ἐν ταῖς ἅλωσι πυροὶ καὶ κριθαὶ καὶ
ὅσα τοιαῦτα καθ' ἑαυτὰ χωρίζεται, ἀθέρες δὲ καὶ
ἄχυρα καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος φορυτὸς ἑτέρωσε σκίδναται,
οὕτως καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν τὰ μέν ἐστιν ἄριστα καὶ
ὠφέλιμα καὶ τὰς ἀληθεῖς τροφὰς παρέχοντα, δι'
ὧν ὁ ὀρθὸς ἀποτελεῖται βίος, ἅπερ ἀναθετέον θεῷ,
τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὅσα μὴ θεῖα ὑπολειπτέον ὥσπερ
σκύβαλα γένει τῷ θνητῷ. ἀπὸ μὲν οὖν τούτων
110 ἀφαιρετέον. εἰσὶ δὲ δυνάμεις ἀμιγεῖς
κακίας ὅλαι δι' ὅλων, ἃς οὐ θέμις ἀκρωτηριάζειν
διαιροῦντας, αἳ ἐοικυῖαι ταῖς ἀμερίστοις θυσίαις,
ὁλοκαυτώμασιν, ὧν ἐναργὲς παράδειγμα ὁ Ἰσαάκ,
[185] ὃν ἱερείου τρόπον ἀνάγειν | προστέτακται μηδενὸς
111 πάθους φθοροποιοῦ μεμοιραμένον. λέγεται δὲ καὶ
δι' ἑτέρων· "τὰ δῶρά μου, δόματά μου, καρπώ-
ματά μου διατηρήσετε προσφέρειν ἐμοὶ ἐν ταῖς
ἑορταῖς μου" (Num. xxviii. 2), οὐκ ἀφαιροῦντες
οὐδὲ διανέμοντες, ἀλλ' ἔμπλεα καὶ ὁλόκληρα καὶ
τέλεια προσάγοντες· ἑορτὴ γὰρ ψυχῆς ἡ ἐν ἀρεταῖς
εὐφροσύνη τελείαις, τέλειαι δὲ αἱ κηρῶν ἀμέτοχοι,
ὅσας τὸ ἀνθρώπειον γένος χωρεῖ. μόνος δὲ
ἑορτάζει τὴν τοιαύτην ἑορτὴν ὁ σοφός, τῶν δὲ

[a] Philo supposes that φύραμα is derived from συμφόρημα.
[b] Or "the impulses of either which accord with virtue."

that single congeries the individual, and it is from this that it is here called a "mixture." [a]

Of this congeries, in which soul and body hold the place of primary divisions, we must dedicate the firstlings. These firstlings are the sacred impulses which accord with the excellence of either,[b] and therefore also we have the comparison with the threshing-floor. For as on the threshing-floor the wheat, barley, and other grain are gathered apart, while the chaff and husk and any other refuse are scattered elsewhither, so too in us there are the best, the profitable elements which provide that true nourishment, whereby right living is brought to its fullness. These it is which must be dedicated to God, while the rest which has nothing of the divine must be left as refuse to mortality. It is from the former then that we must take for our offering. But there are some powers which are pure from evil through and through, and these we must not mutilate by severing into their parts. These are like the undivided sacrifices, the whole burnt-offerings of which Isaac is a clear example, whom God commanded to be offered in victim's fashion, because he had no part or lot in any passion which breeds corruption. And the same truth is taught in another passage, "my gifts, my offerings, my fruits ye shall observe to offer me at my feasts" (Numb. xxviii. 2). No word here of setting apart or dividing: they are to be brought full, perfect, and complete. For the soul's feast is the joy and gladness which the perfect virtues bring, and by perfect is meant virtues unspotted by all the tainting evils to which the human race is liable. Such a feast the wise man [c] only can keep and save him none

[c] Or "the wise being," *i.e.* God.

ἄλλων οὐδὲ εἷς· ἄγευστον γὰρ παθῶν ἢ κακιῶν ψυχὴν εὑρεῖν σπανιώτατον.

112 XXXIV. Ἀποδοὺς οὖν τὸν περὶ τῶν μερῶν τῆς ψυχῆς λόγον ἡγεμονικοῦ τε καὶ ὑπηκόου καὶ τί ἐστιν ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τὸ ἄρρεν ἢ θῆλυ, μετὰ ταῦτα περὶ τῶν ἀκολούθων ἐκδιδάσκει. σαφῶς γὰρ εἰδὼς ὅτι δίχα πόνου καὶ ἐπιμελείας οὐχ οἷόν τε γενεᾶς τῆς ἄρρενος ἐπιλαχεῖν, φησὶν ἑξῆς· "πᾶν διανοῖγον μήτραν ὄνου ἀλλάξεις προβάτῳ" (Exod. xiii. 13), ἴσον τῷ πάντα πόνον ἀντικαταλλάττου προκοπῆς· πόνου μὲν γὰρ ὄνος—τλητικὸν γὰρ τὸ ζῷον—, προκοπῆς δὲ πρόβατον, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸ
113 δηλοῖ τοὔνομα, σύμβολον. ἴθι οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα διδακτὰ μελέτην, μὴ ὀλιγώρως μηδὲ ῥαθύμως ἀλλὰ μετὰ φροντίδος τῆς πάσης παρεσκευακὼς τὴν σαυτοῦ διάνοιαν ὑποστῆναι καρτερῶς πάντα κάματον, καὶ σπούδαζε μὴ ὑπὸ ἀτελοῦς κατασχεθῆναι πόνου, προκοπὴν δὲ καὶ βελτίωσιν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐκλεέστατον ἄγοντα τέλος εὑρέσθαι· προκοπῆς
114 γὰρ χάριν οἰστὸς ὁ πόνος. ἐὰν δὲ ἄρα σὺ μὲν ἀναδέχῃ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πονεῖν κάματον, ἡ δὲ φύσις μηδὲν ἐπιδιδῷ πρὸς τὸ ἄμεινον ἐναντιουμένη ταῖς ἐκ προκοπῆς βελτιώσεσι, μετατραπόμενος ἠρέμει· χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἐναντιοῦσθαι φύσει. διὸ καὶ προστίθησιν· "ἐὰν δὲ" φησί "μὴ ἀλλάξῃς, λυτρώσῃ αὐτό" (Exod. xiii. 13), ὅπερ ἐστίν, ἐὰν μὴ δυνηθῇς προκοπὴν ἀλλάξασθαι τοῦ πονεῖν, μέθες καὶ τὸν πόνον· τὸ γὰρ λυτρώσασθαι τοιοῦτον ὑποβάλλει νοῦν, ἐλευθερῶσαι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνηνύτου

[a] Philo absurdly derives ὄνος from πόνος and πρόβατον (probably correctly) from προβαίνω.

other. For hardly ever shall you find a soul which has never tasted of passions or vices.

XXXIV. Having given us the doctrine of the parts of the soul, of the ruling part and the subject part, and having shown also in each of these what is the masculine and what the feminine element, Moses proceeds to teach us the lesson that follows next. He knows well that without toil and care it is not possible for male offspring to fall to our lot. Thus his next words are "all that openeth the womb of an ass, thou shalt exchange for a sheep" (Exod. xiii. 13). It is as much as to say exchange all toil for progress. For the ass is the symbol of toil—he is a patient beast—and the sheep of progress,[a] as the very name shows. Come then to the study of the arts, or the trades, or whatever else can be taught and learnt, not with disdain or slackness, but with all care and attention, with your mind braced to endure patiently all manner of drudgery, and at the same time be at pains not to be held in bondage by fruitless toil, but to bring your labour to the most honourable conclusion and win progress and betterment. For toil is to be borne for the sake of progress. But if it should chance that with all your acceptance of labour and its drudgery your nature gains nothing, but refuses the improvement which progress should bring, turn from it and desist. It is a weary task to oppose nature. And therefore it is that he adds "if thou dost not exchange it, thou shalt redeem it" (Exod. xiii. 13): that is, if you cannot gain progress in exchange for your labour, let the labour go as well, for the word "redeem" suggests such a meaning, namely that you shall free your soul from the care that has no end and accomplishes nothing.

115 καὶ ἀτελοῦς φροντίδος. XXXV. λέγω δὲ ταῦτα οὐ περὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν μέσων τεχνῶν καὶ ὧν ἄλλων ἀναγκαίων περί τε σώματος ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐκτὸς περιουσίαν πραγματεύονται, ἐπεὶ ὅ γε περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ καλῶν
[186] τελείων πόνος, | κἂν ὑστερίζῃ τοῦ τέλους, ἱκανὸς ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ προωφελῆσαι τοὺς χρωμένους, τὰ δὲ ὅσα ἐκτὸς ἀρετῆς, ἐὰν μὴ προσγένηται τὸ πέρας, ἀνωφελῆ πάντα· ὥσπερ ἐπὶ ζῴων, ἐὰν ἀφέλῃς κεφαλήν, οἴχεται τἆλλα· κεφαλὴ δὲ πραγμάτων ἐστὶ τὸ τέλος αὐτῶν, ἃ ζῇ μὲν τρόπον τινὰ ἐφαρμοζομένου, θνῄσκει δέ, ἐὰν ἐκτεμεῖν καὶ ἀκρωτηριά-
116 ζειν ἐθέλῃς. ὥστε καὶ ἀθληταὶ μὴ δυνάμενοι νικηφορεῖν, ἀεὶ δὲ ἡττώμενοι, καταλυέτωσαν· καὶ εἴ τις ἔμπορος ἢ ναύκληρος θαλαττεύων ἐπαλλήλοις κακοπραγίαις χρῆται, μετατραπόμενος ἠρεμείτω· ὅσοι τε τὰς μέσας ἐπιτηδεύσαντες τέχνας μηδὲν ἠδυνήθησαν διὰ σκληρότητα φύσεως μάθημα παραδέξασθαι, ἐπαινετοὶ καταλύοντες· οὐ γὰρ ἕνεκα ἀσκήσεως ἀσκεῖται τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀλλὰ τοῦ
117 πρὸς ὃν ἀναφέρεται σκοποῦ. ἐὰν οὖν ἐμποδοστατῇ πρὸς τὰς ἀμείνους ἐπιδόσεις ἡ φύσις, μὴ ἀνόνητα ἀντιτείνωμεν, συμπραττούσης δὲ ἀπαρχαῖς καὶ τιμαῖς γεραίρωμεν τὸ θεῖον, αἳ λύτρα τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς εἰσι, δεσποτῶν ἀνημέρων αὐτὴν ἀπαλλάττουσαι καὶ εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἐξαιρούμεναι.

118 XXXVI. Καὶ γὰρ τοὺς Λευίτας ὁμολογεῖ Μωυσῆς τοὺς ἀντὶ τῶν πρωτοτόκων γενομένους θεραπευτὰς τοῦ μόνου ἀξίου θεραπεύεσθαι λύτρα τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων εἶναι· “κἀγὼ” γάρ φησιν

[a] Literally, “for the superfluity of external things.”

XXXV. But these words do not apply to the virtues, but only to the secondary arts and any necessary trades which men practise to provide for the needs of the body, or to procure additional and material comforts.[a] Labour undertaken for the perfectly good and excellent in any form, even though it fail to attain its end, is of itself strong to benefit the labourer from the first. It is those things which lie outside virtue which are all profitless, unless the result crown the work. It is just as it is with animals. If you take from them the head, all else goes with it. And the head of actions is their end or object. While it is in its place they live in some sort. If you choose to cut it off or amputate it, they die. So athletes who cannot win a victory, but are always defeated, will do well to retire. Merchants or shipmen who meet with perpetual disasters at sea should desist and change their occupation. Those who have studied the lower subjects, but have been unable through dullness of nature to imbibe any knowledge, will deserve praise if they abandon them. For exertion in such matters is not engaged in for the sake of the exercise, but for the sake of the object at which they aim. If then our nature opposes our efforts for progress in them, let us not fruitlessly resist her. If she forwards those efforts, let us do homage to God with those firstlings and honours which are the ransom of our souls, for they rescue it from cruel task-masters and redeem it into liberty.

XXXVI. We have it indeed on the authority of Moses that the Levites, who in place of the first-born were appointed to the service of Him who alone is worthy of service, were a ransom for all the others. " And behold I have taken," he says, " the Levites

“ ἰδοὺ εἴληφα τοὺς Λευίτας ἐκ μέσου <τῶν> υἱῶν
Ἰσραὴλ ἀντὶ παντὸς πρωτοτόκου διανοίγοντος
μήτραν παρὰ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ· λύτρα αὐτῶν
ἔσονται, καὶ ἔσονται ἐμοὶ οἱ Λευῖται. ἐμοὶ γὰρ
πᾶν πρωτότοκον· ἐν ᾗ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπάταξα πᾶν πρωτό-
τοκον ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ, ἡγίασα ἐμοὶ πᾶν πρωτότοκον
119 ἐν Ἰσραήλ ” (Num. iii. 12, 13). ὁ καταπεφευγὼς
ἐπὶ θεὸν καὶ ἱκέτης αὐτοῦ γεγονὼς λόγος ὀνομά-
ζεται Λευίτης· τοῦτον ἐκ τοῦ μεσαιτάτου καὶ
ἡγεμονικωτάτου τῆς ψυχῆς λαβών, τουτέστι προσ-
λαβόμενος καὶ προσκληρώσας ἑαυτῷ, τῆς τῶν
πρεσβείων ἠξίωσε μερίδος· ὥστε ἐνθένδε δῆλον
εἶναι, ὅτι ὁ μὲν Ῥουβὴν τοῦ Ἰακώβ, ὁ δὲ
Λευὶ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ πρωτοτοκός ἐστιν, ὁ μὲν τὰ
χρόνου, ὁ δὲ τὰ ἀξιώματος καὶ δυνάμεως φερόμενος
120 πρεσβεῖα· πόνου μὲν γὰρ καὶ προκοπῆς, ὧν
Ἰακὼβ σύμβολον, τὸ εὐφυὲς ἀρχή, καθʼ ὃ Ῥουβὴν
καλεῖται, θεωρίας δὲ τῆς τοῦ μόνου σοφοῦ, καθʼ
ἣν Ἰσραὴλ τέτακται, πηγὴ τὸ θεραπευτικῶς
ἔχειν αὐτοῦ, θεραπείας δὲ ὁ Λευί ἐστι σημεῖον.
καθάπερ οὖν τῶν Ἠσαῦ προτοτοκίων κληρονόμος
[187] Ἰακὼβ ἀνευρίσκεται, | τῆς περὶ κακίαν σπουδῆς
ἡττωμένης τοῦ πρὸς τὸ καλὸν πόνου, οὕτως καὶ
τὰ Ῥουβὴν πρεσβεῖα τοῦ εὐφυοῦς ὁ κεχρημένος
ἀρετῇ τελείᾳ Λευὶ οἴσεται· τῆς δὲ τελειότητος
δεῖγμα ἐναργέστατον πρόσφυγα γενέσθαι θεοῦ
καταλιπόντα τὴν τῶν ἐν γενέσει πραγματείαν.
121 XXXVII. Ταῦτʼ ἐστὶ κυρίως εἰπεῖν τὰ ψυχῆς
ἐλευθερίας ἐφιεμένης σῶστρά τε καὶ λύτρα. μή-
ποτε δὲ καὶ δόγμα εἰσηγεῖται σφόδρα ἀναγκαῖον,

[a] See App. p. 491.

from the midst of the sons of Israel, in place of every first-born that opens the womb from among the sons of Israel. They shall be their ransom and the Levites shall be mine, for every first-born is mine. On the day when I smote every first-born in the land of Egypt, I hallowed to myself every first-born in Israel" (Numb. iii. 12, 13). It is Reason, who has taken refuge with God and become His suppliant, that is here given the name of Levite. This Reason God took from the midmost and most sovereign part of the soul, that is He drew it and allotted it to Himself and adjudged to it the portion of the eldest son. And thus it is clear from this that, while Reuben is the first-born of Jacob, Levi is the first-born of Israel. The former has the precedence in years, the latter in honour and value. For labour and progress of which Jacob is the symbol have their source in natural ability [a] which gives Reuben his name, but the fountain of that devout contemplation of the only wise being, on which Israel's rank is based, is the habit of service to God, and this service is symbolized by Levi. So then, just as Jacob appears as inheritor of the birthright of Esau, when labour striving for the good was victorious over the craving that pursues evil, so too Reuben the man of natural gifts must yield the rights of the elder to Levi, whose life is one of perfect virtue. And this perfection is shown most clearly in that he makes God his refuge and forsakes all dealing with the world of created things.

XXXVII. This is the primary meaning of the price which the soul that craves liberty pays for its deliverance and ransom. But it may be that the prophet also means to show another truth and one

ὅτι πᾶς σοφὸς λύτρον ἐστὶ τοῦ φαύλου, μηδ' ἂν πρὸς ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐξαρκέσαντος, εἰ μὴ ἐλέῳ καὶ προμηθείᾳ χρώμενος ἐκεῖνος προὐνόει τῆς διαμονῆς αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ ἰατρὸς τοῦ νοσοῦντος ἀντιτεταγμένος τοῖς ἀρρωστήμασι καὶ πρᾳότερα κατασκευάζων αὐτὰ ἢ συνόλως ἀναιρῶν, εἰ μή που μετὰ φορᾶς ἀνεπισχέτου βιασάμενα καὶ τὴν τῆς θερα-
122 πείας ὑπερβάλλοι φροντίδα. οὕτως γὰρ καὶ Σόδομα φθείρεται, μηδενὸς οἷα ἐπὶ πλάστιγγος ἀμυθήτῳ πλήθει κακῶν ἀντιρρέψαι δυνηθέντος ἀγαθοῦ· ὡς εἴ γε ὁ πεντηκοστὸς λόγος εὑρέθη, καθ' ὃν ἄφεσις ψυχῇ δουλείας καὶ παντελὴς ἐλευθερία προκηρύττεται (Lev. xxv. 10), ἤ τις τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν ἀριθμῶν, οὓς ὁ σοφὸς Ἀβραὰμ καταλέγεται μέχρι τῆς κατὰ παιδείαν ὁρίζων δεκάδος τὴν ὕφεσιν, οὐκ ἂν οὕτως ἀκλεῶς ὁ νοῦς ἐφθάρη (Gen. xviii.
123 24 ff.). πειρᾶσθαι μέντοι δεῖ καὶ τοὺς πάντως ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς διαφθαρησομένους κακίας ὡς οἷόν τε διασῴζειν μιμουμένους τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τῶν ἰατρῶν, οἵ, κἂν ὁρῶσιν ἀδύνατον τοῖς κάμνουσι τὸ σῴζεσθαι, προσφέρουσι τὴν θεραπείαν ὅμως ἄσμενοι, τοῦ μὴ τῇ παρ' αὐτοὺς ὀλιγωρίᾳ δοκεῖν συμβῆναί τι τῶν παρὰ γνώμην· εἰ δέ τι καὶ μικρὸν ὅσον ὑγείας σπέρμα ἐμφαίνοιτο, τοῦτο ὥσπερ ἐμπύρευμα πάσαις ἐπιμελείαις ζωπυρητέον· ἐλπὶς γὰρ μηκυνθέντος καὶ συναυξηθέντος ἀμείνονι καὶ ἀπταιστοτέρῳ χρήσασθαι τῷ βίῳ.
124 ἔγωγ' οὖν ὅταν τινὰ τῶν σπουδαίων διαιτώμενον κατ' οἰκίαν ἢ κατὰ πόλιν θεάσωμαι,

[a] Where the fiftieth year is decreed as the year of Jubilee.
[b] Literally "limiting the diminution at": *cf.* μέχρι τοῦδε ὡρίσθω ἡ βραδυτής, Thuc. i. 71. See also App. pp. 491, 492.

that we could ill spare, namely that every wise man is a ransom for the fool, whose existence could not endure for an hour, did not the wise provide for his preservation by compassion and forethought. The wise are as physicians who fight against the infirmities of the sick, alleviate them or altogether remove them, unless the violence of the malady's impetuous course overpower the careful treatment of the physician. It was such overpowering evil that destroyed Sodom, when no good could balance the vast sum of evil that weighed down the scale. If there had been found in Sodom the number fifty, the number which brings the message of redemption from slavery and full liberty to the soul (Lev. xxv. 10[a]), or any of the numbers which wise Abraham named in succession from fifty downwards till he reached the lower limit [b] of ten, the number sacred to education,[c] the mind would not have perished in such shameful downfall (Gen. xviii. 24 ff.). Yet we should try, as well as we may, to save even those whom the evil within them is bringing to certain ruin, and follow the example of the good physicians, who, though they see that there is no hope for the patient, yet render their services gladly, lest others should think, in the event of some disaster which they did not expect, that it is due to the physician's neglect.[d] And if some seed of recovery should appear in him, however little, it should be cherished as we fan an ember with every care. For we may hope that the germ may grow and spread, and that thus the man may lead a better and more stable life.

For my own part, when I see a good man living in a house or city, I hold that house or

[c] See App. pp. 491-492. [d] See App. p. 492.

τὴν οἰκίαν ἢ τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην εὐδαιμονίζω καὶ οἴομαι τήν τε τῶν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν ἀπόλαυσιν βέβαιον καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀπόντων προσδοκίαν τελεσφορουμένην σχήσειν, τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν ἀπεριόριστον καὶ ἀπερίγραφον πλοῦτον αὐτοῦ διὰ τοὺς ἀξίους καὶ τοῖς ἀναξίοις δωρουμένου· καὶ εὔχομαι ὡς πολυχρονιωτάτους αὐτούς, ἐπειδὴ ἀγήρως οὐκ ἔνεστι, γενέσθαι, νομίζων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον παραμένειν ἀνθρώποις τὰ ἀγαθά, ἐφ᾽ ὅσον ἂν οὗτοι
[188]
125 χρόνον ζῆν | δυνηθῶσιν. ὅταν οὖν ἢ ἴδω ἢ ἀκούσω τινὰ αὐτῶν τεθνεῶτα, σφόδρα κατηφῶ καὶ ἄχθομαι καὶ οὐ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἢ τοὺς ζῶντας ὀλοφύρομαι· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀκολουθίᾳ φύσεως τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἀποβῆναι τέλος, βίον μὲν εὐδαίμονα εὐκλεᾶ δὲ θάνατον ἐνδεξαμένοις, τοὺς δὲ ἐρήμους μεγάλης καὶ δυνατῆς χειρός, δι᾽ ἣν ἐσῴζοντο, ἀπολειφθέντας ταχὺ δὴ μάλα τῶν ἰδίων αἰσθήσεσθαι κακῶν, εἰ μὴ πάλιν ἀντὶ τῶν προτέρων ἡ φύσις ὥσπερ δένδρῳ τοὺς ἤδη πεπανθέντας καρποὺς ἀποβάλλοντι νέους ἑτέρους ἀναβλαστῆσαι παρασκευάσει πρὸς τροφὴν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν χρῆσθαι

126 δυναμένων. ὥσπερ οὖν τῶν πόλεων τὸ ἐχυρώτατον εἰς διαμονὴν ἄνδρες εἰσὶν ἀγαθοί, οὕτως καὶ τῆς περὶ ἕκαστον ἡμῶν πόλεως, ἣ συνέστηκεν ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, τὸ βεβαιότατον εἰς ἵδρυσιν ἔλαχον οἱ φρονήσεως καὶ ἐπιστήμης ἐρασταὶ λόγοι, οὓς ὁ νομοθέτης μεταφορᾷ χρώμενος λύτρα καὶ πρωτοτόκους καλεῖ δι᾽ ἃς εἶπον αἰτίας ἤδη.

127 Ταύτῃ καὶ τὰς πόλεις τῶν Λευιτῶν " λυτρωτὰς διὰ παντὸς " εἶναί φησιν (Lev. xxv. 32), ὅτι ὁ θεοῦ θεραπευτὴς αἰώνιον ἐλευθερίαν κεκάρπωται

city happy and believe that their enjoyment of their present blessings will endure, and that their hopes for those as yet lacking will be realized. For God for the sake of the worthy dispenses to the unworthy also His boundless and illimitable wealth. I know indeed that they cannot escape old age, but I pray that their years may be prolonged to the utmost. For I believe that, as long as they may live, it will be well with the community. So when I see or hear that any of them are dead, my heart is sad and heavy. Not for them. They have reached in the due course of nature the end we all must reach. They have lived in happiness and died in honour. It is for the survivors that I mourn. Deprived of the strong protecting arm, which brought them safety, they are abandoned to the woes which are their proper portion, and which they soon will feel, unless indeed nature should raise up some new protectors to replace the old, as in the tree which sheds its now ripened fruit, her agency makes other fruits grow up to give sustenance and pleasure to those who can pluck them. As then in a city good men are the surest warrant of permanence, so in the commonwealth of the individual composed of soul and body, the strongest force to ensure stability belongs to those aspirations of the reason to wisdom and knowledge, which the lawgiver in his parable calls on grounds already stated "ransom" and "first-born."

And thus too he speaks of the cities of the Levites as "ransomed for ever" (Lev. xxv. 32), because the worshipper of God has reaped eternal freedom, and,

κατὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς τροπὰς τῆς ἀεικινήτου ψυχῆς ἰάσεις δεχόμενος ἐπαλλήλους· τὸ γὰρ λυτρωτὰς μὴ ἅπαξ ἀλλὰ διὰ παντός, ὥς φησι, γίνεσθαι τοιοῦτον ὑποβάλλει νοῦν, ἀεὶ μὲν τρέπεσθαι, ἀεὶ δὲ ἐλευθεροῦσθαι, τῆς μὲν τροπῆς διὰ τὸ φύσει θνητὸν ἐγγινομένης, τῆς δὲ ἐλευθερίας χάριτι τοῦ εὐεργέτου, ὃν κλῆρον ἔλαχεν, βεβαιουμένης.

128 XXXVIII. Ἄξιον δὲ μὴ παρέργως σκέψασθαι, τί δή ποτε τὰς πόλεις τῶν Λευιτῶν ἀνῆκε τοῖς φυγάσι, τοῖς ἱερωτάτοις τοὺς ἀνιέρους εἶναι δοκοῦντας συνοικεῖν ἀξιώσας· οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ τὸν ἀκούσιον φόνον δράσαντες. λεκτέον οὖν πρῶτον μὲν τἀκόλουθον τῷ πάλαι λεχθέντι, ὅτι ὁ σπουδαῖος τοῦ φαύλου λύτρον, ὥστ' εἰκότως πρὸς τοὺς ἱερωμένους οἱ διαμαρτάνοντες ἀφίξονται τοῦ καθαρθῆναι χάριν· ἔπειθ' ὅτι φυγάδας οἱ Λευῖται προσίενται καὶ αὐτοὶ δυνάμει φυγάδες
129 ὄντες· ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τῶν πατρίδων ἐλαύνονται, οὕτως καὶ οὗτοι καταλελοίπασι τέκνα, γονεῖς, ἀδελφούς, τὰ οἰκειότατα καὶ φίλτατα, ἵνα ἀντὶ θνητοῦ τὸν ἀθάνατον κλῆρον εὕρωνται· διαφέρουσι δὲ ὅτι ἐκείνοις μὲν ἀβούλητος ἡ φυγὴ δι' ἔργον ἀκούσιον, τούτοις δὲ ὁ δρασμὸς ἑκούσιος δι' ἔρωτα τῶν ἀρίστων, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς μὲν οἱ Λευῖται καταφυγή, τοῖς δὲ Λευίταις ὁ πάντων ἡγεμὼν
[189] ἐστιν, ἵν' οἱ | μὲν ἀτελεῖς νομὸν[1] ἔχωσι τὸν ἱερὸν

[1] Conj. Tr.: Cohn and mss. νόμον: perhaps μόνον.

[a] Or "error succeeds error."

while in the continuous flux of the soul change [a] succeeds change, healing also succeeds healing in him. For the saying that the cities may be redeemed not once for all, but for ever, suggests the thought that for the worshipper with perpetual change goes perpetual liberation. The one is incidental to mortal nature, the other stands firm through the grace of the Benefactor, who is that worshipper's portion and possession.

XXXVIII. And here we may turn to another matter, which deserves more than a passing consideration. Why did he throw open the cities of the Levites to the fugitives from vengeance and deem fit that there the holiest should live side by side with men reckoned unholy, namely those who had committed involuntary homicide? The first answer is one that follows from what has been already said. We showed that the good are a ransom for the bad, and therefore it is with good reason that the sinners come to the consecrated to get purification. Secondly, as they whom the Levites receive are exiles, so too the Levites themselves are virtually exiles. For as the homicides are expelled from the home of their nativity, so too the Levites have left children, parents, brothers, their nearest and dearest, to win an undying portion in place of that which perishes. The two differ in that the flight of these is not of their own desire, but for an involuntary deed, while those have fled of their own free will in loving quest of the highest. Again, the homicides find their refuge in the Levites, the Levites in Him who is ruler of all. The former in their imperfection think to have for their allotted province the holy word, the latter to have the God

λόγον, οὗτοι δὲ τὸν ᾧ ἱερῶνται θεόν.

130 ἔτι γε μὴν οἱ τὸν ἀκούσιον φόνον δράσαντες τὰς αὐτὰς τοῖς Λευίταις πόλεις ἔλαχον οἰκεῖν, ὅτι καὶ οὗτοι διὰ φόνον ὅσιον προνομίας ἠξιώθησαν· ὅτε γοῦν ἡ ψυχὴ τραπεῖσα τὸν Αἰγύπτιον θεόν, τὸ σῶμα, ὡς χρυσὸν ἐξετίμησε, τόθ' οἱ ἱεροὶ λόγοι πάντες αὐτοκέλευστοι μεθ' ὅπλων ὁρμήσαντες ἀμυντηρίων, τῶν κατ' ἐπιστήμην ἀποδείξεων, ἡγεμόνα προστησάμενοι καὶ στρατηγὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ προφήτην καὶ φίλον τοῦ θεοῦ Μωυσῆν πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἐπολέμουν[1] καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀπηλλάγησαν, ἢ πάντα τὰ τῶν ἐναντιουμένων δόγματα καταλῦσαι (Exod. xxxii. 26-28)· ὥστ' εἰκότως σύνοικοι γεγόνασιν οἱ τὰς ὁμοίας εἰ καὶ μὴ τὰς αὐτὰς πράξεις ἐργασάμενοι.

131 XXXIX. Ἄδεται δέ τις καὶ τοιοῦτος ἐν ἀπορρήτοις λόγος, ὃν ἀκοαῖς πρεσβυτέρων παρακατατίθεσθαι χρὴ νεωτέρων ὦτα ἐπιφράξαντας. τῶν γὰρ περὶ τὸν θεὸν δυνάμεων ἀρίστων πασῶν μία οὖσα ταῖς ἄλλαις ἰσότιμος ἡ νομοθετικὴ—νομοθέτης γὰρ καὶ πηγὴ νόμων αὐτός, ἀφ' οὗ πάντες οἱ κατὰ μέρος νομοθέται—διχῇ πέφυκε τέμνεσθαι, τῇ μὲν εἰς εὐεργεσίαν κατορθούντων, τῇ δὲ εἰς

132 κόλασιν ἁμαρτανόντων. τοῦ μὲν οὖν προτέρου τμήματος ὑπηρέτης ὁ Λευίτης ἐστί· τὰς γὰρ λειτουργίας ἁπάσας ἀναδέχεται, ὅσαι πρὸς ἱερωσύνην ἀναφέρονται τελείαν, καθ' ἣν διασυνίσταται καὶ γνωρίζεται τὸ θνητὸν θεῷ, ἢ δι' ὁλοκαυτωμάτων ἢ διὰ σωτηρίων ἢ διὰ μετανοίας ἁμαρτη-

[1] MSS. πολεμοῦσι.

to whom they have been consecrated.
And, once more, they who slew involuntarily were granted the right of living in the same cities as the Levites, because these too were privileged as a reward for slaying in a righteous cause. We find that when the soul fell and honoured the god of Egypt, the body, as gold, with an honour which was not its due, the holy thoughts with one accord of their own motion rushed to the defence in arms. These arms were the proofs and arguments which knowledge gives. And they set before them as their captain and leader the high priest and prophet and friend of God, Moses. They waged war to the death for true religion, and held not their hands till they had made an end of all the false doctrines of their enemies (Exod. xxxii. 26-28). And thus it is natural that Levite and homicide should dwell together, for their deeds though not the same are alike.

XXXIX. There is another interpretation current of this matter, though not for vulgar knowledge. It may be entrusted to the hearing of the elders: younger ears may well be sealed against it. It is this. Amongst all the highest powers that attach to God, there is one excelled by none, the legislative. For He Himself is the lawgiver and the fountain of laws, and on Him depend all particular lawgivers. This legislative power is such as to be divided into two parts, one for rewarding those who do well, the other for the punishment of evil-doers. Of the first of these divisions the Levite is the minister. For he undertakes all the rites that belong to that perfect priesthood, by which mortality is commended to and recognized by God, whether it be through burnt-offering or peace-offering or repentance of sins. But

μάτων· τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου καὶ κολαστηρίου τμήματος οἱ τὸν ἀκούσιον φόνον δρῶντες ὑπηρέται γεγόνασι.
133 καὶ μαρτυρεῖ Μωυσῆς φάσκων· "ὁ δὲ οὐχ ἑκών, ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ" (Exod. xxi. 13), ὥστε τὰς μὲν τούτου χεῖρας ὀργάνων τρόπον παραλαμβάνεσθαι, τὸν δὲ διὰ τούτων ἀοράτως ἐνεργοῦντα ἕτερον εἶναι, τὸν ἀόρατον. συνοικείτωσαν οὖν δύο θεράποντες τῶν νομοθετικῆς ὑπηρέται δυεῖν εἰδῶν, τοῦ μὲν πρὸς εὐεργεσίαν ὁ Λευίτης, τοῦ δὲ πρὸς κόλασιν ὁ ἀκουσίως ἀνελών.

134 "Ἐν ᾗ" δέ φησιν "ἡμέρᾳ ἐπάταξα πᾶν πρωτότοκον ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ, ἡγίασα ἐμοὶ πᾶν πρωτότοκον ἐν Ἰσραήλ" (Num. iii. 13), οὐχ ἵνα τοῦθ' ὑποτοπήσωμεν, ὅτι κατ' ἐκεῖνον μόνον τὸν χρόνον, καθ' ὃν ἐπλήγη τὴν μεγάλην πληγὴν φθορᾷ τῶν πρωτοτόκων Αἴγυπτος, οἱ Ἰσραὴλ πρωτότοκοι ἐγένοντο ἅγιοι, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν καὶ αὖθις καὶ ἀεὶ τοῦτο συμβαίνειν ἐπὶ ψυχῆς πέφυκεν· ὅταν τὰ τοῦ τυφλοῦ πάθους ἡγεμονικώτατα διαφθαρῇ, τηνικαῦτα τὰ τοῦ θεὸν ὀξυδερκῶς ὁρῶντος
[190] πρεσβύτερα καὶ | τίμια ἔκγονα γίνεται ἅγια.
135 κακίας γὰρ ἔξοδος ἀρετῆς εἴσοδον ἐργάζεται, ὡς καὶ τοὐναντίον ὑπεκστάντος ἀγαθοῦ τὸ ἐφεδρεῦον κακὸν ἐπεισέρχεται· ὅσον οὐδέπω γοῦν ἐξῆλθεν Ἰακώβ (Gen. xxvii. 30), καὶ πάρεστιν ἐπὶ τὴν πανδεχῆ διάνοιαν Ἠσαῦ ἀντὶ τῶν ἀρετῆς τύπων ἐνσφραγιούμενος κακίας, ἣν δύνηται, χαρακτῆρας· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἰσχύσαι τοῦτ' ἐργάσασθαι, πτερνισθεὶς γὰρ καὶ κληρονομηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ σοφοῦ λήσεται φθάσαντος πρὶν ἢ παθεῖν ἀμύνασθαι.

of the second division, whose function is to punish, they who shed blood involuntarily have thereby become the ministers. To this Moses testifies in the words "he did it not of intention, but God delivered him into his hands" (Exod. xxi. 13). The slayer's hands we see were used as instruments, but He who worked invisibly by these was another, even the Invisible One. It is well then that the two should dwell together who are the ministers of the two forms of law-giving, the Levite serving that which bestows reward, the involuntary slayer that which executes vengeance.

When we read "on the day that I smote all the first-born in Egypt, I sanctified to myself all the first-born in Israel" (Numb. iii. 13), we must not suppose that at that time only when Egypt was dealt that mighty blow by the destruction of her first-born did the first-born of Israel become holy. No, the lesson is that in the past, in the present, in the future, that hallowing may be for ever repeated in the soul. When the most dominant elements of blind passion are destroyed then comes the sanctification of the elder and precious offspring of Israel who has the clear vision of God. For the exodus of evil works the entrance of virtue, and the opposite is true also. When good withdraws, the evil that is biding its time takes its place. Hardly has Jacob gone out (Gen. xxvii. 30) when Esau is with our mind, which is open to all that come. He thinks to efface the image of virtue and impress in its stead, if he can, the stamp of vice. Yet he shall not be able to accomplish his purpose. The wise man will ward off the blow before it fall, and Esau shall wake to find himself tripped, supplanted, and his inheritance passed to the other.

136 XL. Προσάγει δ' οὐ μόνον ἀπὸ τῶν πρωτοτόκων τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν στεάτων, ἐμφαίνων ὅτι τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς γεγηθότα καὶ πίονα καὶ φυλακτικὰ καὶ χαρτὰ πάντα θεῷ παραχωρητέον. ὁρῶ δ' ἔγωγε καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῶν θυσιῶν διατάξεσι τρία προστεταγμένον ἀναφέρειν ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερείων τὰ πρῶτα, στέαρ καὶ νεφροὺς καὶ λοβὸν ἥπατος (Lev. iii. 3 ff.), περὶ ὧν κατ' ἰδίαν λέξομεν, οὐδαμοῦ δὲ ἐγκέφαλον ἢ καρδίαν, ἅπερ εἰκὸς ἦν πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων καθαγίζεσθαι, εἴ γε καὶ κατὰ τὸν νομοθέτην ἐν τῷ ἑτέρῳ τούτων τὸ
137 ἡγεμονικὸν ἀνωμολόγηται. ἀλλὰ μήποτε ὁσίως πάνυ κἀκ περισκέψεως ἀκριβοῦς αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ βωμὸν οὐκ ἀνῆκεν, ὅτι τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν κατὰ ἀμερῆ χρόνων διαστήματα πολλὰς[1] πρὸς ἑκάτερον τό τε εὖ καὶ χεῖρον τροπὰς λαμβάνον καὶ διαλλάττοντας ἀεὶ τύπους δέχεται τοτὲ μὲν καθαροῦ καὶ δοκίμου τοτὲ δὲ παρακεκομμένου καὶ
138 κιβδήλου νομίσματος. τὴν δεδεγμένην οὖν χώραν ἄμφω τὰ μαχόμενα καλόν τε καὶ αἰσχρὸν καὶ πρὸς ἑκάτερον ᾠκειωμένην καὶ τὴν ἴσην τιμὴν ἀμφοτέροις ἀπονέμουσαν οὐχ ἧττον ἄναγνον ἢ εὐαγῆ κρίνας ὁ νομοθέτης ἀπὸ τοῦ θείου βωμοῦ κατεβίβασε· τὸ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν βέβηλον, τὸ δὲ βέβηλον
139 πάντως ἀνίερον. τοῦτο δὲ[2] τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν διακεχώρικεν[3]· εἰ δ' ἀπόκρισιν[4] πάσχοι, τηνικαῦτα πάντων τῶν μερῶν κεκαθαρμένων ἀ-

[1] Ins. Cohn from Pap. πολλα ει: MSS. omit.
[2] Cohn suggests διὰ τοῦτο δή.
[3] MSS. διακεχώρηκεν.
[4] Conj. Tr., lit. "separation"; *cf.* Plato, *Def.* 415 D κάθαρσις, ἀπόκρισις χειρόνων ἀπὸ βελτιόνων: MSS. ἐπίκρισιν, which, though a common word in Philo, is unsuitable here.

XL. But Abel offers the firstlings not only from the first-born, but from the fat, showing that the gladness and richness of the soul, all that protects and gives joy, should be set apart for God. I note that also in the ordering of the sacrifices the worshipper is bidden to bring from the victims these three first, the fat, the kidneys, and the lobe of the liver (Lev. iii. 3 ff.). Of these I will speak separately. But nowhere is there a word of the brain or the heart,[a] which we should have supposed would be offered before all, seeing that also in the Lawgiver's words[a] it is acknowledged that the ruling principle resides in one or other of these. Yet perhaps it was in true piety and after careful thought that he excluded them from the altar of God, because this ruling principle from moment to moment is subject to many changes either way, to good and bad. And thus it is ever assuming different impressions: sometimes that of a coin pure and approved by the test, sometimes of one that is base and adulterated. This region then which admits both contending elements, the noble and the shameful, which is familiar with both, and honours both alike, seemed no less unholy than holy to the lawgiver, and therefore he dismissed it from the altar of God. For the shameful is profane, and the profane is surely unholy. It is this profaneness which has excluded the ruling principle. But if that should undergo purgation, then, when all the parts have been cleansed, there shall be given to the

[a] See App. p. 492.

κηλίδωτον ἄχραντον ὁλοκαυτωθήσεται· νόμος γὰρ ὁλοκαυτωμάτων οὗτος, μηδὲν ἔξω τροφῆς σκυβάλων καὶ δέρματος, ἃ σωματικῆς ἀσθενείας δείγματα, οὐχὶ κακίας, ἐστίν, ὑπολείπεσθαι τῷ γενητῷ, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὅσα ψυχὴν ὁλόκληρον κατὰ πάντα τὰ μέρη παρέχεται ὁλοκαυτοῦν θεῷ.

sacrificial fire a whole offering free from stain and pollution. For this is the law of burnt-offerings, that nothing save the excrement and hide [a] which are the tokens of bodily weakness, not of wickedness, should be left to created being, but the rest, which show a soul wholly complete in all its parts, should be given in their entirety as a burnt-offering to God.

[a] See App. p. 492.

THAT THE WORSE IS WONT TO ATTACK THE BETTER

(QUOD DETERIUS POTIORI INSIDIARI SOLEAT)

ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

Cain and Abel signify to Philo opposing principles, love of self and love of God (32). The call to Abel to go out into the " plain " is a challenge to a disputation. The opening of the Treatise is mainly occupied in showing that in Genesis " plain " suggests a contest of opposing principles. Why does Jacob call Leah and Rachel to the *plain* ? Because it is there that he " tends his flocks," *i.e.* disciplines his lower impulses. The *plain* is the obvious place for Joseph, the wearer of a many-coloured patchwork of inconsistent tenets, to be sent to by his father that he may be taught better by his brethren, who are there becoming proficients in the work of disciplining their lower nature (their flocks). Even Isaac, going out into the *plain* to meditate is, in Philo's eyes, the peerless champion, who finds the field emptied by the retirement of all his adversaries. " The *plain*," says Philo in 32, " has now been shown to be a figure of a contest," and so he passes on to his next point.

Abel was ill-advised to accept Cain's challenge. Self-love can plead for itself (33 f.) with an eloquence which can be met only by one versed in dialectic, and Abel lacked such training. Moses was wiser in shrinking from meeting the sophists of Egypt,

acknowledging himself to be without eloquence, nay, devoid of speech itself, and waiting for "Aaron," who commonly represents for Philo the uttered word. Thought should ever be wedded to speech. Glib fools are contemptible, but dumb wise men are ineffective (44 ff.). This is a theme to which Philo returns later on (126 ff.), where he enlarges on the joy of speech in interpreting thought.

Yet the seeming victory of the false view is really a defeat (47), as is evident when we consider well what is implied in the words, "the *voice* of thy brother's *blood*." Here is the great truth, which is plainly stated in Lev. xvii. 11, that "the Life is in the Blood." The Life which is Life indeed emerges from seeming death no longer "speechless." It has now a "voice," which God hears (47 ff. and 92 f.). This theme is taken up again in 70 ff., where the question put to Cain, "What hast thou done?" is treated as equivalent to "Thou hast effected nothing," and as signifying the futility of sophism, 'clothing itself with' Balaam or anyone else, in contrast with the undying life of virtue.

The seeming victor, moreover, brings on himself a curse which comes to him "from the earth," *i.e.* the senses which are his chosen field (98 ff.). He may *toil* at it, but can never *till* it (104 ff.). It will never second his efforts (112 f.). He must go "groaning and trembling" (119, 129 f.), never finding *rest* with 'Noah,' or *laughter* with 'Isaac,' or *joy in himself* with 'Aaron,' or *hope* with 'Enos' (120 ff.). He will taste abandonment (141 ff.) and the shame of exposure to the eyes of God (158 ff.).

A few points may be noticed—

(*a*) Suggestions illustrated by the New Testament.

(α) God asks questions to convict men out of their own mouths, and to elicit an utterance of the heart's desire (58-60). We are reminded of our Lord's way with men.

(β) Blood is distinguished, as the essence of our animal vitality, from the inbreathed breath of our reason (79-91). Our thoughts go to the Epistle to the Hebrews and 1 St. John.

(*b*) Philo's habit of going off at a word.

(α) The word "keeper" in Cain's insolent question leads to 'guardianship': this to Levites, guardians of the oracles of God. Their active service from the age of twenty-five to that of fifty, when they become guardians, leads to Memory, guarding what it has learned, and assisted in the high task of teaching by Utterance ("His *brother* shall minister," Numb. viii. 26) (62-68).

(β) The words "God hath made me to laugh" (literally "hath made laughter for me") leads to the thought of God as "Poet" ("Maker") whose Poetry produces gladness (123 ff.).

(γ) Joseph is sent *from* "Hebron," the place of "hollows," which at once suggests the differences of level and colour which are a symptom of leprosy, and are therefore suited to mark the unhealthy state which Joseph must be rid of (15 f.).

(δ) Joseph, having lightly started in the right direction, is presently found "*wandering*."

We may, with a right but superficial intention, go wrong, mistaking forced asceticism for healthy self-control, and outward piety for true religion (17-21).

(ε) The two stages of education are reached by way of the two cakes made of Manna, which is a synonym for the Rock, from which flows the spring of Divine wisdom (117 f.).

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΤΟ ΧΕΙΡΟΝ ΤΩΙ ΚΡΕΙΤΤΟΝΙ ΦΙΛΕΙΝ ΕΠΙΤΙΘΕΣΘΑΙ

1
[191] I. “ Καὶ εἶπε Κάιν πρὸς Ἄβελ τὸν ἀδελφὸν
αὐτοῦ Διέλθωμεν ἐπὶ τὸ πεδίον. καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν
τῷ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, ἀνέστη Κάιν ἐπὶ
Ἄβελ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν ”
(Gen. iv. 8). ὃ βούλεται ὁ Κάιν τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν,
ἐκ προκλήσεως τὸν Ἄβελ εἰς συζήτησιν ἀγαγὼν
εἰκόσι καὶ πιθανοῖς σοφίσμασιν ἑλεῖν ἀνὰ κράτος·
τὸ γὰρ πεδίον, εἰς ὃ προτρέπεται παραγενέσθαι,
σημεῖον ἁμίλλης καὶ διαμάχης εἶναί φαμεν ἀπὸ
τῶν προφανῶν τεκμαιρόμενοι περὶ τῶν ἀδήλων.
2 ὁρῶμεν γὰρ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἀγώνων κατά τε
πόλεμον καὶ κατ᾿ εἰρήνην ἐν πεδίοις συνισταμένους·
ἐν εἰρήνῃ μὲν οὖν ὅσοι τοὺς γυμνικοὺς ἄθλους
διαθλοῦσι, στάδια καὶ λεωφόρα πεδία μεταδιώκουσι,
κατὰ δὲ τὸν πόλεμον τὰς πεζομαχίας καὶ ἱππο-
μαχίας οὐκ ἐν γεωλόφοις ἔθος ἐστὶ ποιεῖσθαι·
πλείους γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἀνεπιτηδειότητος τῶν χώρων
αἱ βλάβαι, ὧν ἀντεπιφέρουσιν ἀλλήλοις οἱ ἐχθροί,
3 γένοιντ᾿ ἄν. II. σημεῖον δὲ μέγιστον, ὁ ἀσκητὴς
ἐπιστήμης τὴν ἐναντίαν διάθεσιν πολεμῶν ἀμαθίαν,
ὅταν τὰς ἐν ψυχῇ δυνάμεις ἀλόγους τρόπον τινὰ
ποιμαίνῃ νουθετῶν καὶ σωφρονίζων, ἐν πεδίῳ
θεωρεῖται· “ ἀποστείλας γὰρ Ἰακὼβ ἐκάλεσε Λείαν

THAT THE WORSE IS WONT TO ATTACK THE BETTER

I. " And Cain said to Abel his brother, Let us make our way to the plain.[a] And it came to pass when they were on the plain that Cain rose up against his brother Abel and killed him " (Gen. iv. 8). What Cain is aiming at is by means of a challenge to draw Abel into a dispute, and to gain the mastery over him by plausible sophistries that have the appearance of truth. For, drawing our conclusions about things that are obscure from things that are manifest, we say that the plain, the rendezvous to which he summons him, is a figure of contest and desperate battle. For we see that most contests both in war and peace take place on plains. In peace those who contend in athletic sports look out for race-courses and spacious plains ; and in war it is not usual to fight infantry or cavalry battles on hills ; for the casualties arising from the unfavourable nature of the ground would outnumber those inflicted on each other by the combatants. II. Here is a signal proof of this. The earnest seeker of knowledge, at war with ignorance, the contrary condition, when shepherding (so to speak) with admonition and correction the irrational powers in the soul, is presented to us on a plain : for " Jacob sent and called Leah

[a] See App. p. 493.

καὶ Ῥαχὴλ εἰς τὸ πεδίον, οὗ τὰ ποίμνια" (Gen.
4 xxxi. 4), παριστὰς ἐναργῶς ὅτι φιλονεικίας σημεῖον
[192] τὸ πεδίον | ἐστί. καλεῖ δὲ αὐτὰς <διὰ τί>; "ὁρῶ
τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν" ἔφη "ὅτι οὐκ
ἔστι πρὸς ἐμὲ ὡς ἐχθὲς καὶ τρίτην ἡμέραν· ὁ δὲ
θεὸς τοῦ πατρός μου ἦν μετ' ἐμοῦ" (Gen. xxxi. 5).
διὰ τοῦτο γάρ, εἴποιμ' ἄν, ὁ Λάβαν οὐκ ἔστι πρὸς
σοῦ, ὅτι μετὰ σοῦ ὁ θεός· ἐν ᾗ μὲν γὰρ ψυχῇ τὸ
ἐκτὸς αἰσθητὸν ὡς μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν τετίμηται,
ἐν ταύτῃ λόγος ἀστεῖος οὐχ εὑρίσκεται· ᾗ δ' ἐμ-
περιπατεῖ ὁ θεός, τὸ ἐκτὸς αἰσθητὸν ἀγαθὸν οὐχ
ὑπείληπται, καθ' ὃ νενόηται καὶ προσηγόρευται
5 Λάβαν. καὶ ὅσοι δὲ ἐν μέρει λόγου τοῦ προ-
κόπτοντος κατὰ τὸν πατέρα κοσμοῦνται, τὰς ψυχῆς
ἀλόγους φορὰς μεταδιδάσκουσιν ἐκλεξάμενοι ἐπι-
τήδειον τόπον τὸ πεδίον. λέγεται γὰρ τῷ Ἰωσήφ·
"οὐχ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου ποιμαίνουσιν ἐν Συχέμ;
δεῦρο ἀποστείλω σε πρὸς αὐτούς. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν Ἰδοὺ
ἐγώ. εἶπε δὲ αὐτῷ Πορευθεὶς ἴδε, εἰ ὑγιαίνουσιν
οἱ ἀδελφοί σου καὶ τὰ πρόβατα, καὶ ἀνάγγειλόν
μοι. καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς κοιλάδος τῆς
Χεβρών, καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Συχέμ. καὶ εὗρεν αὐτὸν
ἄνθρωπος πλανώμενον ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ· ἠρώτησε δὲ
αὐτὸν ὁ ἄνθρωπος Τί ζητεῖς; ὁ δὲ εἶπε Τοὺς
ἀδελφούς μου ζητῶ, ἀνάγγειλόν μοι ποῦ βόσκουσιν.
εἶπε δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ ἄνθρωπος Ἀπήρκασιν ἐντεῦθεν·
ἤκουσα γὰρ αὐτῶν λεγόντων Πορευθῶμεν εἰς
6 Δωθαείμ" (Gen. xxxvii. 13-17). III. ὅτι μὲν
οὖν ἐν πεδίῳ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀλόγων δυνάμεων
ποιοῦνται τὴν ἐπιστασίαν, δῆλόν ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν
εἰρημένων. ὁ δὲ Ἰωσὴφ πέμπεται πρὸς αὐτούς,

and Rachel to the plain, where the flocks were" (Gen. xxxi. 4), making it clear that the plain is a figure for contentiousness. And what is his motive for calling them? "I see your father's face," he said, "that it is not toward me as it used to be: but the God of my father has been with me" (Gen. xxxi. 5). 'The reason,' I should be inclined to say, 'that Laban is not on thy side, is that God is with thee; for in a soul in which the outward object of sense is valued as a supreme good, in that soul excellent reason is not found: but in one in which God walks, the outward object of sense is not regarded as a good thing: and it is to this that the conception and name of Laban corresponds.' And such men as order themselves by the principle of gradual progress in accordance with their father's rule, have chosen the plain as a suitable place for their task of teaching the soul's irrational impulses a better way. For the words addressed to Joseph are: "Do not thy brethren tend their flocks in Sychem? Come let me send thee to them." And he said "Here am I." And he said to him "Go see, whether thy brethren are in good health and the sheep, and bring me word." And he sent him out of the valley of Hebron, and he came to Sychem. And a man found him wandering in the plain: and the man asked him "What seekest thou?" And he said "I seek my brethren, tell me where they feed their flocks." And the man said to him "They have departed hence, for I heard them saying 'Let us go to Dothaim.'" (Gen. xxxvii. 13-17). III. It is evident from these words that they are in the plain, caring for the irrational powers within them. And, because he is unable to bear the too great severity

ἐπεὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιστήμην αὐστηροτέραν
οὖσαν ἀδυνατεῖ φέρειν, ἵνα μάθῃ παρὰ τιθασωτέροις
ὑφηγηταῖς τὰ πρακτέα καὶ συνοίσοντα· κέχρηται
γὰρ δόγματι ἐκ διαφερόντων συνυφασμένῳ, πάνυ
ποικίλῳ καὶ πολυπλόκῳ, παρὸ καὶ χιτῶνα κατ-
εσκευάσθαι ποικίλον φησὶν ὁ νομοθέτης αὐτῷ
(Gen. xxxvii. 3), δηλῶν ὅτι λαβυρινθώδους καὶ
7 δυσεκλύτου δόξης ἐστὶν εἰσηγητής· πρὸς γὰρ
πολιτείαν μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν φιλοσοφῶν τὰ
τρία γένη τῶν ἀγαθῶν, τά τε ἐκτὸς καὶ περὶ σῶμα
καὶ ψυχήν, ὅλαις φύσεσιν ἀλλήλων διηρτημένα εἰς
τὸ αὐτὸ ἄγει καὶ συνείρει, χρεῖον ἕκαστον ἑκάστου
καὶ πάντα πάντων ἀποφαίνειν ἀξιῶν καὶ τὸ ἐξ
ἀθρόων συντεθὲν ἄρτιον καὶ πλῆρες ὄντως ἀγαθόν,
τὰ δ' ἐξ ὧν τοῦτο ἐπάγη μέρη μὲν ἢ στοιχεῖα
[193] 8 ἀγαθῶν, | ἀγαθὰ δ' οὐκ εἶναι τέλεια· καθάπερ γὰρ
μήτε πῦρ μήτε γῆν μήτε τι τῶν τεττάρων, ἐξ ὧν
ἐδημιουργήθη τὸ πᾶν, κόσμον εἶναι, τὴν δὲ τῶν
στοιχείων εἰς ταὐτὸ σύνοδόν τε καὶ κρᾶσιν, τὸν
αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸ εὔδαιμον μήτε ἐν τοῖς ἐκτὸς
ἰδίᾳ μήτε ἐν τοῖς περὶ σῶμα μήτε ἐν τοῖς περὶ
ψυχὴν καθ' αὑτὰ ἐξετάζεσθαι—τῶν γὰρ εἰρημένων
ἕκαστον μερῶν τινα καὶ στοιχείων λόγον ἔχειν—
9 ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ ἐκ πάντων ἄθροισμα. IV. ταύτην

[a] See App. p. 493.

of his father's knowledge, Joseph is sent to them, that in the hands of more lenient instructors he may learn what he ought to do and what will be beneficial; for the creed he has hitherto followed is one woven of incongruous elements, multifarious and complex in the highest degree. This is why the lawgiver says that a coat of many colours was made for him (Gen. xxxvii. 3), indicating by this that he is the promulgator of a doctrine full of mazes and hard to disentangle. He is one who moulds his theories with an eye to statecraft rather than to truth. This appears in his treatment of the three kinds of good things,[a] those pertaining to the outside world, to the body, and to the soul. These, though separated from each other by complete diversity of nature, he brings together and combines into one, claiming to show that each is in need of each and all of all, and that the aggregate resulting from taking them all together in a body is a perfect and really complete good; but that the constituents out of which this is compacted, though indeed parts or elements of good things, are not good things in perfection. He points out that neither fire nor earth nor any of the four elements, out of which the universe was formed, is a world, but the coming together and blending of the elements into one; and argues that in precisely the same way happiness is found to be neither a peculiar property of the things of the outside world, nor of the things pertaining to the body, nor of those pertaining to the soul, taken by themselves. He argues that each of the three classes mentioned has the character of a part or element and that it is only when they are all taken together in the aggregate that they produce happiness. IV. In order, then, that he

οὖν τὴν δόξαν πέμπεται μεταδιδαχθησόμενος πρὸς ἄνδρας μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἀγαθὸν νομίζοντας, ὃ ψυχῆς ὡς ψυχῆς ἐστιν ἴδιον, τὰ δ᾽ ἐκτὸς καὶ περὶ σῶμα πλεονεκτήματα λεγόμενα μόνον, οὐ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὄντα, ἀγαθὰ πεπιστευκότας. "ἰδοὺ" γάρ φησιν "οἱ ἀδελφοί σου ποιμαίνουσι" καὶ ἄρχουσι παντὸς ἀλόγου μέρους τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς "ἐν Συχέμ" (Gen. xxxvii. 13)· ὦμος δὲ ἑρμηνεύεται, τλητικοῦ σημεῖον πόνου· βαστάζουσι γὰρ ἄχθος μέγιστον οἱ φιλάρετοι, τὴν πρὸς σῶμα καὶ τὴν σώματος ἡδονὴν καὶ πάλιν αὖ τὴν πρὸς τὰ ἐκτὸς καὶ τὰς ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐγγινομένας τέρψεις ἀντίταξιν.
10 "δεῦρο οὖν ἀποστείλω σε πρὸς αὐτούς" (ib.), τουτέστι μετακλήθητι καὶ πρόσελθε τῇ διανοίᾳ λαβὼν ὁρμὴν ἑκούσιον εἰς τὸ τὰ ἀμείνω μαθεῖν. ἀλλ᾽ ἄχρι γε τοῦ παρόντος ἐπιμορφάζεις ὡς παιδείαν δεξάμενος τὴν ἀληθῆ· μήπω γὰρ παρὰ σαυτῷ τοῦτο ὡμολογηκὼς ἕτοιμος εἶναι λέγεις ἀναδιδάσκεσθαι, ὅταν φῇς "ἰδοὺ ἐγώ," ἐξ οὗ μοι δοκεῖς εἰκαιότητα καὶ εὐχέρειαν ἀπελέγχειν σεαυτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τὸ μαθεῖν ἑτοιμότητα μηνύειν. τεκμήριον δέ, εὑρήσει σε μικρὸν ὕστερον ὁ ἀληθινὸς ἄνθρωπος πλανώμενον ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ (Gen. xxxvii. 15), οὐκ ἂν πλανηθέντα, εἰ ἀπὸ γνώμης ὑγιοῦς ἐπὶ τὴν
11 ἄσκησιν ἦλθες. καὶ μὴν ὅ γε προτρεπτικὸς λόγος τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνάγκην ἐπιτίθησιν οὐδεμίαν, ἵνα ἐθελουργὸς καὶ αὐτοκέλευστος ἐπιτηδεύῃς τὰ βελτίω, φησὶ γάρ· "πορευθεὶς ἴδε," θέασαι καὶ

[a] See App. p. 493.

may be taught better ideas than these, he is sent to men who hold that nothing is a good thing [a] but what has true beauty, and that this is a property belonging to the soul as soul; men who are convinced that advantages pertaining to things outside and to the body are good things in name only, not in reality. For it says "Behold thy brethren tend their flocks," and govern every irrational element of their being "in Sychem" (Gen. xxxvii. 13). "Sychem" means "shoulder," a symbol of patient toil; for lovers of virtue carry a very great burden, namely resistance to the body and bodily pleasure, and in addition to these resistance to external things and the delights which they afford us. "Come then let me send thee to them," (*ibid.*), that is, 'submit to be summoned elsewhere, and draw nigh and entertain in thine understanding a ready eagerness for the receiving of better teaching. Up to the present time thou deludest thyself with the idea that thou hast welcomed the true education. For thou professest to be ready to be taught otherwise, though thou hast not yet in thine own heart acknowledged thy need of this. Thy cry "Here am I" seems to me to convict thee of rash and reckless compliance, rather than to indicate readiness to learn. A proof of this is that soon afterwards the real man will find thee wandering in the way (Gen. xxxvii. 15), whereas thou never wouldst have lost the way hadst thou with a healthy resolve come to be trained. And mark, the words in which thy father urges thee to go put no compulsion on thee, in order that thou mayest follow the better course at thine own prompting and by thine own spontaneous action. His words are: "Go see," contemplate and observe and

κατανόησον καὶ πάνυ ἀκριβῶς περίσκεψαι τὸ πρᾶγμα· εἰδέναι γάρ σε δεῖ περὶ ὃ μέλλεις πονεῖσθαι πρότερον, εἶτ' αὖθις ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτοῦ
12 χωρεῖν. ὅταν μέντοι διακύψῃς καὶ περιαγαγὼν ὄμμα ὅλον δι' ὅλων καταθεάσῃ, προσεξέτασον καὶ τοὺς ἐπιθεμένους ἤδη καὶ ἀσκητὰς αὐτοῦ γεγονότας, εἰ τοῦτο δρῶντες "ὑγιαίνουσιν" ἀλλὰ μὴ μεμήνασι, καθάπερ οἱ φιλήδονοι διασύροντες καὶ ἐπιχλευάζοντες νομίζουσι. μήτε δὲ τὴν θέαν τοῦ πράγματος μήτε τὴν περὶ τοῦ ὑγιαίνειν τοὺς ἀσκητὰς διάγνωσιν βεβαιώσῃ παρὰ σεαυτῷ, πρὶν "ἀναγγεῖλαι" καὶ ἀνενεγκεῖν τῷ πατρί· γνῶμαι γὰρ αἱ μὲν τῶν ἄρτι μανθάνειν ἀρχομένων ἄστατοι καὶ ἀνίδρυτοι, πάγιοι δ' αἱ τῶν προκεκοφότων,|
[194] ἀφ' ὧν τὸ ἀκλινὲς κἀκείνους λαμβάνειν ἀναγκαῖον.
13 V. Τοῦτον, ὦ διάνοια, τὸν τρόπον ἐὰν ἐρευνᾷς τοὺς ἱεροφαντηθέντας λόγους μὲν θεοῦ, νόμους δὲ ἀνθρώπων θεοφιλῶν, οὐδὲν ταπεινὸν οὐδ' ἀνάξιον τοῦ μεγέθους αὐτῶν ἀναγκασθήσῃ παραδέχεσθαι. αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτο, περὶ οὗ νῦν ὁ λόγος ἐστί, πῶς ἄν τις τῶν εὖ φρονούντων παραδέξαιτο; ἆρα τοσαύτην σπάνιν οἰκετῶν ἢ ὑπηρετῶν εἰκὸς εἶναι τῷ βασιλέως ἔχοντι περιουσίαν Ἰακώβ, ὡς υἱὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ξένην ἐκπέμπειν διαγγελοῦντα περὶ τῶν ἄλλων παίδων, εἰ ὑγιαίνουσι, καὶ προσέτι
14 τῶν θρεμμάτων; ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ χωρὶς τοῦ πλήθους τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, οὓς ἐννέα βασιλεῖς καθελὼν ἀπήγαγεν, ὑπὲρ τριακοσίους ἔσχεν οἰκότριβας· μεμείωται δὲ τῆς οἰκίας οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ χρόνου

[a] The word is that for " it be well with " in Gen. xxxvii. 14.

with perfect exactness consider the matter; for thou must first know that at which thou art about to labour, and then afterwards proceed to attend to it. When however thou hast surveyed it and with comprehensive glance obtained a complete view of it in all its parts, go on further to examine those who have already applied themselves to it and become its devotees. Thou must find out whether in pursuing this course they are of sound mind,[a] and not mad, as those who love pleasure imagine in their mocking depreciation of them. Consider the matter, I say, and judge whether they be sane who practise this discipline; and yet let not thy judgement be final till thou hast brought word and made a report to thy father: for the judgements of those who are beginning to learn are unsettled and unstable, while in those who have made much progress they are firmly fixed; and the only way is for the others to acquire stedfastness from these.'

V. If, O my understanding, thou searchest on this wise into the oracles which are both words of God and laws given by men whom God loves, thou shalt not be compelled to admit anything base or unworthy of their dignity. Why, how could any sensible person admit the very narrative of which we are now speaking? Is it likely that Jacob, who had the wealth of a king, was so badly off for household servants or attendants as to send a son out abroad to bring word about his other children, whether they are in good health, and about the cattle to boot? His grandfather, apart from the multitude of prisoners of war whom he carried off after defeating nine kings, had over three hundred home-bred servants; and since then there has been no curtailing of his menage,

προϊόντος πάντα διὰ πάντων ἔλαβεν αὔξησιν. οὐκ ἂν οὖν ἀφθόνου θεραπείας ὑπαρχούσης υἱὸν ἠξίου πέμπειν, οὗ μάλιστα ἐκήδετο, ἐπὶ πρᾶξιν, ἣν καὶ τῶν εὐτελεστάτων ἄν τις ῥᾳδίως κατώρθωσεν.

15 VI. ἀλλ' ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ τὸ χωρίον, ὅθεν αὐτὸν ἐκπέμπει, περιττῶς ἀναγράφει μόνον οὐκ ἐναργῶς προτρέπων ἀφίστασθαι τοῦ ῥητοῦ· "ἐκ γὰρ τῆς κοιλάδος τῆς Χεβρών" (Gen. xxxvii. 14)· συζυγὴ δὲ καὶ συνεταιρὶς Χεβρὼν καλεῖται συμβολικῶς ἡμῶν τὸ σῶμα, ὅτι συνέζευκται καὶ ὥσπερ ἑταιρίαν καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς ψυχὴν τέθειται· κοιλάδας δὲ ἔχει τὰ αἰσθητήρια, μεγάλας δεξαμενὰς ἁπάντων ὅσα ἐκτὸς αἰσθητά, ἃ τὰς παμπληθεῖς ποιότητας ἐπαντλοῦντα καὶ διὰ τῶν δεξαμενῶν ἐπεισχέοντα τῇ διανοίᾳ κατακλύζει καὶ βύθιον αὐτὴν

16 ἀπεργάζεται. διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τῆς λέπρας, ὅταν ἐν οἰκίᾳ κοιλάδες χλωρίζουσαι ἢ πυρρίζουσαι φανῶσι, διείρηται τοὺς λίθους, ἐν οἷς γεγόνασιν, ἐξελόντας ἑτέρους ἀντιτιθέναι (Lev. xiv. 37 ff.), τουτέστιν, ὅταν διαφέρουσαι ποιότητες, ἃς ἐδημιούργησαν ἡδοναὶ καὶ ἐπιθυμίαι καὶ τὰ ἀδελφὰ τούτων πάθη, βαρύνασαι καὶ πιέσασαι τὴν ὅλην ψυχὴν κοιλοτέραν καὶ ταπεινοτέραν αὐτὴν ἑαυτῆς ἐργάσωνται, τοὺς τῆς ἀσθενείας αἰτίους λόγους ἀνελεῖν, ὑγιεινοὺς δὲ δι' ἀγωγῆς νομίμου ἢ καὶ παιδεύσεως ὀρθῆς ἀντεισαγαγεῖν.

17 VII. Τὸν Ἰωσὴφ οὖν ὅλον εἰς τὰς τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν αἰσθήσεων κοιλότητας εἰσδεδυκότα ὁρῶν

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[a] See App. p. 493.

but as time went on it has in every way grown greater. Having then an abundant supply of servants he would never have thought fit to send a son, of whom he was specially fond, on a business which could easily have been carried out quite well even by one of the least valuable of his dependents. VI. Now you notice that Scripture goes out of its way to record even the place from which he dispatches him, all but giving the reader a plain hint to avoid the literal interpretation. For it says " out of the vale of Hebron " (Gen. xxxvii. 14). Now " Hebron," a " coupling " and " comradeship," is a figurative title for our body, because it is " coupled " with a soul, and has established a friendship and " comradeship " with it. As " vales " it has organs of sense, great receivers of all objects of sense outside it. These pump over the understanding the countless qualities of things, and pour them in upon it through the receivers, flooding it and totally submerging it. This is why in the Law of Leprosy, when greenish or reddish depressions show themselves in a house, an injunction is given to remove the stones in which they have appeared and to put others in their place (Lev. xiv. 57 ff.). That is to say, when diverse qualities, the handiwork of pleasures and desires and passions akin to these, press and weigh down the whole soul, hollowing it out and lowering its level, we are to get rid of the principles which cause the infirmity, and introduce in their place good healthy principles by means of a training under the law or indeed of a good education.[a]

VII. Seeing, therefore, that Joseph has utterly sunk into the hollows of the body and the senses,

προκαλεῖται τῶν φωλεῶν ἔξω προελθόντα ἐλευ-
θέρου σπάσαι τοῦ καρτερίας πνεύματος φοιτήσαντα
πρὸς τοὺς πάλαι μὲν ἀσκητὰς νυνὶ δὲ διδασκάλους
αὐτῆς. ὁ δὲ προεληλυθέναι δόξας πλανώμενος
εὑρίσκεται· "εὗρε" γάρ φησιν "αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπος
[195] | πλανώμενον ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ" (Gen. xxxvii. 15),
δηλῶν ὅτι οὐχ ὁ πόνος καθ' αὑτὸν ἀλλ' ὁ μετὰ
18 τέχνης ἀγαθόν. ὥσπερ γὰρ οὔτε μουσικὴν ἀμούσως
οὔτε γραμματικὴν ἀγραμμάτως οὐδὲ συνόλως
φράσαι τέχνην ἀτέχνως ἢ κακοτέχνως ἀλλὰ
τεχνικῶς ἑκάστην ἐπιτηδεύειν προσῆκεν, οὕτως
οὐδὲ φρόνησιν πανούργως οὐδὲ σωφροσύνην φει-
δωλῶς καὶ ἀνελευθέρως οὐδὲ θρασέως ἀνδρείαν
οὐδὲ δεισιδαιμόνως εὐσέβειαν οὐδ' ἄλλην τινὰ
κατ' ἀρετὴν ἐπιστήμην ἀνεπιστημόνως· ἀνοδία
γὰρ ὁμολογουμένως ταῦτα πάντα. παρὸ καὶ
νόμος κεῖται "δικαίως τὸ δίκαιον διώκειν"
(Deut. xvi. 20), ἵνα δικαιοσύνην καὶ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν
τοῖς συγγενέσιν ἔργοις αὐτῆς ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῖς ἐναν-
19 τίοις μετερχώμεθα. ἐὰν οὖν τινα θεάσῃ σῖτα καὶ
ποτὰ μὴ ἐν καιρῷ προσιέμενον ἢ λουτρὰ καὶ
ἀλείμματα παραιτούμενον ἢ τῶν περὶ σῶμα
σκεπασμάτων ἀμελοῦντα ἢ χαμευνίαις καὶ δυσ-
αυλίαις χρώμενον, εἶτ' ἐκ τούτων ἐπιμορφάζοντα
ἐγκράτειαν, οἶκτον λαβὼν τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν πλάνης
τὴν ἀληθῆ τῆς ἐγκρατείας ὁδὸν δεῖξον· ἃ γὰρ
ἐπετήδευσεν, ἀνήνυτοι καὶ ἄτρυτοι πόνοι λιμῷ
καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις κακώσεσι ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα ἐκτρα-
20 χηλίζοντες. μηδ' εἴ τις περιρραντηρίοις ἢ καθαρ-

[a] Omitting τῶν after τινὰ with HL. If τῶν be read with

he challenges him to quit his lurking-place and go forward and draw a free draught of the spirit of stedfastness by resorting to those who were once aspirants after it, and are now teachers of it. But he, though he fancied that he had made a move forward, is found wandering: for he says, "a man found him wandering in the plain" (Gen. xxxvii. 15), showing that toil by itself is not good, but toil accompanied by skill. For just as it is our business not to practise music unmusically or grammar ungrammatically, or, to say it in a word, any art without art or with bad art, but to practise each art in the way which that art requires, so neither is it our business to practise good sense with cunning, or self-mastery with stinginess and meanness, or courage with rashness, or piety in a superstitious way, or any other virtue-governed knowledge in a spirit of ignorance;[a] for everyone knows that these are trackless regions. Accordingly there is a law bidding us "follow what is just in a just way" (Deut. xvi. 20), that we pursue justice and all virtue by doing the deeds akin to it, but not those that are contrary to it. If then thou observest anyone not taking food or drink when he should, or refusing to use the bath and oil, or careless about his clothing, or sleeping on the ground, and occupying wretched lodgings, and then on the strength of all this fancying that he is practising self-control, take pity on his mistake, and show him the true method of self-control; for all these practices of his are fruitless and wearisome labours, prostrating soul and body by starving and in other ways maltreating them. A man may submit

Cohn, render "nor any other pursuit of the proper understanding of the implications of virtue, without real understanding."

σίοις χρώμενος διάνοιαν μὲν ῥυπαίνει τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, τὸ δὲ σῶμα φαιδρύνει, μηδ' εἰ πάλιν ὑπὸ περιουσίας νεὼν ἱδρύεται λαμπροτάταις χορηγίαις καὶ δαπάναις χρώμενος ἢ ἑκατόμβας ἀνάγει καὶ βουθυτῶν οὐ παύεται ἢ πολυτελέσιν ἀναθήμασι κοσμεῖ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀφθόνους μὲν ὕλας τέχνας δὲ παντὸς ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ τιμιωτέρας εἰσάγων, μετ'
21 εὐσεβῶν ἀναγεγράφθω. πεπλάνηται γὰρ καὶ οὗτος τῆς πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ὁδοῦ, θρησκείαν ἀντὶ ὁσιότητος ἡγούμενος καὶ δῶρα τῷ ἀδεκάστῳ διδοὺς οὐδέποτε ληψομένῳ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ κολακεύων τὸν ἀκολάκευτον, ὃς γνησίους μὲν θεραπείας ἀσπάζεται—γνήσιοι δ' εἰσὶν αἱ ψυχῆς ψιλὴν καὶ μόνην θυσίαν φερούσης ἀλήθειαν—τὰς δὲ νόθους ἀποστρέφεται· νόθοι δ' ὅσαι διὰ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀφθονιῶν ἐπιδείξεις.

22 VIII. Τοῦ δὲ εὑρόντος ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ πλανώμενον αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπου (Gen. xxxvii. 15) τὸ κύριον ὄνομα οὐ φασί τινες δεδηλῶσθαι, καὶ αὐτοὶ τρόπον τινὰ πεπλανημένοι διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τὴν ὀρθὴν ὁδὸν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐναργῶς ὁρᾶν· εἰ γὰρ μὴ τὸ ψυχῆς ὄμμα ἐπεπήρωντο, ἔγνωσαν ἂν ὅτι τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀνθρώπου τὸ ἰδιαίτατον καὶ εὐθυβολώτατον ὄνομά ἐστιν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἄνθρωπος, ἡρθρωμένης καὶ λογικῆς διανοίας
23 οἰκειοτάτη πρόσρησις. οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐν
[196] ἑκάστου τῇ ψυχῇ | κατοικῶν τοτὲ μὲν ἄρχων καὶ βασιλεὺς εὑρίσκεται τοτὲ δὲ δικαστὴς καὶ βραβευτὴς τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀγώνων, ἔστι δ' ὅτε

to sprinklings with holy water and to purifications, befouling his understanding while cleansing his body ; he may, having more money than he knows what to do with, found a temple, providing all its furniture on a scale of lavish magnificence ; he may offer up hecatombs, and never cease sacrificing bullocks ; he may adorn the sacred building with costly votive offerings, employing on them rich material in abundance, and skilled craftsmanship that is more priceless than silver and gold ; yet shall he not be inscribed on the roll of the pious. No, for this man, like those others, has gone astray from the road that accords with piety, deeming it to be ritual instead of holiness, and offering gifts to Him who cannot be bribed and will not accept such things, and flattering Him who cannot be flattered, who welcomes genuine worship of every kind, but abhors all counterfeit approaches. Genuine worship is that of a soul bringing simple reality as its only sacrifice ; all that is mere display, fed by lavish expenditure on externals, is counterfeit.

VIII. Some say that the proper name of the man who found him wandering on the plain has not been mentioned (Gen. xxxvii. 15). Those who say so are themselves, too, in some sort astray, owing to their inability to see clearly the right way in matters generally. For had they not been smitten with partial blindness of the soul's eye, they would have recognized that the name which most correctly describes the real man and most thoroughly belongs to him is simply "man," the most proper title of a mind endowed with reason and articulate utterance. This "man," dwelling in the soul of each of us, is discovered at one time as king and governor, at another as judge and umpire of life's contests.

μάρτυρος ἢ κατηγόρου λαβὼν τάξιν ἀφανῶς ἡμᾶς
ἔνδοθεν ἐλέγχει μηδὲ διᾶραι τὸ στόμα ἐῶν, ἐλλαμ-
βανόμενος δὲ καὶ ἐπιστομίζων ταῖς τοῦ συνειδότος
ἡνίαις τὸν αὐθάδη μετὰ ἀφηνιασμοῦ δρόμον
24 γλώττης ἐπέσχεν. οὗτος ὁ ἔλεγχος ἐπύθετο τῆς
ψυχῆς, ἡνίκα τὴν πλάνην εἶδεν αὐτῆς· "τί ζητεῖς
(Gen. xxxvii. 15);" ἆρά γε φρόνησιν; τί οὖν ἐπὶ
πανουργίας βαίνεις; ἀλλὰ σωφροσύνην; ἀλλ' ἐπὶ
φειδωλίαν ἡ τρίβος ἄγει· ἀλλὰ ἀνδρείαν; θρασύ-
της προσέρχεται ταύτῃ· ἀλλ' εὐσέβειαν μετέρχῃ;
25 δεισιδαιμονίας ἡ ὁδός. ἐὰν δὲ φάσκῃ ζητεῖν τοὺς
ἐπιστήμης λόγους καὶ ποθεῖν ὡς τοὺς ἐγγυτάτω
γένους ἀδελφούς, μὴ πάνυ πιστεύωμεν αὐτῇ· οὐ
γὰρ ἂν ἐπυνθάνετο "ποῦ βόσκουσιν" (ib. v. 16),
ἀλλὰ "ποῦ ποιμαίνουσιν"· οἱ μὲν γὰρ βόσκοντες
τροφὰς τὰ αἰσθητὰ πάντα παρέχουσι τῷ τῶν
αἰσθήσεων ἀλόγῳ καὶ ἀπλήστῳ θρέμματι, δι' ἃς
ἀκράτορες ἑαυτῶν γινόμενοι καὶ κακοδαιμονοῦμεν,
οἱ δὲ ποιμαίνοντες ἀρχόντων καὶ ἡγεμόνων ἔχοντες
δύναμιν τὰ ἐξηγριωμένα ἡμεροῦσι στέλλοντες τὸ
26 τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν μέγεθος. εἴπερ οὖν ἐζήτει τοὺς
ἀρετῆς πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀσκητάς, ἐσκέπτετ' ἂν
αὐτοὺς ἐν βασιλεῦσιν, οὐκ ἐν οἰνοχόοις ἢ σιτο-
ποιοῖς ἢ μαγείροις· οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὰς
εὐτρεπίζουσιν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἡδονῶν ἄρχουσι. IX.
διὸ καὶ ἀποκρίνεται ὀρθῶς ὁ τὴν ἀπάτην ἰδὼν
ἄνθρωπος· "ἀπήρκασιν ἐντεῦθεν" (Gen. xxxvii.
27 17). δείκνυσι δὲ τὸν σωματικὸν ὄγκον δηλῶν ὅτι
πάντες, οἷς ὑπὲρ κτήσεως ἀρετῆς πόνος διαθλεῖ-

[a] "Elenchus," used of the Word and Angel and Priest of God; of Conscience; of our real self. See especially *De Fuga et Inventione* 131.

Sometimes he assumes the part of witness or accuser, and, all unseen, convicts us from within, not allowing us so much as to open our mouth, but, holding in and curbing the tongue with the reins of conscience, checks its wilful and rebellious course. This challenger [a] inquired of the soul when he saw it wandering, " What seekest thou ? " (Gen. xxxvii. 15). 'Is it sound sense thou art seeking ? Why then dost thou walk upon the path of cunning ? Is it self-mastery ? But this road leads to stinginess. Is it courage ? Rashness meets thee by this way. Is it piety thou art in quest of ? This road is that of superstition.' But if it says that it is seeking the principles of science and longs after them as its brethren nearest of kin, let us not believe it at all ; for its inquiry would not have been " where do they feed " (*ibid.* v. 16), but " where do they tend " their flocks ? For those who feed us supply nourishment in the shape of all objects of sense to the irrational and insatiable flock of the senses, nourishment which robs us of self-control and plunges us in misery ; whereas those who tend, having the power of rulers and governors, tame what has become wild by repressing the vehemence of the desires. Had the soul, then, been seeking the real devotees of virtue, it would have looked for them among kings, not among cup-bearers or confectioners or cooks ; for whereas these prepare the things that minister to pleasures, those rule over pleasures. IX. So it is a right answer that the man gives who has seen the deceit : " they have departed hence " (Gen. xxxvii. 17). He points to the material frame, showing that all who maintain a toilsome contest for the winning

ται, τὸν περίγειον καταλελοιπότες χῶρον μετεωρο-
πολεῖν ἐγνώκασιν οὐδεμίαν τῶν σωματικῶν
ἐφελκόμενοι κηρῶν· καὶ γὰρ λεγόντων ἀκηκοέναι
28 φησὶν αὐτῶν· "εἰς Δωθαεὶμ πορευθῶμεν" (ib.)
—ἑρμηνεύεται δὲ ἔκλειψις ἱκανή—παριστάντων
ὅτι οὐ μέσως ἀλλ' ἄκρως ἀπόλειψιν καὶ ἔκλειψιν
τῶν ἃ μὴ πρὸς ἀρετὴν συνεργεῖ μεμελετήκασι,
καθὰ καὶ "Σάρρᾳ ἔτι γίνεσθαι τὰ γυναικεῖα
ἐξέλιπε" (Gen. xviii. 11)· θήλεα δὲ φύσει τὰ
πάθη, ὧν ἔκλειψιν ἐπιτηδευτέον παρὰ τοὺς ἄρ-
ρενας τῶν εὐπαθειῶν χαρακτῆρας.

Οὐκοῦν "ἐν πεδίῳ" τουτέστιν ἐν ἁμίλλῃ λόγων
εὑρίσκεται καὶ ὁ ποικίλου δόγματος εἰσηγητὴς
πρὸς πολιτείας μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἀληθείας τύπον
29 χρησίμου πλανώμενος Ἰωσήφ. εἰσὶ δέ τινες τῶν
ἀγωνιστῶν οἳ διὰ σώματος εὐεξίαν, ἀπειπόντων
τῶν ἀντιπάλων, ἐστεφανώθησαν ἀμαχὶ μηδ' αὐτὸ
[197] μόνον κονισάμενοι ἀσυγκρίτου | ῥώμης εὑράμενοι
τὰ πρωτεῖα. τοιαύτῃ δυνάμει χρησάμενος περὶ
τὸ θειότατον τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν τὴν διάνοιαν Ἰσαὰκ
"ἐξέρχεται μὲν εἰς τὸ πεδίον" (Gen. xxiv. 63),
ἁμιλλησόμενος δ' οὐδενί, πάντων κατεπτηχότων
τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν τὸ μεγαλεῖον καὶ ὑπερβάλλον
ἐν ἅπασι τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ, μόνον δὲ ἰδιάσαι
βουλόμενος καὶ ἰδιολογήσασθαι τῷ συνοδοιπόρῳ
καὶ ἡγεμόνι τῆς τε ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς θεῷ.
30 τεκμήριον δὲ ἐναργέστατον τοῦ μηδένα προσ-

of virtue quit the earthly region and are resolved to mount the skies, carrying in their train no bodily disabilities. For the man says that he also heard them saying, " Let us go to Dothaim " (*ibid.*). Now " Dothaim " means " thorough quitting." So their words are a guarantee that, not in any half-and-half way but out-and-out, have they set themselves to study how to forsake and quit all that does not contribute to virtue. In like manner we read, " Sarah was quit of her experience of what belongs to women " (Gen. xviii. 11) ; and the passions are by nature feminine, and we must practise the quitting of these for the masculine traits that mark the noble affections.

Well, then, it is on a plain, that is, amid a contest of words, that Joseph is found wandering, the advocate of a subtle form of doctrine serving to inculcate statecraft rather than truth. Among those who contend in the sports there are some whose bodies are in such splendid condition that their opponents withdraw from the contest, and they are crowned without having to fight, winning the prize on the score of their incomparable strength, without so much as having had themselves sprinkled with dust in preparation for the combat. Endowed in mind, the divinest part of us, with a strength such as that of these athletes, Isaac " goeth out into the plain " (Gen. xxiv. 63), not to contend with anyone, for those who would oppose him have cowered before the greatness of his nature, so far beyond them in all ways. No, he goes forth desiring only to be alone with God, the Guide and Fellow-traveller of his path and of his soul, and to have converse with Him. We have a very plain proof that it was no mortal talking

ὁμιλοῦντα τῷ Ἰσαὰκ θνητὸν εἶναι· Ῥεβέκκα γὰρ ἡ ὑπομονὴ πεύσεται τοῦ παιδὸς ἕνα ὁρῶσα καὶ ἑνὸς μόνου λαμβάνουσα φαντασίαν· "τίς ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος ὁ πορευόμενος εἰς συνάντησιν ἡμῖν (ib. v. 65);" ἡ γὰρ ἐπιμένουσα τοῖς καλοῖς ψυχὴ ἱκανὴ μέν ἐστι τὴν αὐτομαθῆ σοφίαν καταλαμβάνειν, ἐπίκλησιν Ἰσαάκ, οὔπω δὲ δυνατὴ τὸν
31 τῆς σοφίας ἡγεμόνα θεὸν ἰδεῖν. παρὸ καὶ ὁ παῖς ἐπισφραγιζόμενος τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι καταλαβεῖν τὸν ἀειδῆ καὶ προσομιλοῦντα ἀοράτως φησίν· "οὗτος ὁ κύριός μου" (ib.), τὴν δεῖξιν φέρων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσαὰκ μόνον· οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς προφανέντων δυεῖν ἕνα δεικνύναι, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἄδεικτον οὐκ εἶδε πᾶσι τοῖς μέσοις ἀόρατον ὄντα.

32 X. Ὡς μὲν τοίνυν τὸ πεδίον, εἰς ὃ προκαλεῖται τὸν Ἄβελ ὁ Κάιν ἐλθεῖν, σύμβολον ἁμίλλης καὶ διαμάχης ἐστίν, ἱκανῶς δεδηλῶσθαι νομίζω. διαπορητέον δὲ ἑξῆς, περὶ τίνων ποιοῦνται τὰς ζητήσεις προελθόντες. ἢ δῆλον ὅτι περὶ ἐναντίων καὶ μαχομένων δοξῶν; ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἄβελ ἀναφέρων ἐπὶ θεὸν πάντα φιλόθεον δόγμα, ὁ δὲ Κάιν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν—κτῆσις γὰρ ἑρμηνεύεται—φίλαυτον· φίλαυτοι δέ, ὅταν τοῖς ἀρετὴν τιμῶσιν ἐπαποδυσάμενοι κονίσωνται, [καὶ] παγκρατιάζοντες οὐ παύονται πρὶν ἢ ἀπειπεῖν βιάσασθαι ἢ παντελῶς διαφθεῖραι.
33 πάντα γάρ, τὸ τοῦ λόγου δὴ τοῦτο, κινοῦσι λίθον φάσκοντες· οὐκ οἰκία ψυχῆς τὸ σῶμα; διὰ τί οὖν οἰκίας, ὡς μὴ γένοιτο ἐρείπιος, οὐκ ἐπιμελησόμεθα;

[a] Called "Pancratium."

to Isaac. For Rebecca, who is persistence, will presently inquire of the servant as seeing one and receiving an impression of one only, "Who is this man who is coming to meet us?" (*ibid.* v. 65). For the soul that persists in noble courses is indeed capable of apprehending self-taught wisdom, which is represented by the title "Isaac," but is unable as yet to see God the Ruler of wisdom. In keeping with this the servant, confirming her inability to apprehend Him who is unseen and who is invisibly conversing with him, says, "this is my master" (*ibid.*), pointing at Isaac only; for it is not likely that if two had been visible he would have pointed at one. No, he did not see Him who cannot be pointed at, for He is invisible to all who are but midway on their course.

X. Well, I think it has been made sufficiently clear that the plain on to which Cain challenges Abel to come is a figure of a contest to be fought out. We must next endeavour to discover what the subjects of their investigations are when they have gone forth. It is evident that they are to investigate opposing views clean contrary to each other. For Abel, referring all things to God, is a God-loving creed; but Cain, referring all to himself—his name means "acquisition"—a self-loving creed. And lovers of self, when they have stripped and prepared for conflict with those who value virtue, keep up the boxing and wrestling [a] until they have either forced their opponents to give in, or have completely destroyed them. For they leave no stone unturned, as the saying is, while they ply their questions. 'Is not the body the soul's house?' Why, then, should we not take care of a house, that it may not

οὐκ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ὦτα καὶ ὁ τῶν ἄλλων χορὸς
αἰσθήσεων ψυχῆς ὥσπερ τινὲς δορυφόροι καὶ
φίλοι; συμμάχους οὖν καὶ φίλους οὐκ ἐν ἴσῳ
τιμητέον ἑαυτοῖς; ἡδονὰς δὲ καὶ ἀπολαύσεις καὶ
τὰς παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον τέρψεις τοῖς τεθνεῶσιν ἢ
[198] τοῖς | μηδὲ γενομένοις τὸ παράπαν ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῖς
ζῶσιν ἡ φύσις ἐδημιούργει; πλοῦτον δὲ καὶ δόξαν
καὶ τιμὰς καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα τοιαῦτα τί
παθόντες οὐποριούμεθα, ἐξ ὧν οὐ μόνον τὸ
ἀσφαλῶς ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐδαιμόνως ζῆν περιγίνεται;
34 μάρτυς δὲ ὁ βίος τούτων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ λεγόμενοι
φιλάρετοι ἄδοξοι σχεδὸν ἅπαντες, εὐκαταφρόνητοι,
ταπεινοί, τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεεῖς, ὑπηκόων μᾶλλον
δὲ καὶ δούλων ἀτιμότεροι, ῥυπῶντες, ὠχροί, κατ-
εσκελετευμένοι, λιμὸν ὑπ' ἀσιτίας ἐμβλέποντες,
νοσερώτατοι, μελετῶντες ἀποθνήσκειν· οἱ δ' αὑτῶν
ἐπιμελούμενοι ἔνδοξοι, πλούσιοι, ἡγεμόνες, ἐπ-
αινούμενοι, τιμώμενοι, [πάλιν] ὑγιεινοί, πίονες, ἐρρω-
μένοι, ἁβροδίαιτοι, θρυπτόμενοι, πόνον οὐκ εἰδότες,
ἡδοναῖς συζῶντες διὰ πασῶν τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐπὶ
35 τὴν πανδεχῆ ψυχὴν τὰ ἡδέα φερούσαις. XI. τοιου-
τονί τινα δόλιχον ἀπομηκύναντες λόγῳ νικᾶν τοὺς
οὐκ εἰωθότας σοφιστεύειν ἔδοξαν. αἰτία δὲ τῆς
νίκης οὐχ ἡ τῶν περιγεγενημένων ἰσχύς, ἀλλ' ἡ
περὶ ταῦτα τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἀσθένεια. τῶν γὰρ

[a] μελετῶντες ἀποθνήσκειν. See Plato, *Phaedo* 67 E, and App. pp. 493-494.

fall into ruins? Are not eyes and ears and the band of the other senses bodyguards and courtiers, as it were, of the soul? Must we not then value allies and friends equally with ourselves? Did nature create pleasures and enjoyments and the delights that meet us all the way through life, for the dead, or for those who have never come into existence, and not for the living? And what is to induce us to forgo the acquisition of wealth and fame and honours and offices and everything else of that sort, things which secure for us a life not merely of safety but of happiness? The mode of life of these two classes is a witness to the truth of what I say. The so-called lovers of virtue are almost without exception obscure people, looked down upon, of mean estate, destitute of the necessaries of life, not enjoying the privileges of subject peoples or even of slaves, filthy, sallow, reduced to skeletons, with a hungry look from want of food, the prey of disease, in training for dying.[a] Those, on the other hand, who take care of themselves are men of mark and wealth, holding leading positions, praised on all hands, recipients of honours, portly, healthy and robust, revelling in luxurious and riotous living, knowing nothing of labour, conversant with pleasures which carry the sweets of life to the all-welcoming soul by every channel of sense.' XI. When they have covered the dreary length of a long-distance course of talk like this, they are held to have defeated men unaccustomed to quibbling arguments. But their victory lies not in the strength of those who have won, but in their opponents' weakness at this sort of thing. For those who apply themselves to the pursuit of virtue may be placed in

ἐπιτηδευόντων ἀρετὴν οἱ μὲν ἐν ψυχῇ μόνῃ τὸ καλὸν ἐθησαυρίσαντο πράξεων ἐπαινετῶν ἀσκηταὶ γενόμενοι, τερθρείας λόγων ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὄναρ ἐπησθημένοι, τοῖς δὲ ἀμφότερα ἐξεγένετο, τὴν μὲν διάνοιαν εὐβουλίᾳ καὶ ἀγαθοῖς ἔργοις, τοὺς δὲ λόγους ταῖς περὶ αὐτοὺς τέχναις μάλιστα ὀχυρώ-
36 σασθαι· τούτοις μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὰς ἐριστικὰς ἐνίων ἁμίλλας ἀπαντᾶν ἐμπρεπές, οἷς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἀμύνονται πεπορισμένοις ἐξ ἑτοίμου, τοῖς δὲ προτέροις οὐδεμία ἀσφάλεια· γυμνοὶ γὰρ πρὸς ὡπλισμένους τίνες ἂν ἰσοκρατῶς ἀπομάχεσθαι δυνηθεῖεν, ὁπότε καὶ παρεσκευασμένοις ἀγὼν
37 ἄνισος; ὁ τοίνυν Ἄβελ τέχνας μὲν λόγων οὐκ ἔμαθε, διανοίᾳ δὲ μόνῃ τὸ καλὸν οἶδεν· οὗ χάριν τὴν εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἄφιξιν ἐχρῆν παραιτήσασθαι καὶ τῆς τοῦ δυσμενοῦς προκλήσεως ἀλογῆσαι· ἥττης γὰρ πᾶς ὄκνος ἀμείνων· τὸν δὲ ὄκνον τοῦτον οἱ μὲν ἐχθροὶ δειλίαν, ἀσφάλειαν δ' οἱ φίλοι προσαγορεύουσι· φίλοις δὲ πρὸ δυσμενῶν ἅτε ἀψευδοῦσι
38 πιστευτέον. XII. οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι Μωυσῆς τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τῷ σώματι σοφιστάς, οὓς φαρμακέας ὀνομάζει, παραιτεῖται σοφισμάτων γὰρ τέχναις καὶ ἀπάταις ἤθη χρηστὰ τρόπον τινὰ φαρμακεύεται
[199] καὶ διαφθείρεται— | φάσκων μὴ εἶναι "εὔλογος" (Exod. iv. 10), ἴσον τῷ μὴ πεφυκέναι πρὸς τὴν τῶν εὐλόγων καὶ πιθανῶν εἰκαστικὴν ῥητορείαν, ἔπειθ' ἑξῆς διαβεβαιούμενος, ὅτι οὐ μόνον οὐκ

two classes. Some, making the soul alone the treasure-house of the good at which they aim, devote themselves to praiseworthy actions, without having so much as dreamt of jugglery with words. The others are doubly successful; their mind is secured by wisdom in counsel and good deeds, their speech by the arts of eloquence. Now to encounter the wranglings in which some folk delight is eminently fitting for these latter, ready and equipped as they are with the means of withstanding their enemies, but for the former class it is not at all safe to do so. For who are there that unarmed could meet armed men, and fight them on equal terms, seeing that, even were they fully equipped, the combat would be an unequal one? Now Abel has never learned arts of speech, and knows the beautiful and noble with his mind only. For this reason he should have declined the meeting on the plain, and have paid no regard to the challenge of the man of ill-will: for any shrinking back is better than defeat, and such shrinking back as this, though our enemies call it cowardice, is called caution by our friends; and since they are free from falsehood, we should believe friends in preference to men who have ill-will towards us. XII. Do you not see that Moses fights shy of the sophists in "Egypt," that is, in the body? He calls them "magicians," because good morals are spoiled by the tricks and deceptions of sophistry acting on them like the enchantments of magic. Moses' plea is that he is not "eloquent" (Exod. iv. 10), which is equivalent to saying that he has no gift for the oratory which is but specious guesswork at what seems probable. Afterwards he follows this up by emphatically stating that he is not merely

εὔλογος ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελῶς "ἄλογός" ἐστιν
(Exod. vi. 12); ἄλογος δέ, οὐχ ὥς φαμεν τὰ μὴ
λογικὰ τῶν ζῴων, ἀλλ' ὁ μὴ δικαιῶν τῷ διὰ τοῦ
φωνητηρίου ὀργάνου γεγωνῷ λόγῳ χρῆσθαι, μόνῃ
δὲ σημειούμενος καὶ ἐνσφραγιζόμενος διανοίᾳ τὰ
τῆς ἀληθοῦς σοφίας, ἥτις ἀντίθετός ἐστι ψευδεῖ
39 σοφιστείᾳ, θεωρήματα. καὶ οὐ βαδιεῖται πρότερον
εἰς Αἴγυπτον οὐδ' εἰς ἅμιλλαν ἀφίξεται τοῖς αὐτῆς
σοφισταῖς, πρὶν ἢ τὸν προφορικὸν ἄκρως ἀσκη-
θῆναι λόγον, τὰς πρὸς ἑρμηνείαν ἁπάσας ἰδέας
ἀναδείξαντος καὶ τελειώσαντος θεοῦ διὰ τῆς
Ἀαρὼν χειροτονίας, ὃν ἀδελφὸν Μωυσέως ὄντα
"στόμα" καὶ ἑρμηνέα καὶ "προφήτην" (Exod.
40 iv. 16, vii. 1) εἴωθε καλεῖν· πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα τῷ
λόγῳ συμβέβηκεν, ὃς ἀδελφός ἐστι διανοίας· πηγὴ
γὰρ λόγων διάνοια καὶ στόμιον αὐτῆς λόγος, ὅτι τὰ
ἐνθυμήματα πάντα διὰ τούτου καθάπερ νάματα
ἀπὸ πηγῆς εἰς τοὐμφανὲς ἐπιρρέοντα ἀναχεῖται·
καὶ ἑρμηνεύς ἐστιν ὧν ἐν τῷ ἑαυτῆς βουλευτηρίῳ
βεβούλευκεν· ἔτι μέντοι καὶ προφήτης καὶ θεο-
πρόπος ὢν ἐξ ἀδύτων καὶ ἀοράτων χρησμῳδοῦσα
οὐ παύεται.
41 XIII. Τοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸν τρόπον ἐναντιοῦσθαι
τοῖς περὶ τὰ δόγματα ἐριστικοῖς χρήσιμον· γε-
γυμνασμένοι γὰρ περὶ τὰς τῶν λόγων ἰδέας οὐκέτ'
ἀπειρίᾳ σοφιστικῶν παλαισμάτων ὀκλάσομεν, ἐξ-
αναστάντες δὲ καὶ διερεισάμενοι τὰς ἐντέχνους
αὐτῶν περιπλοκὰς εὐμαρῶς ἐκδυσόμεθα. οἱ δ'

[a] See App. p. 494.

not eloquent but absolutely "speechless" (Exod. vi. 12). He calls himself "speechless," not in the sense in which we use the word of animals without reason, but of him who fails to find a fitting instrument in the language uttered by the organs of speech, and prints and impresses on his understanding the lessons of true wisdom, the direct opposite of false sophistry. And he will not go to Egypt nor engage in conflict with its sophists, until he has been fully trained in the word of utterance, God having shown and perfected all the qualities [a] which are essential to expression of thought by the election of Aaron who is Moses' brother, and of whom he is wont to speak as his "mouth" and "spokesman" and "prophet" (Exod. iv. 16; vii. 1); for all these titles belong to Speech or Word, which is brother of Mind. For mind is the fountain of words and speech is its outlet. For all the thoughts of the heart, like streams from a spring, well up and flow forth into the open through speech; and Speech is the expounder of the plans which Understanding has formed in its own council-chamber. Speech, moreover, is the spokesman and prophet of the oracles which the understanding never ceases to utter from depths unseen and unapproachable.

XIII. It will be well for us to counter in this manner those who are pugnacious over the tenets which they maintain; for when we have been exercised in the forms which words take, we shall no more sink to the ground through inexperience of the tricks of the sophistic wrestling, but we shall spring up and carry on the struggle and disentangle ourselves with ease from the grips which their art has taught them. And when we have once found

ἅπαξ εὑρεθέντες σκιαμάχων ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀγωνιστῶν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι δόξουσι δύναμιν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι καθ' ἑαυτοὺς μὲν χειρονομοῦντες εὐδοκιμοῦσι, πρὸς δ'
42 ἅμιλλαν ἐλθόντες οὐ μετρίως ἀδοξοῦσιν. εἰ δέ τις τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν ἀρεταῖς ἁπάσαις κεκόσμηται, τέχνας δὲ λόγων οὐκ ἐμελέτησεν, ἡσυχίᾳ χρώμενος ἀσφάλειαν γέρας ἀκίνδυνον εὑρήσεται, παρελθὼν δ' ὡς Ἄβελ εἰς σοφιστικὸν ἀγῶνα πρὶν διερηρεῖ-
43 σθαι πεσεῖται. καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν ἰατρικῇ τινες μὲν θεραπεύειν εἰδότες πάντα σχεδὸν πάθη καὶ νοσήματα καὶ ἀρρωστήματα λόγον οὐδενὸς αὐτῶν οὔτε ἀληθῆ οὔτ' εἰκότα ἀποδοῦναι δύνανται, οἱ δ' ἔμπαλιν τὰ μὲν περὶ λόγους εἰσὶ δεινοί, σημείων καὶ αἰτιῶν καὶ θεραπείας, ἐξ ὧν ἡ τέχνη συνέστηκεν, ἑρμηνεῖς ἄριστοι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς καμνόντων ἐπι-
[200] μέλειαν σωμάτων φαυλότατοι, τῶν εἰς ἴασιν | ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ μικρότατον παρασχεῖν ἱκανοί, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον οἱ μὲν τῆς δι' ἔργων ἀσκηταὶ σοφίας πολλάκις λόγων ἠμέλησαν, οἱ δὲ τὰς ἐν λόγῳ τέχνας ἀναδιδαχθέντες οὐδὲν ἐν ψυχῇ παίδευμα
44 καλὸν ἐθησαυρίσαντο. τούτους μὲν οὖν ἀχαλίνῳ κεχρημένους γλώττῃ μετ' αὐθαδείας θρασύνεσθαι παράδοξον οὐδέν, ἀπόνοιαν γὰρ ἣν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐμελέτησαν ἐπιδείκνυνται· ἐκείνοις δ' ὥσπερ ἰατροῖς τὸ ὑγιάζον τὰς ψυχῆς νόσους τε καὶ κῆρας ἀναδιδαχθεῖσι μέρος ἐπέχειν ἀναγκαῖον, μέχρις ἂν ὁ

them out, they will be seen to be exhibiting the prowess of men sparring for practice, not that of men engaged in a real combat. For they are boxers who win admiration in a mock encounter among themselves and are thought very little of when they engage in a match. But if a man, though equipped in soul with all the virtues, has had no practice in rhetoric, so long as he keeps quiet he will win safety, a prize that entails no risk, but, when like Abel he steps out for a contest of wits, he will fall before he has obtained a firm footing. For, just as in medicine there are some practitioners who know how to treat almost all afflictions and illnesses and cases of impaired health, and yet are unable to render any scientific account either true or plausible of any one of them; and some, on the other hand, who are brilliant as far as theories go, admirable exponents of symptoms and causes and treatment, the subject matter of the science, but no good whatever for the relief of suffering bodies, incapable of making even the smallest contribution to their cure: in just the same way, those who have given themselves to the pursuit of the wisdom that comes through practice and comes out in practice have often neglected expression, while those who have been thoroughly instructed in the arts that deal with speech have failed to store up in soul any grand lesson which they have learned. It is in no way surprising that these latter should discover an arrogant audacity in the unbridled use of their tongue. They are only displaying the senselessness which has all along been their study. Those others, having been taught, as doctors would be, that part of the art which brings health to the sicknesses and plagues of the soul, must be content to wait, until

θεὸς καὶ τὸν ἄριστον ἑρμηνέα κατασκευάσῃ τὰς
τοῦ λέγειν πηγὰς ἀνομβρήσας καὶ ἀναδείξας αὐτῷ.
45 XIV. Σύμφορον οὖν ἦν εὐλαβείᾳ σωτηρίῳ ἀρετῇ
χρησάμενον τὸν Ἄβελ οἴκοι καταμεῖναι τῆς εἰς
τὸν ἐριστικὸν καὶ φιλόνεικον ἀγῶνα προκλήσεως
ἀλογήσαντα, μιμησάμενον Ῥεβέκκαν τὴν ὑπομονήν,
ἥτις ἀπειλοῦντος Ἠσαῦ τοῦ κακίας θιασώτου τὸν
ἀρετῆς ἀσκητὴν Ἰακὼβ <ἀποκτενεῖν> ἀναχωρῆσαι
τῷ μέλλοντι ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι παραγγέλλει, μέχρις
46 ἂν ἐκεῖνος τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ σχετλίου λύττης ἀνῇ. καὶ
γὰρ ἀφόρητόν τινα ἀπειλὴν ἐπανατείνεται φάσκων·
"ἐγγισάτωσαν αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ πένθους τοῦ πατρός
μου, ἵνα ἀποκτείνω Ἰακὼβ τὸν ἀδελφόν μου"
(Gen. xxvii. 41)· εὔχεται γὰρ τὸ μόνον ἀπαθὲς
εἶδος ἐν γενέσει τὸν Ἰσαάκ, ᾧ χρησμός ἐστι "μὴ
καταβῆναι εἰς Αἴγυπτον" (Gen. xxvi. 2), ἀλόγῳ
πάθει χρῆσθαι, ἵνα, δοκῶ, ἡδονῆς ἢ λύπης ἤ τινος
ἄλλου πάθους κέντροις τρωθῇ, δηλῶν ὡς ὁ ἀτελέ-
στερος καὶ ἐπιπόνῳ προκοπῇ χρώμενος οὐ τραῦμα
μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελῆ φθορὰν δέξεται· ὁ μέντοι
χρηστὸς θεὸς οὔτε ἁλωτὸν πάθει τὸ ἀτρώτου
γένους εἶδος ἐργάσεται οὔτε τὴν ἀρετῆς ἄσκησιν
47 ἐπ᾽ ὀλέθρῳ φονῶντι καὶ δαιμονῶντι ἐκδώσει. διὸ
καὶ τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον "ἀνέστη Κάιν ἐπὶ Ἄβελ τὸν
ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸν" (Gen. iv. 8)
κατὰ μὲν τὴν πρόχειρον φαντασίαν ὑποβάλλει, ὅτι
Ἄβελ ἀνῄρηται, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀκριβεστέραν
ἐξέτασιν, ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ Κάιν ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ· ὥσθ᾽ οὕτως

[a] See App. p. 494.

God shall have equipped in addition the most perfect interpreter, pouring out and making manifest to him the fountains of utterance.

XIV. It would have been well, then, for Abel to have exercised the saving virtue of caution, and to have stayed at home taking no notice of the challenge to the contest in wrangling. He should have imitated Rebecca, who represents patient waiting. When Esau, the votary of wickedness, threatens to murder Jacob, the devotee of virtue, she charges him against whom the plot was being hatched to go away, until Esau's cruel madness against him be allayed. For it is indeed an insufferable threat that he holds over him, when he says: "Let the days of my father's mourning[a] draw near, that I may slay Jacob my brother" (Gen. xxvii. 41); for he prays that Isaac, the only example of freedom from passion beneath the sun, who receives the divine warning "not to go down into Egypt" (Gen. xxvi. 2), may become the subject of irrational passion, desiring him, I take it, to be wounded by the darts of pleasure or sorrow or some other passion. By so desiring he makes it clear that the man who falls short of perfection and knows only toilsome progress will be liable not to be wounded only but to be utterly destroyed. God, however, in His loving-kindness will neither cause a being of an inviolable kind to be the victim of a passion, nor will He hand over the pursuit of virtue to a mad murderer for ruin.[b] So the words that follow "Cain rose up against Abel his brother and slew him" (Gen. iv. 8), suggest, so far as superficial appearance goes, that Abel has been done away with, but when examined more carefully, that Cain has

[b] *i.e.*, "neither will Isaac fall nor Jacob perish."

ἀναγνωστέον· “ἀνέστη Κάιν καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν
48 ἑαυτόν,” ἀλλ’ οὐχ ἕτερον. εἰκότως δὲ τοῦτο
ἔπαθεν· ἡ γὰρ ἐξ αὑτῆς ἀνελοῦσα ψυχὴ τὸ φιλ-
άρετον καὶ φιλόθεον δόγμα τὸν ἀρετῆς τέθνηκε βίον·
ὥσθ’ ὁ Ἄβελ, τὸ παραδοξότατον, ἀνῄρηταί τε καὶ
ζῇ· ἀνῄρηται μὲν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἄφρονος διανοίας, ζῇ
δὲ τὴν ἐν θεῷ ζωὴν εὐδαίμονα. μαρτυρήσει δὲ τὸ
χρησθὲν λόγιον, ἐν ᾧ “φωνῇ” χρώμενος καὶ
“βοῶν” (Gen. iv. 10) ἃ πέπονθεν ὑπὸ κακοῦ
συνδέτου τηλαυγῶς εὑρίσκεται· πῶς γὰρ ὁ μηκέτ’
ὢν διαλέγεσθαι δυνατός;

49 XV. Ὁ μὲν δὴ σοφὸς τεθνηκέναι δοκῶν τὸν
[201] φθαρτὸν | βίον ζῇ τὸν ἄφθαρτον, ὁ δὲ φαῦλος ζῶν
τὸν ἐν κακίᾳ τέθνηκε τὸν εὐδαίμονα. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ
τῶν διεστηκότων ζῴων τε καὶ κοινῶς σωμάτων
ἕτερα μὲν τὰ ποιοῦντα, ἕτερα δ’ εἶναι τὰ πάσχοντα
δυνατὸν καὶ ῥᾴδιον· ὁπότε γὰρ πατὴρ υἱὸν τύπτει
σωφρονίζων ἢ διδάσκαλος γνώριμον, ἕτερος ὁ
τύπτων καὶ ἕτερος ὁ τυπτόμενός ἐστιν· ἐπὶ δὲ
τῶν ἡνωμένων περὶ ὃ τὸ ποιεῖν καὶ τὸ πάσχειν
εὑρίσκεται, καὶ οὔτε ἐν ἑτέρῳ χρόνῳ οὔτε ἕτερον,
ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ αὐτό· ἐπειδὰν γοῦν
ἀθλητὴς ἑαυτὸν τοῦ γυμνάσασθαι χάριν ἀνατρίβῃ,
πάντως τρίβεται, καὶ εἴ τις μέντοι παίει ἑαυτὸν
ἢ τιτρώσκει, παίεταί τε καὶ τιτρώσκεται, καὶ γὰρ

[a] See App. p. 494.

been done away with by himself. It must be read in this way, "Cain rose up and slew himself," not someone else. And this is just what we should expect to befall him. For the soul that has extirpated from itself the principle of the love of virtue and the love of God, has died to the life of virtue. Abel, therefore, strange as it seems, has both been put to death and lives: he is destroyed or abolished out of the mind of the fool, but he is alive with the happy life in God. To this the declaration of Scripture shall be our witness, where Abel is found quite manifestly using his "voice" and "crying out" (Gen. iv. 10) the wrongs which he has suffered at the hands of a wicked brother. For how could one no longer living speak?

XV. What we arrive at is this: the wise man, when seeming to die to the corruptible life, is alive to the incorruptible; but the worthless man, while alive to the life of wickedness, is dead to the life happy. For, when we are thinking of living beings, or material forms generally, which are separate from one another, it is possible, nay easy, for the active to be one set and the passive another. For, when a father beats a son by way of correction or a teacher a pupil, he that beats is one, and he that is beaten another. But when we are thinking of beings or bodies which are not separate,[a] then action and passivity are found in the same subject. And they are found not at different times and in relation to different subjects, but at the same time and in relation to the same subject. For example, whenever an athlete rubs himself down for purposes of training, there is no question that he is rubbed down; and if a man strikes or wounds himself, he is struck or

ὁ πηρῶν ἢ κτείνων ἑαυτὸν πηροῦται καὶ κτείνεται.
50 πρὸς τί δὴ ταῦτ' εἶπον; ὅτι τὴν ψυχὴν οὐχὶ τῶν
διεστηκότων ἀλλὰ τῶν ἡνωμένων οὖσαν ἀνάγκη
πάσχειν ὃ ποιεῖν δοκεῖ, καθάπερ ἀμέλει καὶ νῦν·
δόξασα γὰρ ἀνελεῖν τὸ θεοφιλέστατον δόγμα
ἑαυτὴν ἀνῄρηκε. μάρτυς δὲ Λάμεχ ὁ τῆς Κάιν
ἀσεβείας ἔκγονος, ὅς φησι γυναιξὶ ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ,
δυσὶ γνώμαις ἀγνώμοσιν· "ἄνδρα ἀπέκτεινα εἰς
τραῦμα ἐμοί, καὶ νεανίσκον εἰς μώλωπα ἐμοί"
51 (Gen. iv. 23). δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι, εἴ τις τὸν ἀνδρείας
λόγον κτείνει, ἑαυτὸν ἐναντίᾳ νόσῳ τιτρώσκει
δειλίας, καὶ εἴ τις τὴν ἀνηβῶσαν ἰσχὺν ἐν ἀσκήσει
τῶν καλῶν ἀναιρεῖ, πληγὰς καὶ μεγάλας αἰκίας
μετ' οὐ μετρίας αἰσχύνης ἐπιφέρει ἑαυτῷ. λέγει
μέντοι καὶ ἡ ὑπομονὴ ὅτι, ἐὰν ἄσκησις ἀναιρεθῇ
καὶ προκοπή, οὐχ ἓν μόνον ἔκγονον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ
ἄλλα ἀποβάλλει, ἀτεκνίαν ἐνδεξαμένη παντελῆ
(Gen. xxvii. 45).

52 XVI. Ὥσπερ δ' ὁ βλάπτων τὸν ἀστεῖον ἐπι-
δέδεικται ζημιῶν ἑαυτόν, οὕτως καὶ ὁ προνομίας
τοὺς ἀμείνους ἀξιῶν λόγῳ μὲν ἐκείνοις, ἔργῳ δὲ
αὑτῷ περιποιεῖται ἀγαθόν. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μου τῷ
λόγῳ ἡ φύσις καὶ τὰ ἀκολούθως αὐτῇ νομοθετη-
θέντα, διείρηται γὰρ ἄντικρυς καὶ σαφῶς οὕτως·
"τίμα τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα, ἵνα εὖ σοι
γένηται" (Exod. xx. 12)· οὐχὶ τοῖς τιμωμένοις,
φησίν, ἀλλὰ "σοί"· ἐάν τε γὰρ τὸν νοῦν ὡς
πατέρα τοῦ συγκρίματος ἐάν τε τὴν αἴσθησιν ὡς

[a] See App. p. 494.
[b] *i.e.*, Jacob.

wounded, for even he who maims and kills himself is maimed and killed. What am I driving at in saying this? That the soul, not coming under the head of persons or things distinct and separate from each other but under that of those which form a single whole, must needs suffer what it seems to do, as of course in the present instance; for when it seemed to destroy the doctrine most dear to God, it turns out to have destroyed itself. This is proved by Lamech, the offspring of Cain's impiety, who, addressing his wives, who are two ill-judging judgements,[a] says: "I have slain a man to my wounding, and a young man to my scourging myself" (Gen. iv. 23). For it is clear that if a man slays the principle of courage, he wounds himself with the opposite disease of cowardice, and if a man does away with the strength that is attaining its prime in a training for noble deeds, he inflicts upon himself blows and great indignities with no small shame. Indeed she who represents patient waiting (Rebecca) says that, if training and gradual progress[b] be done away with, she loses not one progeny only but the rest as well, and incurs complete childlessness (Gen. xxvii. 45).

XVI. Just as the man who injures the man of lofty character has been shown to inflict loss on himself, so correspondingly he who recognizes the dignity of his betters gains something good, nominally for them, actually for himself. Nature and the commandments given in harmony with nature testify to what I say. For we have this plain and direct injunction: "Honour thy father and thy mother, that it may be well with thee" (Exod. xx. 12): it does not say "with those who are honoured" but "with thee"; for if we hold in honour the mind as father of our

μητέρα διὰ τιμῆς ἔχωμεν, εὖ πρὸς ἐκείνων αὐτοὶ
53 πεισόμεθα. τιμὴ δὲ τοῦ μὲν νοῦ <τὸ> διὰ τῶν
συμφερόντων ἀλλὰ μὴ διὰ τῶν ἡδέων θεραπεύεσθαι
—πάντα δὲ τὰ ἀπ᾿ ἀρετῆς συμφέροντα—τῆς δὲ
αἰσθήσεως τὸ μὴ ἀφεθῆναι ῥύμῃ μιᾷ φέρεσθαι
πρὸς τὰ ἐκτὸς αἰσθητά, ἐγχαλινωθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ
νοῦ κυβερνᾶν καὶ ἡνιοχεῖν τὰς ἀλόγους ἐν ἡμῖν
54 δυνάμεις ἐπισταμένου. ἐὰν μὲν οὖν ἧς εἶπον
ἑκάτερον λάχῃ τιμῆς αἴσθησίς τε καὶ νοῦς, ἀνάγκη
τὸν κεχρημένον ἀμφοτέροις ἐμὲ εὐεργετεῖσθαι· ἐὰν
δὲ πόρρω τὸν λόγον ἀπὸ νοῦ καὶ αἰσθήσεως
ἀπαγαγὼν πατέρα μὲν τὸν γεννήσαντα <τὸν>
[202] κόσμον, | μητέρα δὲ τὴν σοφίαν, δι᾿ ἧς ἀπ-
ετελέσθη τὸ πᾶν, τιμῆς ἀξιώσῃς, αὐτὸς εὖ πείσῃ·
δεῖται γὰρ οὐδενὸς οὔτε ὁ πλήρης θεὸς οὔτε ἡ
ἄκρα καὶ παντελὴς ἐπιστήμη, ὥστε τὸν θερα-
πευτικὸν τούτων μὴ τοὺς θεραπευομένους ἀνεν-
55 δεεῖς ὄντας ἀλλ᾿ ἑαυτὸν μάλιστα ὠφελεῖν. ἱππικὴ
μὲν γὰρ καὶ σκυλακευτική, ἐπιστήμη θεραπείας
ἡ μὲν ἵππων ἡ δὲ σκυλάκων οὖσα, πορίζει τοῖς
ζῴοις τὰ ὠφέλιμα, ὧν ἐκεῖνα δεῖται· μὴ πορίζουσα
δὲ ἀμελεῖν ἂν δοκοίη. τὴν δὲ εὐσέβειαν θεοῦ
θεραπείαν ὑπάρχουσαν οὐ θέμις ποριστικὴν εἰπεῖν
τῶν ὠφελησόντων τὸ θεῖον· ὠφελεῖται γὰρ ὑπ᾿
οὐδενός, ἅτε μήτε ἐνδεὲς ὂν μήτε τινὸς τὸ ἐν
ἅπασιν αὐτοῦ κρεῖττον πεφυκότος ὀνῆσαι, τοὐ-
ναντίον δὲ τὰ σύμπαντα συνεχῶς καὶ ἀπαύστως
56 ὠφελεῖ. ὥστε ὅταν τὴν εὐσέβειαν λέγωμεν εἶναι

complex being, and sense as mother, we ourselves shall receive good treatment at their hands. Now honour is shown to the mind when it is cared for by the provision not of things that give it pleasure but of things that do it good, and all things that have their source in virtue do it good. To sense honour is shown when it is not left free to be borne with concentrated force towards its objects in the outer world, but is reined in by the mind, which has skill to direct the irrational powers within us like a pilot or a charioteer. If each, then, sense and mind, obtains such honour as I have described, it must needs be that I to whom they belong derive benefit from it. Let us drop altogether the application to mind and sense. If you accord a father's honour to Him who created the world, and a mother's honour to Wisdom, by whose agency the universe was brought to completion, you will yourself be the gainer. For neither God, Who is full, nor supreme and consummate knowledge, need anything. It follows that he, who cares for these, confers benefits not on the objects of his care, since they lack nothing, but on himself chiefly. Horse-training and dog-fancying, being skill in caring for horses and dogs respectively, provide the animals with the things good for them which they require. Should they fail to provide them they would be held guilty of neglect. But it would be impiety to say that religion, which is a caring for God, is a way of providing what will benefit the Deity ; for He gains benefit from nothing, seeing that He is neither in need of anything nor does any exist capable of adding to His superiority in all things. Nay, He constantly and unceasingly benefits the universe. So that when we say that

θεοῦ θεραπείαν, ὑπηρεσίαν τινὰ τοιαύτην φαμέν, ὁποίαν δοῦλοι δεσπόταις τὸ κελευόμενον ἀόκνως ποιεῖν ἐγνωκότες ὑπηρετοῦσι. διοίσει δὲ πάλιν, ὅτι οἱ μὲν δεσπόται ὑπηρεσίας ἐνδεεῖς, ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐ χρεῖος· ὥστε ἐκείνοις μὲν τὰ ὠφελήσοντα αὐτοὺς ὑπηρετοῦσι, τῷ δ' οὐδὲν ἔξω φιλοδεσπότου γνώμης παρέξουσι· βελτιῶσαι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν εὑρήσουσι, τῶν δεσποτικῶν πάντων ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὄντων ἀρίστων, μεγάλα δ' αὑτοὺς ὀνήσουσι γνωρισθῆναι θεῷ προμηθούμενοι.

57 XVII. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἱκανῶς εἰρῆσθαι νομίζω πρὸς τοὺς εὖ ἢ κακῶς ἑτέρους ποιεῖν δοκοῦντας· εὑρέθησαν γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς ἑκάτερον δρῶντες. τὰ δ' ἑξῆς ἐρευνήσωμεν. ἔστι δὲ πεῦσις τοιαύτη· "ποῦ Ἄβελ ὁ ἀδελφός σου (Gen. iv. 9);" πρὸς ἣν ἀποκρίνεται· "οὐ γινώσκω, μὴ φύλαξ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μού εἰμι ἐγώ (ib.);" οὐκοῦν ἄξιον διαπορῆσαι, εἰ κυρίως ἐνδέχεται πυνθάνεσθαι θεόν· ὁ γὰρ ἐρωτῶν ἢ πυνθανόμενος περὶ ὧν ἀγνοεῖ ἐρωτᾷ τε καὶ πυνθάνεται ζητῶν ἀπόκρισιν, ἐξ ἧς ὃ μὴ οἶδεν εἴσεται· πάντα δὲ θεῷ γνώριμα, οὐ τὰ παρόντα μόνον καὶ παρεληλυθότα ἀλλὰ καὶ
58 τὰ μέλλοντα. τί οὖν καὶ ἀποκρίσεως ὄφελος μὴ μελλούσης τινὰ περιποιεῖν τῷ πυνθανομένῳ κατάληψιν; ἀλλὰ ῥητέον, ὅτι τοιαῦτα οὐ πέφυκεν ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰτίου κυριολογεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ψεῦδος λέγειν ἔστι μὴ ψευδόμενον, οὕτως καὶ ἐρώτημα

[a] See App. p. 494.

religion is a caring for God, we mean some such service as slaves render to their masters when they are set on doing promptly what they are told to do. But here again the parallel is not perfect; for the masters are in want of service, but God does not need it. It follows that, while to masters their slaves render services that will benefit them, to God men can bring nothing except a disposition full of love to their Master. For they will find nothing which they can improve, everything that their Master has being perfect to start with; but themselves they will vastly benefit by taking steps to be admitted to intimacy with God.

XVII. I think that I have now said enough as to those who seem to do good or evil to others. For we have found that it is to themselves that they do the one or the other. Let us investigate what follows. A question is put thus, "Where is Abel thy brother?" (Gen. iv. 9). To this question Cain replies, "I know not. Am I my brother's keeper?" (*ibid.*). This requires us to consider the point, whether God can strictly be said to ask a question. For he that makes an inquiry or asks a question[a] does so in regard to matters about which he is ignorant, looking for an answer, as the result of which he will know what now he does not know. But all things are known to God, not only things present and things past, but also things future. What advantage then does an answer confer, when it is not going to bring about for the inquirer any acquisition of knowledge? The fact is that such expressions cannot be used in their strict sense in the case of the First Cause (*i.e.* God). Just as it is possible to tell a verbal lie without lying, so it is

καὶ πύσμα προφέρεσθαι μήτε ἐρωτῶντα μήτε
πυνθανόμενον. τίνος οὖν ἕνεκα, φήσει τις ἴσως,
λέγεται τοιαῦτα; ἵν' ἡ μέλλουσα τὰς ἀποκρίσεις
ποιεῖσθαι ψυχὴ δι' ἑαυτῆς ἐλέγχηται περὶ ὧν εὖ
ἢ κακῶς ἀποφαίνεται, μήτε κατηγόρῳ μήτε
59 συναγωνιστῇ χρωμένη ἑτέρῳ. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν σοφὸν
[203] ὁπότε | ἀνερωτᾷ "ποῦ ἐστί σοι ἡ ἀρετή;" (Gen.
xviii. 9)—τὸν Ἀβραὰμ λέγω περὶ Σάρρας—
οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ἐρωτᾷ, ἀλλὰ δεῖν οἰόμενος αὐτὸν
ἀποκρίνεσθαι ἕνεκα τοῦ τὸν ἔπαινον τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ
τοῦ λέγοντος παραστῆσαι· φησὶ γοῦν ὅτι εἶπεν·
"ἰδοὺ ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ" τουτέστι τῇ ψυχῇ. τί οὖν
τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ἐπαινετόν; ἰδοὺ τὴν ἀρετήν,
φησίν, ἔχω παρ' ἐμαυτῷ καθάπερ τι κειμήλιον,
60 καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' <οὐκ>[1] εὐθὺς εὐδαιμονῶ. χρῆσις γὰρ
καὶ ἀπόλαυσις ἀρετῆς τὸ εὔδαιμον, οὐ ψιλὴ μόνον
κτῆσις· χρῆσθαι δ' οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην, εἰ μὴ σὺ
καθεὶς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τὰ σπέρματα ἀπεργάσαιο αὐτὴν
ἐγκύμονα, ἡ δὲ εὐδαιμονίας γένος ἀποτέκοι τὸν
Ἰσαάκ –εὐδαιμονίαν δὲ χρῆσιν ἀρετῆς τελείας ἐν
βίῳ τελείῳ νενόηκα –. παρὸ καὶ τῆς προαιρέσεως
ἀγάμενος αὐτὸν ὁμολογεῖ τελεσφορήσειν καιρίως
ἃ ᾐτήσατο.

61 XVIII. Τούτῳ μὲν οὖν ἡ ἀπόκρισις ἔπαινον
ἤνεγκεν ὁμολογοῦντι μηδὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἄνευ θείας
ἐπιφροσύνης ἱκανὴν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ὠφελεῖν εἶναι, τῷ
δὲ Κάιν ἀκολούθως ψόγον φάσκοντι μὴ εἰδέναι,

[1] οὐκ is inserted from conjecture (Tr.).

possible to propound a question or inquiry without either asking or inquiring. What then, someone will perhaps say, is the object of the use of such expressions? That the soul that is to give the answers may be convicted by itself touching its good or evil utterances, with no other, either to accuse it or to plead on its behalf. When God puts a question to the wise one, "Where is thy virtue?" (Gen. xviii. 9)—(I refer to the question put to Abraham about Sarah), He asks not because He is ignorant, but because He thinks it necessary that Abraham should answer, with a view to set in bold relief the praise shown by the speaker's own words to be due. We are told, you see, that he said "Lo, she is in the tent," that is, in the soul. What matter for praise, then, is it that springs out of the answer? What he says is, "Lo, I have virtue laid up by me as some precious treasure, and this by itself does not make me happy. For happiness consists in the exercise and enjoyment of virtue, nor in its mere possession. But I could not exercise it, shouldest Thou not send down the seeds from heaven to cause her to be pregnant, and were she not to give birth to Isaac, *i.e.* happiness in its totality, and I have made up my mind that happiness is the exercise of perfect virtue in a perfect life." Accordingly God is well pleased with the motive of his answer, and consents to bring to pass in due season what he had requested.

XVIII. To Abraham, then, his answer brought praise, acknowledging as he did that even virtue, without God's directing care, is insufficient of itself to do us good: while to Cain, correspondingly, his answer brought blame, since he said that he did not know

ποῦ ὁ δολοφονηθείς ἐστι παρ' αὐτοῦ· ἔδοξε[1] γὰρ τὸν ἀκούοντα ἀπατήσειν ὡς οὐ πάντα διορῶντα καὶ τὴν ἀπάτην ᾗ μέλλει χρῆσθαι προκατειληφότα· ἔκθεσμος δὲ καὶ ἔκφυλος πᾶς ὁ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ
62 ὀφθαλμὸν οἰόμενός τι παρορᾶν. ὁ δέ γε καὶ ἐπινεανιεύεται φάσκων· "μὴ φύλαξ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μού εἰμι ἐγώ (Gen. iv. 9);" πάνυ γάρ, εἴποιμ' ἄν, ἀθλίως ἔμελλε βιώσεσθαι, εἰ σὲ φρουρὸν καὶ φύλακα ἡ φύσις ἀγαθοῦ τοσούτου κατέστησεν. ἢ οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι τὴν τῶν ἁγίων διατήρησίν τε καὶ φυλακὴν οὐ τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσιν ὁ νομοθέτης ἀλλὰ τοῖς τὰς γνώμας ἱερωτάτοις Λευίταις ἐπιτρέπει; ὧν ἀνάξιος κλῆρος γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀὴρ ἔτι δὲ οὐρανὸς καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος ἐνομίσθη, μόνος δ' ἀξιόχρεως ὁ δημιουργός, ᾧ προσπεφεύγασιν ἱκέται γνήσιοι καὶ θεράποντες αὐτοῦ γινόμενοι, τὸ φιλοδέσποτον διὰ τῆς συνεχοῦς ὑπηρεσίας καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐπιτραπέντων ἀοκνοτάτης ἐπιδεικνύμενοι φυ-
63 λακῆς. XIX. καὶ οὐδ' ἅπασιν ἐξεγένετο τοῖς ἱκέταις γενέσθαι φύλαξιν ἱερῶν, ἀλλ' εἴ τινες ἀριθμὸν πεντηκοστὸν ἔλαχον ἄφεσιν καὶ ἐλευθερίαν παντελῆ καὶ ἐπάνοδον εἰς τὰς ἀρχαίας λήξεις προκηρύττοντα. "τοῦτο" γάρ φησιν "ἐστὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν Λευιτῶν· ἀπὸ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν
[204] εἰσελεύσεται | ἐνεργεῖν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ μαρτυρίου, καὶ ἀπὸ πεντήκοντα ἐτῶν ἀποστήσεται τῆς λειτουργίας, καὶ οὐκ ἐργάσεται ἔτι, λειτουργήσει δὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ· ὁ δὲ φυλάξει φυλακάς, ἔργα
64 δὲ οὐκ ἐργάσεται" (Num. viii. 24-26). οὐκοῦν τῷ μὲν ἡμίσει τὴν τελειότητα—τέλειος γὰρ ὁ

[1] ἔδοξε from Mangey's conjecture.

[a] See *De Sac.* 122. [b] See App. p. 494.

where his brother was whom he had treacherously slain: for he imagined that he would deceive Him to whom he gave the answer, as though He did not clearly see all things, and had not anticipated the deception to which he was going to resort: but everyone who thinks that anything escapes the eye of God is an outlaw and an outcast. Cain has the insolence to say, moreover, "Am I my brother's keeper?" (Gen. iv. 9). 'Wretched indeed was his life likely to be,' I should say, 'had nature constituted thee the guardian and keeper of so great a good.' Or seest thou not that the lawgiver commits the keeping and guardianship of the holy things not to ordinary persons, but to Levites, men fully consecrated in their minds? For these earth and sea and air, yea, moreover, heaven and all the world, was deemed a portion of too little worth. The Creator alone was deemed meet for them, with Whom they have taken refuge as genuine suppliants and become His attendants, discovering their love for their Master by constant service and untiring guardianship of the sacred things committed to their care. XIX. Nor was it to all the suppliants that it fell to become guardians of sacred things, but to such as obtained by lot the number 50, announcing release [a] and complete freedom and return to their portions of old time. For we read "This is that which concerneth the Levites: from twenty and five years old shall he go in to do active service in the Tabernacle of witness; and from (the age of) fifty years shall he cease from the ministry, and shall work no more, but his brother shall minister. He shall keep watch, but shall not work" (Numb. viii. 24-26). Remembering, then, that the number 50 is perfect,[b] and that 25 is

πεντηκοστὸς λόγος, ὁ δὲ τῶν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν
ἥμισυ μέρος—ἐνεργεῖν ἐπιτρέπει καὶ δρᾶν τὰ
ἅγια τὴν δι' ἔργων ἀρέσκειαν ἐπιδεικνυμένῳ—
ἀρχὴ δέ, ὡς ἔφη τις τῶν πάλαι, τοῦ παντὸς
ἥμισυ μέρος—, τῷ δὲ τελείῳ μηκέτι πονεῖν, τὰ
δ' ὅσα ἐκ μελέτης καὶ πόνου περιεποιήσατο
φυλάττειν· μὴ γὰρ γενοίμην ἀσκητὴς ὢν μὴ
65 φύλαξ αὖθις. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἄσκησις μέσον, οὐ
τέλειον, γίνεται γὰρ ἐν οὐ τελείαις μὲν ἀκρότητος
δὲ ἐφιεμέναις ψυχαῖς· ἡ δὲ φυλακὴ παντελές,
μνήμῃ τὰ[1] ἀσκή<σει περιποιη>τὰ παραδοῦναι
θεωρήματα τῶν ἁγίων, ἐπιστήμης καλὴν παρα-
καταθήκην φύλακι πιστῇ, ἣ μόνη τῶν λήθης
πολυμηχάνων δικτύων ἀλογεῖ· ὥστε τὸν μνήμονα
ὧν ἔμαθεν ὑγιῶς καὶ εὐθυβόλως καλεῖ φύλακα.
66 οὗτος δὲ πρότερον ὅτε ἐγυμνάζετο μαθητὴς ἦν
διδάσκοντος ἑτέρου· ὁπότε δὲ ἱκανὸς φυλάττειν
ἐγένετο, διδασκάλου δύναμιν καὶ τάξιν ἔλαχε,
τὸν ἀδελφὸν εἰς τὰς ὑπηρεσίας τῆς διδασκαλίας
χειροτονήσας τὸν ἑαυτοῦ προφορικὸν λόγον· λέγεται
γὰρ ὅτι "λειτουργήσει ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ" (Num.
viii. 26)· ὥστε ὁ μὲν τοῦ ἀστείου νοῦς φύλαξ καὶ
ταμίας τῶν ἀρετῆς ἔσται δογμάτων, ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς
αὐτοῦ λόγος λειτουργήσει τοῖς παιδείαν μετιοῦσι
διεξιὼν τὰ σοφίας δόγματά τε καὶ θεωρήματα.
67 διὸ καὶ ὁ Μωυσῆς ἐν ταῖς εὐλογίαις Λευὶ πολλὰ

[1] Following Wendland's conjecture.

[a] For the antithesis of ἀσκητής and φύλαξ *cf.* *L.A.* i. 54 ff.

half this, and that the beginning as one of the ancients said, is the half of the whole, we note that he charges him who is but half perfect to set to work and do holy actions, showing active obedience ; while he charges the perfect one to labour no more, but to keep watch over all that he has acquired as the result of toilsome practice. May I indeed never devote study and pains to anything of which I am not afterwards to be a guardian. Study or practice is a mean, a half-way stage, not a perfect final achievement. It is seen in souls that are not perfect, but bent on reaching the summit. Watching or guarding is something complete, consisting in entrusting to memory those principles of holy things which were acquired by practice. To do this is to commit a fair deposit of knowledge to a trustworthy guardian,[a] to her who alone makes light of the nets of forgetfulness with all their cunning devices. "Guardian" is therefore the sound and appropriate name which he gives to the man who remembers what he had learnt. At an earlier stage, when he was in training, this man was a pupil with another to teach him, but when he became capable of watching and guarding, he obtained the power and position of a teacher, and appointed for the subordinate duties under the teacher his own brother, the word of utterance : for it is said "his brother shall minister" (Numb. viii. 26). Accordingly the mind of the truly noble man will be guardian and steward of the teachings of virtue, while his brother, utterance, will minister to those who are seeking education, going over with them the doctrines and principles of wisdom. This is the reason why Moses, in the blessings which he pronounces on Levi, crowns many marvellous

καὶ θαυμάσια προειπὼν ἐπιφέρει· "ἐφύλαξε τὰ λόγιά σου, καὶ τὴν διαθήκην σου διετήρησεν"· εἶθ' ἑξῆς· "δηλώσουσι τὰ δικαιώματά σου Ἰακὼβ καὶ τὸν νόμον σου Ἰσραήλ" (Deut. xxxiii. 9, 10).
68 οὐκοῦν ὅτι καὶ λόγων καὶ διαθήκης θεοῦ φύλαξ ὁ ἀστεῖός ἐστιν, ἐναργῶς παρίστησι· καὶ μὴν ὅτι δικαιωμάτων καὶ νόμων ἑρμηνεὺς καὶ ὑφηγητὴς ἄριστος, πάλιν δεδήλωκε, τῆς μὲν ἑρμηνείας διὰ συγγενικοῦ ὀργάνου, τοῦ φωνητηρίου δήπου, συνισταμένης, τῆς δὲ φυλακῆς περὶ τὸν νοῦν ἐξεταζομένης, ὃς μέγα ταμεῖον ὑπὸ φύσεως δημιουργηθεὶς τὰς ἁπάντων καὶ σωμάτων καὶ πραγμάτων ἐννοίας εὐμαρῶς κεχώρηκεν. ἐλυσιτέλει δὴ καὶ τῷ φιλαύτῳ Κάιν φυλάξαι τὸν Ἄβελ· εἰ γὰρ διετήρησεν αὐτόν, κεκραμένου[1] καὶ μέσου βίου μετεποιήσατ' ἄν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀμιγοῦς καὶ ἀκράτου κακίας ἐνεφορήθη.

69 [205] XX. | "Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός· Τί ἐποίησας; φωνὴ αἵματος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου βοᾷ πρός με ἐκ τῆς γῆς" (Gen. iv. 10). τὸ "τί ἐποίησας" καὶ ἀγανάκτησιν ἐμφαίνει ἐπὶ οὐκ εὐαγεῖ πράξει καὶ χλευασμὸν ἐπὶ τῷ δολοφονῆσαι δοκοῦντι. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀγανάκτησις ἐπὶ ‹τῇ› τοῦ δεδρακότος γνώμῃ γίνεται, ὅτι τὸ καλὸν ἀνελεῖν ἐβούλευσεν· ἡ δὲ χλεύη διὰ τὸ οἴεσθαι μὲν ἐπιβεβουλευκέναι τῷ κρείττονι, ἐπιβεβουλευκέναι δ' οὐκ ἐκείνῳ μᾶλλον
70 ἢ ἑαυτῷ· ζῇ μὲν γάρ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἔφην, ὁ τεθνάναι δοκῶν, εἴ γε καὶ ἱκέτης ὢν θεοῦ καὶ φωνῇ χρώμενος εὑρίσκεται, τέθνηκε δὲ ὁ περιεῖναι

[1] Mangey's conjecture for κεκριμένου.

eulogies by saying "he guarded Thine oracles, and Thy covenant did he diligently keep"; then immediately afterwards "they shall expound Thy judgements to Jacob and Thy law to Israel" (Deut. xxxiii. 9 f.). So he expressly avouches that the fully accomplished man is guardian of the words and covenant of God. Furthermore he has made it clear that he is the best utterer and setter forth of judgements and laws. For utterance is an operation of the organ of speech which is akin to it, and watchful guardianship is found to be the function of the mind, which was created by nature to be a vast storehouse, and has ample room for the conceptions of all substances and all circumstances. It would have been to the advantage even of Cain, the lover of self, to have guarded Abel; for had he carefully preserved him, he would have been able to lay claim only to a mixed [b] "half and half" life indeed, but would not have drained the cup of sheer unmitigated wickedness.

XX. "And God said, 'What hast thou done? The voice of thy brother's blood crieth to Me out of the ground'" (Gen. iv. 10). The words "What hast thou done?" express as well indignation at an unrighteous act, as mockery of the man who thought that his treachery had accomplished his brother's death. Indignation is kindled by the intention of the doer of the deed, at his having purposed to destroy that which was noble; the mockery is occasioned by his thinking that his evil design was against him who was better than he, whereas it had been against himself rather than his brother: for, as I said before, he that seems to be dead is alive, since he is found acting as God's suppliant and using His voice; whereas he who is supposed to survive

νομιζόμενος τὸν ψυχικὸν θάνατον, ἀρετῆς καθ᾽ ἣν ἄξιον μόνην ἐστὶ ζῆν ἀποσχοινισθείς· ὥστε καὶ τὸ "τί ἐποίησας" ἴσον εἶναι τῷ "οὐδὲν ἐποίησας,"
71 οὐδὲν ἤνυσας. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ σοφιστὴς Βαλαάμ, μάταιος ὢν ὄχλος ἐναντίων καὶ μαχομένων δοξῶν, βουληθεὶς ἀρὰς τίθεσθαι καὶ βλάπτειν τὸν ἀστεῖον ἴσχυσε, τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς κατάρας εἰς εὐλογίαν τρέποντος (Num. xxiii. 8), ἵνα καὶ τῆς πανουργίας ἀπελέγξῃ τὸν ἄδικον καὶ ἑαυτοῦ τὸ φιλάρετον
72 παραστήσῃ. XXI. πεφύκασι δὲ οἱ σοφισταὶ πολεμίοις χρῆσθαι ταῖς ἐν αὑτοῖς δυνάμεσι, λόγων ἐνθυμήμασι καὶ βουλημάτων λόγοις ἀντιστατούντων καὶ μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς συνᾳδόντων· ἀποκναίουσι γοῦν ἡμῶν τὰ ὦτα, τὴν δικαιοσύνην κοινωνικόν, τὴν σωφροσύνην συμφέρον, τὴν ἐγκράτειαν ἀστεῖον, τὴν εὐσέβειαν ὠφελιμώτατον, τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν ὑγιεινότατόν τε καὶ σωτήριον ἀποφαίνοντες, καὶ πάλιν τὴν ἀδικίαν ἄσπονδον, τὴν ἀκολασίαν νοσερόν, τὴν ἀσέβειαν ἔκθεσμον, τὴν ἄλλην κακίαν
73 βλαβερώτατον διεξιόντες· καὶ ὅμως τὰ ἐναντία τοῖς λεγομένοις φρονοῦντες οὐ παύονται, ἀλλ᾽ ὅταν φρόνησιν καὶ σωφροσύνην καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ εὐσέβειαν ὑμνῶσι, τότε δὴ μάλιστα ἀφραίνοντες ἀκολασταίνοντες ἀδικοῦντες ἀσεβοῦντες πάνθ᾽ ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἀνθρώπεια καὶ θεῖα συγχέοντές τε καὶ
74 ἀνατρέποντες εὑρίσκονται. πρὸς οὓς εἴποι τις ἂν ὀρθῶς, ὅπερ καὶ ὁ χρησμὸς ἔφη τῷ Κάιν· τί

has died the death of the soul, being debarred from virtue, the only worthy rule of life. Hence the question, "What hast thou done?" is tantamount to "You have done nothing, accomplished nothing." It was so with Balaam also. He was a sophist, an empty conglomeration of incompatible and discordant notions. It was his desire to do harm to the goodly one by laying curses upon him. But he could not, for God turned his curses into a blessing (Numb. xxiii. 8), in order that He might at once convict the unrighteous one of his villainy, and at the same time make good his own love of virtue. XXI. Sophists are bound to find the powers within them at strife, words running counter to ideas and wishes to words, in absolute and utter discord. They make our ears ache with their demonstrations of the social character of righteousness, the advantageous nature of moderation, the nobility of self-control, the great benefits conferred by piety, the power of every kind of virtue to bring health and safety. On the other hand they dwell at great length on the unsociability of injustice, on the loss of health entailed by a licentious life, and prove *ad nauseam* that irreligion makes you a pariah, and that serious harm is occasioned by all other forms of wickedness. And nevertheless they entertain all the time sentiments quite at variance with the things which they say. At the very moment when they are singing the praises of good sense and moderation and righteousness and piety, they are found to be more than ever practising foolishness, licentiousness, injustice, and impiety, to be confounding and overturning, you may wellnigh say, every ordinance of God or man. To these men one might rightly put the question put to Cain in the

ἐποιήσατε; τί εἰργάσασθε αὐτοὺς ἀγαθόν; τί οἱ
τοσοῦτοι περὶ ἀρετῆς λόγοι τὴν ὑμετέραν ψυχὴν
ὠφέλησαν; τί τοῦ βίου μικρὸν ἢ μέγα μέρος
ἐπηνωρθώσασθε; τί δ'; οὐχὶ τἀναντία διαβολὰς
καθ' αὑτῶν ἀληθεῖς ἠρανίσατε, ὅτι συνιέντες τὰ
καλὰ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ φιλοσοφοῦντες ἑρμηνεῖς μὲν
ἄριστοι γεγόνατε, τὰ δ' αἴσχιστα καὶ φρονοῦντες
καὶ ἐπιτηδεύοντες ἀεὶ ἁλίσκεσθε; οὐ μὴν ἔτι γε
ἐν ταῖς ὑμετέραις ψυχαῖς τέθνηκε τὰ καλά, ζωπυ-
ρηθέντων κακῶν; διὰ τοῦτο ἕκαστος ὑμῶν οὐ
75 περίεστιν. ὥσπερ γὰρ μουσικοῦ τινος ἢ γραμ-
[206] ματικοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἡ μὲν ἐν | τοῖς ἀνδράσι
μουσικὴ καὶ γραμματικὴ συνέφθαρται, αἱ δὲ
τούτων ἰδέαι μένουσι καὶ τρόπον τινὰ βιοῦσιν
ἰσοχρόνιοι τῷ κόσμῳ, καθ' ἃς οἵ τε ὄντες καὶ οἱ
μέλλοντες διαδοχαῖς ταῖς εἰσαεὶ μουσικοί τε καὶ
γραμματικοὶ γενήσονται, οὕτως καὶ τὸ ἔν τινι
φρόνιμον ἢ σῶφρον ἢ ἀνδρεῖον ἢ δίκαιον ἢ συνόλως
σοφὸν ἂν ἀναιρεθῇ, οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐν τῇ τοῦ παντὸς
ἀθανάτῳ φύσει φρόνησις ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀρετὴ
σύμπασα ἄφθαρτος ἐστηλίτευται, καθ' ἣν καὶ νῦν
76 εἰσιν ἀστεῖοί τινες καὶ αὖθις γενήσονται· εἰ μὴ καὶ
ἀνθρώπου τινὸς τῶν ἐν μέρει θάνατον φθορὰν
ἐργάσασθαι φήσομεν ἀνθρωπότητι, ἣν εἴτε γένος

[a] Philo now gives another turn to the words spoken to Cain, taking "What hast thou done?" as equivalent to "How little hast thou accomplished in killing not goodness but a good man."

sacred record, "What have you done?" What have you wrought that has done you good? What benefit have all these harangues on the subject of virtue conferred on your own souls? What portion, great or small, of life have you set right? Nay, have you not done the reverse? Have you not furnished true charges against yourselves, in that, while you have shown yourselves lecturers of the highest order as far as understanding of beautiful things and philosophical discourses are concerned, you are invariably caught cherishing sentiments and indulging in practices that are utterly base? May we not go further and say that in your souls all noble qualities have died, while evil qualities have been quickened? It is because of this that not one of you is really still alive.[a] When a musician or a scholar has died, the music or scholarship, that has its abode in individual masters, has indeed perished with him, but the original patterns of these remain, and may be said to live as long as the world lasts; and by conforming to these the men of this generation, and those of all future generations in perpetual succession, will attain to being musicians or scholars. In exactly the same way, if what is sensible or modest or brave or just or, to say it in one word, wise, be destroyed, none the less does there stand, inscribed on the undying tablets of the universe, good sense with a life that dies not, and all virtue exempt from decay; and it is by having part in this excellence that men are truly wise to-day, and will be so in days to come. It must be so, unless we are to say that the death of some individual man has wrought destruction on mankind. What "mankind" is, whether a class, or an original pattern, or a con-

εἴτε ἰδέαν εἴτε ἐννόημα εἴθ' ὅ τί ποτε χρὴ καλεῖν οἱ ζητητικοὶ τῶν κυρίων ὀνομάτων εἴσονται. μία σφραγὶς πολλάκις μυρίας ὅσας ἀπείρους οὐσίας τυπώσασα πάντων ἔστιν ὅτε τῶν τύπων ἐξιτήλων αὐταῖς οὐσίαις γενομένων ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῆς φύσει μηδὲν
77 βλαβεῖσα κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινεν. εἶτ' οὐκ οἰόμεθα τὰς ἀρετάς, κἂν πάντες οἱ χαρακτῆρες, οὓς ἐνεσημήναντο ταῖς τῶν προσεληλυθότων ψυχαῖς, ὑπὸ μοχθηρᾶς διαίτης ἤ τινος ἑτέρας ἐξ αἰτίας ἐξίτηλοι γένωνται, τὴν ἀκήρατον ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἄφθαρτον φύσιν εἰσαεὶ σχήσειν; οὐκ εἰδότες οὖν οἱ παιδείας ἀμύητοι διαφορὰς οὔθ' ὅλων πρὸς μέρη οὔτε γενῶν πρὸς εἴδη οὔτε τὰς ἐν τούτοις ὁμωνυμίας πάντα
78 διὰ πάντων συγχέουσι καὶ φύρουσι. διὸ πᾶς φίλαυτος, ἐπίκλησιν Κάιν, διδαχθήτω ὅτι τὸ ὁμώνυμον τοῦ Ἄβελ ἀνῄρηκε, τὸ εἶδος, τὸ μέρος, τὸν ἀπεικονισθέντα τύπον, οὐ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον, οὐ τὸ γένος, οὐ τὴν ἰδέαν, ἅπερ οἴεται μετὰ ζῴων ἄφθαρτα ὄντα συνεφθαρκέναι. λεγέτω δή τις κατακερτομῶν αὐτὸν κἀπιχλευάζων· τί πεποίηκας, ὦ κακόδαιμον; οὐχ ἣν μὲν δοκεῖς ἀνῃρηκέναι φιλόθεον δόξαν, ζῇ παρὰ θεῷ; σαυτοῦ δὲ γέγονας αὐθέντης, ᾧ μόνῳ βιοῦν ἀνυπαιτίως ἠδύνασο ἐξ ἐνέδρας ἀνελών.

79 XXII. Πάνυ δὲ πεφώνηται καὶ πρὸς κάλλος ἑρμηνείας καὶ πρὸς νοημάτων εὕρεσιν τὰ ἐπι-

ception, or whatever we may call it, is a matter for the decision of those who make exactness in the use of terms their study. A single seal has often left its impress on innumerable substances, and it has sometimes happened that all the impressions have vanished with the very substances on which they were made, while the seal has in its own nature taken no hurt but remains just as it was to begin with. In the face of a fact like this, must we not believe that the virtues will retain for ever their own nature, incapable of damage or decay, even if all the characters which they have stamped on the souls of those who have come under their influence have become faint, owing to a bad life or from some other cause? We see, then, that those who are devoid of culture being uninitiated into the difference between wholes and parts and between classes and species, and know not how, though different, they may bear the same name, completely mix up and confound all things. Wherefore let every lover of self, surnamed "Cain," be taught that he has slain that which shares Abel's name, the specimen, the part, the impression stamped to resemble him, not the original, not the class, not the pattern, though he fancies that these, which are imperishable, have perished together with the living beings. Let some one say, taunting and ridiculing him: What have you done, poor wretch? Does not the God-loving creed, which you imagine you have annihilated, live with God? You have proved to be your own murderer, having slain by guile that which alone had the power to enable you to live a guiltless life.

XXII. The words which follow are an utterance of great richness, whether we look at the beauty of

λεγόμενα ταῦτα· „φωνὴ αἵματος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου
βοᾷ πρὸς μὲ ἐκ τῆς γῆς" (Gen. iv. 10). ἡ μὲν
οὖν κατὰ τὴν φράσιν ὑψηγορία πᾶσι τοῖς μὴ λόγων
ἀμυήτοις γνώριμος· τὰ δ' ἐμφαινόμενα νοήματα,
ὡς ἂν οἷοί τε ὦμεν, ἐπισκεψώμεθα, καὶ πρότερόν
80 γε περὶ τοῦ αἵματος. πολλαχοῦ μὲν γὰρ τῆς
νομοθεσίας οὐσίαν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποφαίνεται τὸ αἷμα
λέγων ἄντικρυς· „ἡ γὰρ ψυχὴ πάσης σαρκὸς αἷμά
ἐστιν" (Lev. xvii. 11 al.)· ὁπότε δὲ πρῶτον μετὰ
τὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ τῶν μεταξὺ γένεσιν
[207] ἐδημιούργει | ‹τὸν› ἄνθρωπον ὁ ζῳοπλάστης, φησὶν
ὅτι „ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα
ζωῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν"
(Gen. ii. 7), πάλιν διὰ τούτου παριστάς, ὅτι
81 πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἡ ψυχῆς οὐσία. καὶ μὴν τῶν ἐξ
ἀρχῆς ὑποθέσεων ἄκρως εἴωθε διαμεμνῆσθαι, τὰ
ἀκόλουθα καὶ ὁμολογούμενα τοῖς προτέροις δικαιῶν
ἐφαρμόττειν· οὐκ ἂν οὖν πνεῦμα ψυχῆς οὐσίαν
προειπὼν αἷμα διαφέρον σῶμά τι αὖθις ἔλεγεν, εἰ
μὴ πρός τι τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων καὶ συνεκτικω-
82 τάτων τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἐποιεῖτο. τί οὖν λεκτέον;
ἕκαστον ἡμῶν κατὰ τὰς προσεχεῖς τομὰς ἀριθμῷ
δύο εἶναι συμβέβηκε, ζῷόν τε καὶ ἄνθρωπον·
ἑκατέρῳ δὲ τούτων συγγενὴς δύναμις τῶν κατὰ
ψυχὴν ἀποκεκλήρωται, τῷ μὲν ἡ ζωτική, καθ' ἣν
ζῶμεν, τῷ δ' ἡ λογική, καθ' ἣν λογικοὶ γεγόναμεν·
τῆς μὲν οὖν ζωτικῆς μετέχει καὶ τὰ ἄλογα, τῆς δὲ

[a] Literally, "of those which have soul as their principle."

expression or at the thoughts conceived. The words are: "The voice of thy brother's blood crieth to Me from out of the ground" (Gen. iv. 10). The loftiness of the phrasing is patent to all who are conversant with literature. Let us examine, according to our ability, the ideas expressed. And first, as to the blood. In many passages of the Law Moses pronounces the blood to be the essence of the life, saying in plain words, "for the life of all flesh is the blood" (Lev. xvii. 11 etc.). Yet, when first after the creation of heaven and earth and of what lies between them, the Framer of living beings fashioned man, we read, "He breathed into his face the breath of life, and man became a living soul" (Gen. ii. 7), showing hereby, on the contrary, that the essence of life is breath. Now we must notice that it is the writer's invariable habit never to forget for a moment the principles which he has laid down at the outset; he is scrupulously careful to let his later statements be such as follow from and agree with what he has said before. He would not therefore, having already said that the essence of life is breath, have said further on that it is some different substance, namely blood, had he not been bringing the matter under some most vital and essential principle. What then are we to say? Each one of us, according to the primary analysis, is two in number, an animal and a man. To either of these has been allotted an inner [a] power akin to the qualities of their respective life-principles, to one the power of vitality, in virtue of which we are alive, to the other the power of reasoning, in virtue of which we are reasoning beings. Of the power of vitality the irrational creatures partake with us; of the power of reasoning

λογικῆς οὐ μετέχει μέν, ἄρχει δὲ ὁ θεός, ἡ τοῦ
83 πρεσβυτάτου λόγου πηγή. XXIII. ἡ μὲν οὖν
κοινὴ πρὸς τὰ ἄλογα δύναμις οὐσίαν ἔλαχεν αἷμα, ἡ
δὲ ἐκ τῆς λογικῆς ἀπορρυεῖσα πηγῆς τὸ πνεῦμα,
οὐκ ἀέρα κινούμενον, ἀλλὰ τύπον τινὰ καὶ χαρα-
κτῆρα θείας δυνάμεως, ἣν ὀνόματι κυρίῳ Μωυσῆς
εἰκόνα καλεῖ, δηλῶν ὅτι ἀρχέτυπον μὲν φύσεως
λογικῆς ὁ θεός ἐστι, μίμημα δὲ καὶ ἀπεικόνισμα
ἄνθρωπος, οὐ τὸ διφυὲς ζῷον, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς
84 ἄριστον εἶδος, ὃ νοῦς καὶ λόγος κέκληται. διὰ
τοῦτο σαρκὸς μὲν ψυχήν φησι τὸ αἷμα, εἰδὼς ὅτι
ἡ σαρκῶν φύσις νοῦ μὲν οὐ μεμοίραται, ζωῆς δὲ
καθάπερ καὶ ὅλον ἡμῶν τὸ σῶμα μετέχει, ἀνθρώ-
που δὲ ψυχὴν πνεῦμα ὀνομάζει, ἄνθρωπον οὐ τὸ
σύγκριμα καλῶν, ὡς ἔφην, ἀλλὰ τὸ θεοειδὲς ἐκεῖνο
δημιούργημα, ᾧ λογιζόμεθα, οὗ τὰς ῥίζας εἰς
οὐρανὸν ἔτεινε καὶ τῆς ὑστάτης τῶν λεγομένων
85 ἀπλανῶν ἁψῖδος ἐξῆψε. μόνον γὰρ δὴ τῶν ἐπὶ
γῆς φυτὸν οὐράνιον ὁ θεὸς ἄνθρωπον εἰργάσατο,
τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τὰς κεφαλὰς πηξάμενος ἐν χέρσῳ
—κατωκάρα γὰρ πάντα—ἀνθρώπου δὲ εἰς τὸ ἄνω
προαγαγών, ἵνα τὰς τροφὰς ὀλυμπίους καὶ ἀφθάρ-
τους ἀλλὰ μὴ γεώδεις καὶ φθαρτὰς ἔχοι· παρὸ καὶ
τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν τὸ μὲν ὅσον ἀναισθητότατον
πλεῖστον ἀποστήσας λογισμοῦ τὰς βάσεις γῇ
προσερρίζου, τὰς δὲ νοῦ δορυφόρους αἰσθήσεις καὶ
αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον πορρωτάτω μὲν τῶν περὶ γῆν
[208] ἐξῴκισε, ταῖς δὲ | ἀέρος καὶ οὐρανοῦ περιόδοις

[a] See App. pp. 494, 495.
[b] *Timaeus* 91 E.

God is, not indeed partaker, but originator, being the Fountain of archetypal reason. XXIII. To the faculty which we have in common with the irrational creatures blood has been given as its essence ; but to the faculty which streams forth from the fountain of reason breath has been assigned ; not moving air, but, as it were, an impression stamped by the divine power, to which Moses gives the appropriate title of "image," thus indicating that God is the Archetype of rational existence, while man is a copy and likeness. By "man" I mean not the living creature with two natures, but the highest form in which the life shows itself ; and this has received the title of "mind" and "reason." This is why he says that the blood is the life of the flesh, being aware that the fleshly nature has received no share of mind, but partakes of vitality just as the whole of our body does ; but man's life he names "breath," giving the title of "man" not to the composite mass, as I have said, but to that God-like creation with which we reason, whose roots He caused [a] to reach even to heaven and come forth from the outmost circles of the so-called fixed stars. For God made man, alone of things on the earth, a heavenly growth, fixing on the ground the heads of all others ; for they all have the head bending downwards [b] ; but raising man's upward, that his nourishment may be celestial and imperishable, not perishable and earthly. In accordance with this He attached our feet to the earth, thus removing as far as possible from the reasoning faculty that part of our body which is least capable of feeling, but our senses, which are satellites of the mind, and our mind itself he set at the greatest distance from the ground, linking them with the

86 ἀφθάρτοις οὔσαις ἐνεδήσατο. XXIV. μηκέτ᾽ οὖν
ἀπορῶμεν, πῶς ἔννοιαν ἔλαβεν ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ τοῦ
ἀειδοῦς, οἱ Μωυσέως γνώριμοι· τὴν γὰρ αἰτίαν
χρησμῷ μαθὼν αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ὑφηγήσατο. ἔλεγε δὲ
ὧδε· ψυχὴν οὐδεμίαν τῷ σώματι ὁ ποιῶν εἰργάζετο
ἱκανὴν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς τὸν ποιητὴν ἰδεῖν, λογισάμενος
δὲ μεγάλα ὀνήσειν τὸ δημιούργημα, εἰ λάβοι τοῦ
δημιουργήσαντος ἔννοιαν—εὐδαιμονίας γὰρ καὶ
μακαριότητος ὅρος οὗτος—ἄνωθεν ἐνέπνει τῆς
ἰδίου θειότητος· ἡ δ᾽ ἀόρατος ἀοράτῳ ψυχῇ τοὺς
ἑαυτῆς τύπους ἐνεσφραγίζετο, ἵνα μηδ᾽ ὁ περίγειος
87 χῶρος εἰκόνος ἀμοιρήσῃ θεοῦ. τὸ δ᾽ ἀρχέτυπον
οὕτως ἦν ἄρα ἀειδές, ὥστε καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν οὐχ ὁρατή,
τυπωθεῖσα μέντοι κατὰ τὸ παράδειγμα οὐκέτι
θνητὰς ἀλλ᾽ ἀθανάτους ἐννοίας ἐδέχετο· πῶς γὰρ
ἂν θνητὴ φύσις μένειν ἅμα καὶ ἀποδημεῖν ἠδύνατο
ἢ τὰ ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὰ ἑτέρωθι καθορᾶν ἢ θάλατταν
μὲν περιπλεῖν ἅπασαν, γῆν δὲ ἄχρι περάτων
ἐπέρχεσθαι, ἢ νόμων καὶ ἐθῶν ἢ συνόλως πραγ-
μάτων καὶ σωμάτων ἐφάπτεσθαι; ἢ δίχα τῶν
ἐπιγείων καὶ τὰ μετάρσια καταλαμβάνειν, ἀέρα καὶ
τροπὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ καιρῶν ἰδιότητας καὶ ὅσα ταῖς
ἐτησίοις ὥραις καινουργούμενά τε κἀξ ἔθους
88 ἀποτελεῖται; ἢ πάλιν δι᾽ ἀέρος εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀπὸ
γῆς ἀνίπτασθαι καὶ τὰς ἐν οὐρανῷ φύσεις ἐξετάζειν,

[a] *Timaeus* 90 D.
[b] Or "it is he who."

circuits [a] of air and heaven, which are imperishable. XXIV. Let not us then, the pupils of Moses, be any longer at a loss as to how man came to have a conception of the invisible God. For Moses himself learnt it by a divine communication, and has taught us how it was. He stated it thus. The Creator wrought for the body no soul capable by itself of seeing its Maker, but, accounting that it would be greatly to the advantage of the thing wrought should it obtain a conception of Him who wrought it, since this is what [b] determines happiness and blessedness, He breathed into him from above of His own Deity. The invisible Deity stamped on the invisible soul the impress of Itself, to the end that not even the terrestrial region should be without a share in the image of God. But the Archetype is, of course, so devoid of visible form that even His image could not be seen. Having been struck in accord with the Pattern, it entertained ideas not now mortal but immortal. For how could a mortal nature at one and the same time have stayed at home and been abroad, or have seen what is here and what is elsewhere, or have sailed round every sea and traversed earth to its furthest bounds, or have grasped laws and customs, or, to say all in one word, circumstances and substances? Or, going beyond earthly things, how could it have apprehended also things on high, air and its changes, characteristics of special times, and all that is brought to pass by the seasons of the year, whether unexpectedly or in keeping with the usual course of things? How, again, would it have been possible for him to fly up from the earth through the air into the sky and to examine the condition and movement of the heavenly bodies, discovering

ὡς ἔχουσιν, ὡς κινοῦνται, τίνες ὅροι τῆς κινήσεως ἀρχῆς καὶ τέλους αὐταῖς, πῶς ἀλλήλαις τε καὶ τῷ παντὶ κατά τι συγγενείας δίκαιον ἁρμόζονται; τέχνας τε καὶ ἐπιστήμας ἐπινοῆσαι, ὅσαι τά τε ἐκτὸς δημιουργοῦσι καὶ τὰ περὶ σῶμα καὶ ψυχήν, ὡς ἑκάτερον βελτιωθήσεται, πραγματεύονται, καὶ μυρία ἄλλα, ὧν οὔτε ἀριθμὸν οὔτε φύσιν λόγῳ
89 περιλαβεῖν εὔπορον; μόνον γὰρ αὐτὸ τῶν παρ᾿ ἡμῖν ὁ νοῦς ἅτε πάντων ὠκυδρομώτατος καὶ τὸν χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ γίνεσθαι δοκεῖ, φθάνει καὶ παραμείβεται, κατὰ ἀοράτους δυνάμεις ἀχρόνως τοῦ τε παντὸς καὶ μερῶν καὶ τῶν τούτων αἰτίων ἐπιψαύων. ἤδη δὲ οὐ μόνον ἄχρι τῶν γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀέρος καὶ οὐρανοῦ περάτων ἐλθὼν οὐδ᾿ ἐνταῦθα ἔστη, βραχὺν ὅρον τοῦ συνεχοῦς καὶ ἀπαύστου δρόμου νομίσας τὸν κόσμον εἶναι, προσωτέρω δὲ χωρῆσαι γλιχόμενος καὶ τὴν ἀκατάληπτον θεοῦ φύσιν, ὅτι μὴ πρὸς τὸ εἶναι μόνον, καταλαβεῖν, ἢν
90 δύνηται. πῶς οὖν εἰκὸς βραχὺν οὕτως ὄντα τὸν ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν μήνιγγι ἢ καρδίᾳ, βραχέσιν ὄγκοις, ἐγκατειλημμένον μέγεθος οὐρανοῦ καὶ κόσμου
[209] | χωρῆσαι τοσοῦτον, εἰ μὴ τῆς θείας καὶ εὐδαίμονος ψυχῆς ἐκείνης ἀπόσπασμα ἦν οὐ διαιρετόν; τέμνεται γὰρ οὐδὲν τοῦ θείου κατ᾿ ἀπάρτησιν, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐκτείνεται. διὸ μεμοιραμένος τῆς ἐν τῷ παντὶ τελειότητος, ὅταν ἐννοῇ κόσμον, τοῖς πέρασι τοῦ παντὸς συνευρύνεται ῥῆξιν οὐ λαμβάνων· ὁλκὸς γὰρ ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ.

91 XXV. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὡς ἐν βραχέσιν εἰρήσθω

how the beginning of their movement and its cessation is determined, in what manner they are, in accordance with some law of congruity, adjusted both to one another and to the universe? How would it have been possible for him to devise arts and sciences, which produce material objects, or deal with the betterment of soul and body, and to do a thousand other things, the number and nature of which are almost beyond telling? For the mind, alone of all our endowments, being swifter than all things, outruns and leaves behind the time in which it seems to find itself, and, by virtue of invisible faculties, comes timelessly into contact with both the whole and its parts, and with the causes which give rise to both. And now, having come not only as far as the bounds of earth and sea but of air and sky also, not even there did it stay its steps, deeming the limit of the universe to be too narrow for its constant and unceasing course, and aiming at proceeding further, and at apprehending if possible the nature of God, which, beyond the bare fact that He is, is inapprehensible. How, then, was it likely that the mind of man being so small, contained in such small bulks as a brain or a heart, should have room for all the vastness of sky and universe, had it not been an inseparable portion of that divine and blessed soul? For no part of that which is divine cuts itself off and becomes separate, but does but extend itself. The mind, then, having obtained a share of the perfection which is in the whole, when it conceives of the universe, reaches out as widely as the bounds of the whole, and undergoes no severance; for its force is expansive.

XXV. Regarding the essence of life these few

περὶ οὐσίας ψυχῆς. τὸ δὲ "φωνὴν αἵματος βοᾶν"
(Gen. iv. 10) κατ' ἀκόλουθον οὕτως ἀποδώσομεν.
τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς τὸ μὲν ἄφωνόν ἐστι, τὸ δὲ
φωνῆεν· τὸ μὲν ἄλογον ἄφωνον, φωνῆεν δ' ὅσον
λογικόν, ὃ δὴ μόνον ἔννοιαν εἴληφε θεοῦ· τοῖς γὰρ
ἄλλοις μέρεσιν οὔτε θεὸν οὔτε τι νοητὸν κατα-
92 λαβεῖν δυνάμεθα. τῆς οὖν ζωτικῆς δυνάμεως, ἧς
τὸ οὐσιῶδες αἷμα, μοῖρά τις ἐξαίρετον ἔσχε γέρας
φωνὴν καὶ λόγον, οὐ τὸ διὰ στόματος καὶ γλώττης
ῥέον νᾶμα, ἀλλὰ τὴν πηγήν, ἀφ' ἧς αἱ τοῦ προ-
φορικοῦ δεξαμεναὶ πληροῦσθαι πεφύκασιν· ἡ δὲ
πηγὴ νοῦς ἐστι, δι' οὗ τὰς πρὸς τὸν ὄντα ἐντεύξεις
καὶ ἐκβοήσεις τῇ μὲν ἑκόντες τῇ δὲ καὶ ἄκοντες
93 ἀναφθεγγόμεθα. ὁ δὲ ἅτε ἀγαθὸς ὢν καὶ ἵλεως
τοὺς ἱκέτας οὐκ ἀποστρέφεται, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅταν
ἐπὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἔργοις καὶ πάθεσι στενάζοντες
ἀψευδῶς καὶ ἀπλάστως ἐκβοῶσι· τότε γὰρ ἀνα-
βαίνειν φησὶ Μωυσῆς τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν
θεόν (Exod. ii. 23), τὸν δὲ ἐπακούσαντα ῥύεσθαι
94 τῶν παρεστώτων κακῶν· ταῦτα δὲ πάντα γίνεσθαι,
ὅταν ὁ βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου τελευτήσῃ· τὸ παρα-
δοξότατον· εἰκὸς γὰρ ἦν ἀποθανόντος τυράννου
χαίρειν καὶ γεγηθέναι τοὺς τυραννουμένους· ἀλλὰ
τότε λέγονται στενάζειν· "μετὰ γὰρ τὰς ἡμέρας
τὰς πολλὰς ἐκείνας ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς
Αἰγύπτου, καὶ κατεστέναξαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραήλ"
95 (ib.). πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὸ ῥητὸν ἡ λέξις τὸ εὔλογον
οὐ περιέχει, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἐν ψυχῇ δυνάμεις τὸ κατ'
αὐτὴν ἀκόλουθον εὑρίσκεται. ὁ γὰρ ἀνασκιδνὰς
καὶ ἀπορρίπτων τὰς περὶ τῶν καλῶν δόξας ὅταν

[a] See App. p. 495.

remarks may suffice. In due sequence we must go on to interpret "the voice of blood crieth" in this way. One part of our life or soul is dumb, another part has a voice. The irrational part is dumb; the rational part has a voice, it only having attained to the conception of God; for with the other parts we can apprehend neither God nor any other mental object.[a] In the vital faculty, then, whose essence is blood, a portion has obtained, as a special prize, voice and speech; I do not mean the stream flowing through the mouth and over the tongue, but the fountain-head from which, by nature's ordering, the cisterns of uttered speech are filled. This fountain-head is the mind, through which, partly voluntarily, partly involuntarily, we utter aloud entreaties and outcries to Him that IS. He, in His goodness and graciousness, does not disregard His suppliants, above all when they cry out without pretence or falsehood, groaning over their tasks and sufferings in Egypt: for then, says Moses, their words go up to God (Exod. ii. 23), and He listens to them and delivers them from evils that are upon them. All this comes to pass upon the death of the king of Egypt. Here is a thing clean contrary to expectation; for one would expect, when a tyrant dies, those over whom he has tyrannized to be glad and rejoice; yet it is then that they are said to lament, for we are told "after those many days the king of Egypt died, and the children of Israel lamented sorely" (*ibid.*). Taken literally the sentence is contradictory to reason: If it apply to the powers that sway the soul, the statement of the second clause is seen to be consequent upon that in the first. Pharaoh is the power that scatters to the winds and flings away all ideas of

ἐν ἡμῖν ζωπυρῆται Φαραὼ καὶ ὑγιαίνειν δοκῇ, εἰ
δή τινα τῶν φαύλων ὑγιαίνειν λεκτέον, τὴν ἡδονὴν
ἀποδεχόμεθα ἐγκράτειαν πέραν ὅρων ἐλαύνοντες·
ὅταν δὲ ἀπόκρατος γένηται καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τελευ-
τήσῃ ὁ τοῦ βδελυρῶς καὶ ἀσελγῶς ζῆν αἴτιος, τὸν
σώφρονα ἐναυγασθέντες βίον μετακλαίομεν καὶ
μεταστένομεν τῆς παλαιᾶς διαίτης ἑαυτούς, ὅτι
ἡδονὴν ἀρετῆς προτιμήσαντες θνητὸν βίον ἀθανάτῳ
ἐπεζεύξαμεν· λαβὼν δ' οἶκτον τῆς συνεχοῦς ἡμῶν
[210] ὀλοφύρσεως ὁ μόνος | εὐμενὴς προσίεται ψυχὰς
ἱκέτιδας, τὸν δὲ ἐπισεισθέντα τῶν παθῶν Αἰγύπτιον
σκηπτὸν ῥᾳδίως ἀπωθεῖται.

96 XXVI. Τῷ δὲ μὴ δεχομένῳ μετάνοιαν Κάιν δι'
ὑπερβολὴν ἄγους ἀδελφοκτονίας οἰκειοτάτας ἀρὰς
τίθεται· πρῶτον μὲν γάρ φησιν αὐτῷ· "καὶ νῦν
ἐπικατάρατος σὺ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς" (Gen. iv. 11),
δηλῶν πρῶτον ὅτι οὐχὶ νῦν <πρῶτον>[1] ὅτε ἐδολο-
φόνησεν ἐναγὴς καὶ ἐπάρατός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
πρότερον ὅτε ἐβούλευσε τὸν φόνον, τῆς γνώμης
97 ἴσον τῷ τελείῳ δυναμένης. ἕως μὲν γὰρ τὰ
αἰσχρὰ μόνον ἐννοοῦμεν κατὰ ψιλὴν τοῦ νοῦ
φαντασίαν, τότε τῆς διανοίας <οὐκ> ἐσμὲν ὑπόχοι,
δύναται γὰρ καὶ ἀκουσίως ἡ ψυχὴ τρέπεσθαι· ὅταν
δὲ προσγένηται τοῖς βουλευθεῖσιν ἡ πρᾶξις,
ὑπαίτιον γίνεται καὶ τὸ βουλεύσασθαι, τὸ γὰρ
ἑκουσίως διαμαρτάνειν ταύτῃ μάλιστα δια-
98 γνωρίζεται. κατάρατον δέ φησι τὸν νοῦν οὐκ ἀπ'
ἄλλου τινὸς ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἔσεσθαι· τῶν γὰρ
χαλεπωτάτων αὐτοῦ συμφορῶν τὸ περὶ ἕκαστον

[1] πρῶτον is inserted from conjecture.

[a] Or "we laid upon life immortal the imprisoning bar of mortality."

what is noble. When this power is quick and active in us and seems to be strong and healthy, if indeed any evil power may be said to be healthy, we drive self-control far from us, and welcome pleasure. But, when the author of our foul and licentious life weakens and, so to speak, dies, we are brought all at once to a clear view of the life of self-mastery, and turn to lamenting and bewailing ourselves for our old mode of living, seeing that, preferring pleasure to virtue, we overlaid immortal with mortal life.[a] But He Who alone is gracious, taking pity on our ceaseless mourning, accepts our suppliant souls, and without effort dispels the Egyptian tornado of passions which had burst upon us.

XXVI. On Cain, who rejects repentance, He proceeds, owing to the enormity of his guilt, to lay curses most appropriate to the murder of a brother. And first He says to him "Now also art thou accursed from the earth" (Gen. iv. 11), showing that it is not now for the first time, when he has perpetrated the treacherous deed, that he is abominable and accurst, but that he was so before also when he plotted the murder, since the purpose is as important as the completed act. For so long as we only conceive disgraceful actions with the bare imagination of the mind, so long we are not guilty of the intent, for the soul may even against our will move amiss. But when the deeds planned have also been carried out, the very planning involves guilt, for the deliberateness of the offence is the chief point made evident by its execution. Now He says that the mind will be accurst not from anything else than from the earth; for the earthly part of each one of us is discovered

ἡμῶν γεῶδες αἴτιον εὑρίσκεται· τὸ γοῦν σῶμα ἢ νόσῳ χρησάμενον τὰς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσβαλὸν κῆρας ἄσης καὶ ἀδημονίας αὐτὸν ἐνέπλησεν ἢ πιανθὲν ἀμέτρως ἀπολαύσει ἡδονῶν ἀμβλυτέρας τὰς εἰς τὸ καταλαμβάνειν ἀκμὰς ἀπειργάσατο.
99 καὶ μὲν δὴ ἑκάστη τῶν αἰσθήσεων δεκτικὴ βλάβης ἐστίν· ἢ γὰρ κάλλος ἰδὼν ἔρωτος ἐτρώθη δεινοῦ πάθους βέλεσιν ἢ θάνατον ἀκούσας γένει προσήκοντός τινος ὑπὸ λύπης ἐκάμφθη· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ γεῦσις αὐτὸν κατέβαλεν ἀηδέσι χυλοῖς αἰκισαμένη ἢ πλήθει ἡδέων βαρύνασα· τῶν μὲν γὰρ πρὸς συνουσίαν οἴστρων τί δεῖ μεμνῆσθαι; πόλεις ὅλας καὶ χώρας καὶ κλίματα μεγάλα γῆς οὗτοι διέφθειραν, ὧν μάρτυς ἡ ποιητῶν καὶ συγγραφέων πληθὺς σχεδὸν ἅπασα.

100 XXVII. Τὸν δὲ τρόπον, καθ' ὃν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς κατάρατος ὁ νοῦς γίνεται, προσυπογράφει λέγων· "ἣ ἔχανε τὸ στόμα αὐτῆς δέξασθαι τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου" (Gen. iv. 11). χαλεπὸν γὰρ διοιχθῆναί τε καὶ ἀνευρυνθῆναι τὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων στόμια, ὡς ἀχανέσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν τῶν αἰσθητῶν φορὰν ποταμοῦ πλημμυροῦντος δίκην ἐπιχεῖσθαι, μηδενὸς τὴν βίαιον ὁρμὴν ἀνωθοῦντος· τότε γὰρ ἐγκαταποθεὶς ὁ νοῦς τοσούτῳ κλύδωνι βύθιος εὑρίσκεται, μηδ' ὅσον ἀνανήξασθαι καὶ ὑπερ-
101 κῦψαι δυνάμενος. ἀλλὰ χρὴ τούτων ἑκάστῳ καταχρῆσθαι μὴ πρὸς ἃ δύναται μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τὰ βέλτιστα· δύναται μὲν γὰρ πάνθ' ὁρᾶν χρώματα καὶ σχήματα ἡ ὄψις, ἀλλ' ὁράτω τὰ φωτός, μὴ σκότους, ἄξια· δύναται δὲ καὶ τὸ οὖς πασῶν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι φωνῶν, ἀλλ' ἐνίων παρακουέτω, μυρία γὰρ τῶν

to be accountable for our most dire misfortunes. For instance, the body either suffers from illness and inflicts on its owner the maladies that arise from itself, filling him with nausea and distress, or, having become outrageously gross through indulgence in pleasures, blunts his keenness of perception. And, as we all know, every one of the senses is an avenue for the entrance of harm. A man sees beauty, and is wounded by the darts of the dread passion of love; or he hears of the death of a kinsman and is bowed down with grief. Frequently too his palate brings about his downfall, upsetting him with disagreeable viands, or oppressing him with a surfeit of delicacies. I need hardly refer to the incitements to sexual indulgence. These have ruined entire cities and countries and vast regions of the earth, as wellnigh all the poets and historians of the world testify.

XXVII. The manner in which the mind becomes accurst from the earth is next indicated by the words, "which opened its mouth to receive thy brother's blood" (Gen. iv. 11). It is a cruel thing that the inlets of the senses should be opened wide for the torrent of the objects of sense to be poured, like a river in spate, into their gaping orifices, with nothing to stay their violent rush. For then the mind, swallowed up by the huge inpouring, is found at the bottom, unable so much as to rise to the surface and look out.

We ought to employ each one of these faculties, not on all that it is capable of doing but rather on the objects of greatest value. The eye is capable of seeing all colours and all forms, but let it see those that are meet for light not for darkness. The ear too is capable of apprehending all uttered words, but some let it refuse to hear, for countless things that

[211] λεγομένων αἰσχρά· μηδ᾿ ὅτι γεύσεώς | σοι μεταδέδωκεν ἡ φύσις, ὦ τετυφωμένε, τρόπον αἰθυίης πάντων ἀπλήστως ἐμφοροῦ· πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν οὐ τροφίμων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ περιττῶν νόσους μετὰ
102 χαλεπῆς ὠδῖνος ἔτεκε· μηδ᾿ ὅτι μερῶν τῶν πρὸς γονὰς ἠξιώθης ἕνεκα τῆς διαμονῆς τοῦ παντός, φθορὰς καὶ μοιχείας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας οὐκ εὐαγεῖς μίξεις μετέρχου, ἀλλ᾿ ὅσαι μετὰ νόμου τὸ ἀνθρώπων σπείρουσί τε καὶ φυτεύουσι γένος· μηδ᾿ ὅτι γλώττης καὶ στόματος καὶ φωνητηρίων ὀργάνων μεμοίρασαι, πάντ᾿ ἐκλάλει, καὶ τὰ ἄρρητα· τὸ γὰρ ἐχεμυθεῖν ἔστιν ὅπου χρήσιμον, καί μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ μαθόντες λέγειν μεμαθηκέναι καὶ ἡσυχάζειν, τῆς αὐτῆς δυνάμεως περιποιούσης ἑκάτερον, οἱ δ᾿ ὅσα μὴ προσῆκε διεξιόντες οὐ δύναμιν λόγων ἀλλ᾿
103 ἡσυχίας ἀσθένειαν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι. διὸ σπουδάζωμεν ἕκαστον τῶν εἰρημένων στομίων καταδεῖν τοῖς ἀρρήκτοις ἐγκρατείας δεσμοῖς· "ὅσα γὰρ οὐχὶ δεσμῷ καταδεῖται" φησὶ Μωυσῆς ἐν ἑτέροις (Num. xix. 15) "ἀκάθαρτα εἶναι," ὡς ἂν τοῦ κεχαλάσθαι καὶ κεχηνέναι καὶ λελύσθαι τὰ ψυχῆς μέρη κακοδαιμονίας αἰτίου, τοῦ δὲ συνῆχθαι καὶ συνεσφίγχθαι ὀρθὸν καὶ βίον καὶ λόγον ἐργαζομένου. τὸν ἄθεον οὖν καὶ ἀσεβῆ Κάιν δεόντως καταρᾶται, ὅτι τοὺς φωλεοὺς τοῦ συγκρίματος διοίξας ἐπικέχηνε πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκτός, εὐχόμενος δι᾿ ἀπληστίαν

[a] Or "food taken not for simple nourishment but in excess."

are said are disgraceful. And because nature has given you taste, as she has to us all, do not, O senseless one, be like a cormorant and greedily devour all things. For maladies causing acute pain have been brought on in many cases by food that was not nourishing only but rare and expensive.[a] And because, with a view to the persistence of the race, you were endowed with generative organs, do not run after rapes and adulteries and other unhallowed forms of intercourse, but only those which are the lawful means of propagating the human race. And because a tongue and a mouth and organs of speech have been allotted to you, do not blurt out all things, even those which are secrets ; for there are places where it is good to refrain from speech ; and it seems to me that those who have learned to speak have learned also to be silent, since the same faculty renders us capable both of exercising speech and of refraining from its exercise ; and those who talk about things they should not, appear to me to display not power of speech but weakness in keeping silent. So let us make it our earnest endeavour to bind up each of the openings which we have mentioned with the adamantine chains of self-control. For Moses says elsewhere (Numb. xix. 15) that " every open vessel which hath no covering bound upon it, is unclean," implying that wretchedness is due to the different parts of the soul having been left loose and gaping and unfastened, while proper ordering of life and speech is the result of these being kept close and tight. So we see that God cannot but curse the godless and impious Cain, because, opening wide the inner chambers of his complex being, he stood agape for all outward things, praying in his greed to be

δέξασθαί τε αὐτὰ καὶ χωρῆσαι ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τοῦ φιλοθέου δόγματος Ἄβελ.

104 XXVIII. Ἐργάσεται διὰ τοῦτο τὴν γῆν (Gen. iv. 12), οὐ γεωργήσει· γεωργὸς μὲν γὰρ πᾶς τεχνίτης, ὅτι τέχνη καὶ ἡ γεωργία, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν γεωπόνοι τὴν ἄνευ ἐμπειρίας ἕνεκα τῶν ἀναγκαίων μετιόντες ὑπηρεσίαν· οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἐν οἷς δρῶσι πολλὰ βλάπτουσιν ἐπιστάτου μὴ τυχόντες· ἃ δ' ἂν καὶ εὖ ἐργάσωνται, κατὰ τύχην, οὐ σὺν λόγῳ, κατορθοῦσι· τὰ δὲ τῶν γεωργῶν τὰ μετ' ἐπιστήμης ἐνεργούμενα πάντ' ἐστὶν ἐξ ἀνάγκης
105 ὠφέλιμα. τούτου χάριν ὁ νομοθέτης τῷ δικαίῳ Νῶε τὴν γεωργικὴν ἀνῆψε τέχνην (Gen. ix. 20), ἐκδιδάσκων ὅτι καθάπερ γεωργὸς ἀγαθὸς ὁ σπουδαῖος τῆς τε ἀγρίας ὕλης τὰ μὲν ὅσα βλαβερὰ ἔρνη πρὸς παθῶν ἢ κακιῶν φυτευθέντα ἐκκόπτει, τὰ δ' ὅσα μὴ καρποτόκα μὲν δύναται δὲ ἀντὶ τείχους φραγμὸς εἶναι ψυχῆς ὀχυρώτατος ἐᾷ, καὶ πάλιν αὖ τῆς ἡμέρου πάσης κατὰ διαφέροντας καὶ οὐχὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τρόπους ἐπιμελεῖται, τῶν μὲν ἀφαιρῶν, τοῖς δὲ προστιθείς, καὶ τὰ μὲν εἰς μέγεθος αὔξων,
106 τὰ δὲ εἰς βραχύτητα συντέμνων· ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἄμπελον ἰδὼν εὐθηνοῦσαν τὰς κληματίδας ἔτεινε κατὰ γῆς, τάφρους ὀρυξάμενος καὶ τὸν χοῦν αὖθις
[212] ἐπενεγκών· αἱ δ' ἀντὶ | μερῶν ὅλαι καὶ ἀντὶ θυγατέρων μητέρες οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐγίνοντο, ἔτι καὶ τῆς φύσει μητρὸς ἀποδύσασαι τὸ γῆρας· παυσαμένη

able both to take them in, and to find room for them for the destruction of Abel, or the teaching devoted to God.

XXVIII. For this reason he shall "work" the earth (Gen. iv. 12), not "till" it: for every tiller of the soil is a skilled workman, since tilling, too, is a matter of skill, but plenty of untrained men are workers on the soil, plying the task of unskilled labourers to procure the necessaries of life. These people do much mischief in their agricultural operations from not having found anyone to direct them; and if they do anything well, they succeed by accident, not with the aid of reason; but the scientific labours of the tillers of the soil are all of necessity beneficial. This explains why the lawgiver ascribed to righteous Noah the skilled trade of a tiller of the soil (Gen. ix. 20), wishing to bring out the truth that, just as a good husbandman does, the man of sound character in dealing with trees in a wild state cuts away all harmful shoots grown from passions or vices, leaving such as, though not fruit-bearing, can serve as a wall and be a most firm fence of the soul: while, on the other hand, he tends all the cultivated trees, not by the same but by different methods, taking away from some, making additions to others, making some larger, and reducing others in size. And now I come to an illustration that particularly interests me. Noticing a luxuriant vine he will bend down its tendrils to the ground, dig trenches, throw the soil back to cover them. In a short time these become wholes instead of parts, mothers instead of daughters. Not only so, but they relieve the mother who bore them of the burden of old age. For, released from a task which used to impoverish and

γὰρ τοῦ διανέμειν καὶ κατακερματίζειν τὴν τροφὴν πολλοῖς ἐκγόνοις ἅτε ἱκανοῖς γεγονόσιν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν τρέφεσθαι, παρ' ἣν αἰτίαν λιμώττουσα ἠσθένει, μόλις διακορὴς ἐγένετο, ὡς πιανθεῖσαν πάλιν
107 ἀνηβῆσαι. ἕτερον δὲ ἐθεασάμην, ὃς τῶν ἡμέρων δένδρων οὐκ εὐγενὲς ὃ μὲν ὑπερεῖχε τῆς γῆς ἔρνος ἔτεμε, μικρὸν δ' ὅσον πρὸς αὐταῖς ῥίζαις ἀνέχον εἴασε, λαβὼν δ' ἀπ' εὐγενοῦς ἑτέρου κλάδον εὐφυᾶ τὸν μὲν ἄχρι τῆς ἐντεριώνης καθ' ἓν μέρος ἀπέξεσε, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ταῖς ῥίζαις οὐ κατὰ πολλοῦ βάθους ἐντεμών, ἀλλ' ὥστε διαστῆσαι μόνον τὴν ἕνωσιν, τὸ ἀπεξεσμένον ὑπενεγκὼν ἐνηρμόσατο τῷ
108 διαστήματι· ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων μία δένδρου φύσις ἡνωμένη γίνεται, ἑκατέρου μέρους ἀντίδοσιν τῆς ὠφελείας θατέρῳ ποιουμένου· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ῥίζαι τὸν ἐφαρμοσθέντα τρέφουσι καὶ κωλύουσιν ἀφαναίνεσθαι κλάδον, ὁ δ' εὐκαρπίαν ἀμοιβὴν τροφῆς ἀντιχαρίζεται ταύταις.

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα μυρία τῶν κατὰ γεωργίαν τεχνικὰ ἔργα, ὧν περιττὸν ἐν τῷ παρόντι μεμνῆσθαι· τοῦ γὰρ διαφορὰν ἐνδείξασθαι μόνον ἐργάτου γῆς καὶ γεωργοῦ χάριν ταῦτ' ἐμη-
109 κύναμεν. XXIX. ὁ μὲν δὴ φαῦλος τὸ γεῶδες σῶμα καὶ τὰς συγγενεῖς αἰσθήσεις αὐτῷ καὶ ὅσα ἐκτὸς αἰσθητὰ ἐργαζόμενος ἀτέχνως οὐ παύεται, καὶ βλάπτει μὲν τὴν παναθλίαν ψυχὴν ἑαυτοῦ, βλάπτει δὲ καὶ ὃ δοκεῖ μάλιστα ὠφελεῖν τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα· τῷ δὲ σπουδαίῳ—τέχνης γὰρ ἔμπειρος

weaken her, that of dividing up her sustenance and distributing it to her numerous progeny, these having now become capable of drawing sustenance from themselves, after many a set-back she gets the nourishment she needs, and enriched by it renews her youth. I have watched another man dealing with cultivated trees. He would cut away all that was above ground of a poor one among these, leaving a very small portion of it close to the roots projecting. Then, taking a well-grown branch from another tree of good stock, he would pare this away at one end as far as the pith, make an incision in the shoot which he had docked near the roots, not of any great depth but just sufficient to make an opening for insertion. Then he would bring the branch which he had pared and fit it into the opening. The result is a single tree grown out of these two into one, each portion reciprocally benefiting the other. For the roots feed the branch grafted on them and save it from withering, and the branch, as a requital for its nourishment, bestows fruitfulness on the roots.

There are in agriculture countless other operations requiring skill, which it would be out of place to mention just now. I have written at such length merely for the sake of making clear the difference between a labourer and a (skilled) agriculturalist. XXIX. The worthless man never ceases spending unskilled labour on his earthly body and the senses akin to it and all external objects of sense, and he goes on doing harm to his utterly miserable soul, doing harm also to that which he imagines he is chiefly benefiting, his own body. But in the case of the worthy man, since he is expert in the skilled

γεωργικῆς ἐστιν—ἡ ὕλη πᾶσα τεχνικῶς καὶ σὺν
λόγῳ μεθοδεύεται. ὅταν μέν γε αἱ αἰσθήσεις
ἐξυβρίζωσι πρὸς τὰ ἐκτὸς αἰσθητὰ μετὰ ἀκατα-
σχέτου ῥύμης ἐκφερόμεναι, μηχανῇ τινι ὧν ἡ
110 τέχνη κατεσκευάσατο ῥᾳδίως στέλλονται· ὅταν
δὲ παλμῶδες ἐν ψυχῇ πάθος ὠμὸν γένηται κνη-
σμοὺς καὶ γαργαλισμοὺς ἐξ ἡδονῆς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας
ἢ πάλιν δηγμούς τε καὶ πτοίας ἐκ φόβου καὶ
λύπης ἐμποιοῦν, προευτρεπισθέντι σωτηρίῳ πεπαί-
νεται φαρμάκῳ· καὶ μὴν εἴ τις ἐπινεμομένη κακία
μηκύνεται, τῆς ἐν σώματι ἑρπηνώδους ἀδελφὴ
νόσου, λόγῳ τομεῖ τῷ κατ' ἐπιστήμην τέμνεται.
111 τὸν μὲν δὴ τρόπον τοῦτον τὰ τῆς ἀγρίας ὕλης
τιθασεύεται, τῶν δ' ἡμέρων καὶ καρποτόκων
ἀρετῶν τὰ φυτὰ πάντα βλαστὰ μὲν ἔχει τὰ ἐπι-
τηδεύματα, καρπὸν δὲ τὰς καλὰς πράξεις· ὧν
ἕκαστον ἡ γεωργικὴ ψυχῆς τέχνη συναύξει καὶ
τό γε ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν ἧκον μέρος ἀπαθανατίζει ταῖς
ἐπιμελείαις.

112 XXX. Ἐναργῶς οὖν ἐπιδέδεικται γεωργὸς μὲν
ὁ ἀστεῖος, γεωπόνος δὲ ὁ φαῦλος. καὶ εἴθε μέντοι
γεωπονοῦντι αὐτῷ προσετίθει τὴν ἰσχὺν τὸ περὶ
[213] αὐτὸν γεῶδες, ἀλλὰ μὴ καὶ τῆς | οὔσης ὑφῄρει
δυνάμεως· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι "οὐ προσθήσει τὴν
113 ἰσχὺν αὐτῆς δοῦναί σοι" (Gen. iv. 12)· ὁποῖός
τις ἂν γένοιτο ἄνθρωπος ἐσθίων μὲν ἢ πίνων ἀεί,
ἐμπιπλάμενος δὲ μηδέποτε, ἢ ταῖς μετὰ γαστέρα
χρώμενος ἡδοναῖς ἐπαλλήλοις καὶ ἔτι ταῖς πρὸς
συνουσίαν ὀρέξεσιν ἀκμάζων· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἔνδεια

work of agriculture, everything that comes under his hands is managed with skill and as reason requires. Whenever the senses run riot and are borne forth with irresistible rush towards their outward objects, they are easily checked by one of the contrivances of science. Whenever throbbing passion in the soul rages savagely, producing there itchings and ticklings arising from lust and indulgence, or again gnawing pains and scared flutterings, the result of fear and grief, it is assuaged by a curative medicine prepared beforehand. Once again, if some vice is spreading itself more and more widely, sister to that bodily disease which creeps and runs over the skin, it is lanced by reason's knife under the guidance of science. After this manner, then, the growths of the wild wood are subdued, but all plants of the cultivated and fruit-bearing virtues have men's endeavours for sprouts, and for fruit their noble actions. Each of these the skilled husbanding of the soul fosters, and, so far as in it lies, brings to immortality by the care bestowed upon them.

XXX. The man of parts, therefore, has been clearly shown to be a tiller of the soil, and the worthless man a mere worker on it. And would that the earthly part of him had lent its strength to him as he worked on the soil, instead of actually diminishing the strength he has; for it is said, "it shall not add its strength, to give it thee" (Gen. iv. 12). His plight is that to which a man would come, if he were always eating and drinking, and never being filled, or indulging perpetually in sexual pleasures with his cravings after sexual intercourse continuing in full force. For weakness is brought

ἀσθένειαν, ἰσχὺν δ' ἡ πλήρωσις ἀπεργάζεται· τὸ δ' ἀκόρεστον ὁ μετ' ἀφθονίας τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σὺν ἀκρασίᾳ δεινῇ λιμός ἐστιν· ἄθλιοι δ' ὧν μεστοὶ μὲν οἱ ὄγκοι, κεναὶ δ' αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι καὶ ἔτι διψῶσαι.
114 ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐραστὰς ἐπιστήμης ἐν ᾠδῇ μεγάλῃ φησὶν ὅτι "ἀνεβίβασεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐψώμισε γεννήματα ἀγρῶν" (Deut. xxxii. 13), δηλῶν ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἄθεος ἀτυχεῖ τοῦ τέλους, ἵνα μᾶλλον ὀδυνᾶται, μὴ προστιθεμένης ἰσχύος οἷς ἐνεργεῖ, τοὐναντίον δ' ὑφαιρουμένης, οἱ δὲ μετιόντες ἀρετὴν ὑπεράνω τῶν ὅσα γεώδη καὶ θνητὰ ἱστάμενοι τοῦ κράτους αὐτῶν κατὰ πολλὴν περιουσίαν ἀλογοῦσιν, ἅτε ἡγεμόνι χρησάμενοι τῆς ἀνόδου θεῷ, ὃς καὶ τὰ γεννήματα τῶν ἀγρῶν εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ χρῆσιν ὠφελιμωτάτην αὐτοῖς ὀρέγει, τὰς μὲν ἀρετὰς ἀγροῖς, ἃ δ' ἀποκύουσι γεννήμασι παρὰ τὴν γένεσιν ἀπεικάζων· γίνεται μὲν γὰρ ἐκ φρονήσεως τὸ φρονεῖν, ἐκ δὲ σωφροσύνης τὸ σωφρονεῖν, ἐκ δὲ εὐσεβείας τὸ εὐσεβεῖν, καὶ ἀφ' ἑκάστης τῶν ἄλλων τὸ κατ' αὐτὴν ἐνέργημα.
115 XXXI. ταῦτα δὲ ψυχῆς τροφαὶ κυρίως εἰσὶ τῆς θηλάζειν ἱκανῆς, ὡς ὁ νομοθέτης φησί, "μέλι ἐκ πέτρας καὶ ἔλαιον ἐκ στερεᾶς πέτρας" (ib.), πέτραν τὴν στερεὰν καὶ ἀδιάκοπον ἐμφαίνων σοφίαν θεοῦ, τὴν τροφὸν καὶ τιθηνοκόμον καὶ κουροτρόφον τῶν ἀφθάρτου διαίτης ἐφιεμένων.
116 αὕτη γὰρ οἷα μήτηρ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ γενομένη τὰς

about by emptiness, and strength by fullness ; and insatiability is the hunger that is experienced when an abundant supply of food is combined with dire intemperance : and those are in wretched case whose carcases are full, while their appetites are empty and still athirst. But of the lovers of knowledge he says in the Great Song that " He caused them to mount over the strength of the earth, and fed them with the products of the fields " (Deut. xxxii. 13), showing that the godless man misses his goal, to the end that he may suffer the greater pain through strength not being added to, but on the contrary taken away by, his activities, while those who follow after virtue, raised high above all that is earthly and mortal, are abundantly able to disregard the power wielded by these things, seeing that they have God to guide their ascent, who extends to them for use and enjoyment and highest benefit the very products of the fields. He likens virtues to fields, and what they yield to products. He chooses the word " products " because he is thinking of production : for out of good sense is produced sensible conduct, out of moderation modest behaviour, out of piety pious demeanour, and from each of the other virtues, the activity that corresponds to it. XXXI. These " products " are nourishment in the strict meaning of the word, supplied by the soul that is able, as the lawgiver says, to " suck honey out of the rock and oil out of the hard rock " (*ibid.*). He uses the word " rock " to express the solid and indestructible wisdom of God, which feeds and nurses and rears to sturdiness all who yearn after imperishable sustenance. For this divine wisdom has appeared as mother of all that are in the world,

τροφὰς ἐξ ἑαυτῆς εὐθὺς ἤνεγκε τοῖς ἀποκυηθεῖσιν· ἀλλ' οὐχ ἅπαντα τροφῆς θείας ἠξιώθη, τὰ δ' ὅσα τῶν ἐκγόνων ἐπάξια τῶν γεννησάντων εὑρίσκετο· πολλὰ γὰρ ἔσθ' ἃ λιμὸς ἀρετῆς, ὁ τοῦ περὶ τὰ
117 σιτία καὶ ποτὰ σχετλιώτερος, διέφθειρε. φέρεται δ' ἡ τῆς θείας σοφίας πηγὴ τοτὲ μὲν ἠρεμαιοτέρῳ καὶ πρᾳοτέρῳ ῥεύματι, τοτὲ δὲ αὖ μετ' ὀξυτέρου τοῦ τάχους καὶ πλείονος φορᾶς τε καὶ ῥύμης· ὅταν μὲν οὖν ἠρέμα κατέρχηται, μέλιτος γλυκαίνει τὸν τρόπον, ὅταν δὲ μετ' ὠκύτητος, ἀθρόα
118 ὕλη καθάπερ ἔλαιον ψυχικοῦ γίνεται φωτός. τὴν πέτραν ταύτην ἑτέρωθι συνωνυμίᾳ χρώμενος καλεῖ
[214] μάννα, τὸν πρεσβύτατον | τῶν ὄντων λόγον θεῖον, ὃς ὀνομάζεται τὸ γενικώτατον τί, ἀφ' οὗ δύο ἐγκρίδες, ἡ μὲν ἐκ μέλιτος, ἡ δὲ ἐξ ἐλαίου, γίνονται, τουτέστιν ἀγωγαὶ δύο σφόδρα ἀδιάκριτοι καὶ σπουδῆς ἄξιαι, κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν γλυκύτητα ἐμποιοῦσαι τῶν ἐπιστήμης θεωρημάτων, αὖθις δὲ καὶ φῶς τηλαυγέστατον ἀπαστράπτουσαι τοῖς μὴ ἀψικόρως κραταιῶς δὲ καὶ παγίως ἐξ ἀδιαστάτου καὶ συνεχοῦς ἐπιμονῆς ἐλλαμβανομένοις ὧν ἐρῶσιν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἔφην, "ἐπὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν τῆς γῆς ἀναβιβάζονται" (Deut. xxxii. 13).

119 XXXII. Τῷ δὲ ἀθέῳ Κάιν οὐδὲν ἡ γῆ τῶν εἰς εὐτονίαν προστίθησι, καίτοι μηδὲν ἔξω τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν πραγματευομένῳ. διὸ καὶ κατ' ἀκόλουθον "στένων καὶ τρέμων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς" εὑρίσκεται (Gen. iv. 12), τουτέστι λύπῃ καὶ φόβῳ χρώμενος.

[a] Or "Reason." [b] See App. p. 495.
[c] Literally "trainings," "leadings."

affording to her offspring, as soon as they are born, the nourishment which they require from her own breasts. But not all her offspring are deemed meet for divine food, but such as are found worthy of their parents; for many of them fall victims to the famine of virtue, a famine more cruel than that of eatables and drinkables. The fountain of the divine wisdom runs sometimes with a gentler and more quiet stream, at other times more swiftly and with a fuller and stronger current. When it runs down gently, it sweetens much as honey does; when it runs swiftly down, it comes in full volume as material for lighting up the soul, even as oil does a lamp. In another place he uses a synonym for this rock and calls it "manna." Manna is the divine word,[a] eldest of all existences, which bears the most comprehensive name of "Somewhat." Out of it are made two cakes,[b] the one of honey, the other of oil. These are two inseparable and all-important stages in education,[c] at the outset causing a sweetness to flow from what knowledge opens, and afterwards causing a most brilliant light to flash from them on those who handle in no fickle and perfunctory way the subjects which they love, but lay hold of them strongly and firmly with a persistence that knows no slackness or intermission. These, as I have said, "are caused to rise up over the strength of the earth" (Deut. xxxii. 13).

XXXII. To the godless Cain, on the other hand, the earth affords nothing that contributes to healthy vigour, in spite of his being occupied with nothing beyond the concerns of earth. It is a natural consequence of this that he is found "groaning and trembling upon the earth" (Gen. iv. 12), that is to

τοιοῦτος δ' ὁ φαῦλος κακοδαίμονος βίος, τῶν τεττάρων παθῶν τὰ ὀδυνηρότερα ἀποκεκληρωμένος φόβον τε καὶ λύπην, τὴν μὲν τοῦ στένειν, τὸν δὲ τοῦ τρέμειν συνώνυμον· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἢ παρεῖναί τι κακὸν ἢ μέλλειν γε τῷ τοιούτῳ· τοῦ μὲν οὖν μέλλοντος ἡ προσδοκία φόβον, τοῦ δὲ παρόντος ἡ
120 χρῆσις λύπην ἐγέννησεν. ἀλλ' ὅ γε μετιὼν ἀρετὴν ἐν εὐπαθείαις ἀναλογούσαις ἐξετάζεται· ἢ γὰρ περιπεποίηται τἀγαθὸν ἢ περιποιήσεται· τὸ μὲν οὖν ἔχειν ἀποτελεῖ χαράν, κτημάτων τὸ κάλλιστον, τὸ δὲ σχήσειν προσδοκᾶν τὴν τροφὴν φιλαρέτων ψυχῶν ἐλπίδα, δι' ἣν ὄκνον μεθιέμενοι σὺν αὐτοκελεύστῳ ἑτοιμότητι πρὸς τὰ καλὰ τῶν ἔργων
121 ἀπαντῶμεν. ᾗ μὲν οὖν ἀποκεκύηκε δικαιοσύνη ψυχῇ γενεὰν ἄρρενα, τὸν δίκαιον λογισμόν, ταύτης τὰ λυπηρὰ πάντα ἐξῴκισται. μαρτυρήσει δ' ἡ Νῶε γένεσις—ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται δίκαιος—ἐφ' οὗ λέγεται· "οὗτος διαναπαύσει ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ἡμῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν λυπῶν τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἧς κατηράσατο κύριος ὁ θεός"
122 (Gen. v. 29). πέφυκε γὰρ ἡ δικαιοσύνη πρῶτον μὲν ἀνάπαυλαν ποιεῖν ἀντὶ καμάτου τὰ μεθόρια κακίας καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐξαδιαφοροῦσα, πλοῦτον καὶ δόξαν καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ τιμὰς καὶ ὅσα τούτων ἀδελφά, περὶ ἃ πραγματεύεται τὸ πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων γένος, ἔπειτα λύπας ἀναιρεῖν, αἳ συνίστανται κατὰ τὰς ἐξ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐνεργείας—οὐ γάρ, ὡς ἔνιοι τῶν ἀσεβῶν, τὸν θεὸν αἴτιον κακῶν φησι Μωυσῆς,

[a] See App. p. 495.

say, a victim to fear and grief. Such is the sorry life of the wretched man, a life to which have been allotted the more grievous of the four passions, fear and grief, the one identical with groaning, the other with trembling. For such a life some evil thing must either be present or on its way. The expectation of that which is on its way begets fear, the experience of that which is present begets grief. But the man that follows after virtue is sure to be in corresponding states of blessedness[a]; he has either won the prize or is on the way to win it; then to have it produces joy, fairest of possessions; to be expecting that you will reach it produces that food of souls that love virtue, hope, which makes us cast away hesitation, and essay with hearty alacrity all noble deeds. When righteousness has, for some soul, given birth to a male progeny in the shape of righteous reasoning, from that soul all painful things are forthwith banished. Our witness for this shall be the birth of Noah. "Noah" means righteous, and it is said of him, "This man shall cause us to rest from our works and from the pains of our hands and from the earth which the Lord God hath cursed" (Gen. v. 29). For it is the nature of justice in the first place to create rest in the place of toil, owing to its complete indifference to objects on the border-land between vice and virtue, such as wealth, fame, official posts, honours, and everything of that sort, with which the majority of mankind are busy. It is its nature, in the next place, to abolish griefs which take shape under the action of things that we do entirely of our own motion. For Moses does not, as some impious people do, say that God is the author of ills. Nay, he says that "our own

ἀλλὰ τὰς ἡμετέρας χεῖρας, συμβολικῶς τὰ ἡμέτερα
παριστὰς ἐγχειρήματα καὶ τὰς ἑκουσίους τῆς
διανοίας πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον τροπάς—. XXXIII. ἐπὶ
πᾶσι μέντοι "ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἧς κατηράσατο κύριος
123 ὁ θεὸς" διαναπαύειν· αὕτη δέ ἐστι κακία, | ἣ ταῖς
[215] τῶν ἀφρόνων ἐνίδρυται ψυχαῖς, ἧς καθάπερ νόσου
βαρείας ἀποτροπὴ ὁ δίκαιος εὑρίσκεται πανακείας
τυχὼν δικαιοσύνης.

Ὅταν μέντοι διώσηται τὰ κακά, χαρᾶς ἀνα-
πίμπλαται, ὥσπερ ἡ Σάρρα· φησὶ γάρ· "γέλωτά
μοι ἐποίησε κύριος" καὶ προστίθησιν· "ὃς γὰρ
ἂν ἀκούσῃ, συγχαρεῖταί μοι" (Gen. xxi. 6).
124 δημιουργὸς γὰρ ὁ θεὸς σπουδαίου γέλωτος καὶ
χαρᾶς ἐστιν, ὥστε οὐ γενέσεως πλάσμα τὸν Ἰσαάκ,
ἔργον δὲ τοῦ ἀγενήτου νομιστέον· εἰ γὰρ γέλως
μὲν Ἰσαὰκ ἑρμηνεύεται, γέλωτος δὲ ποιητὴς ὁ
θεὸς κατὰ τὴν Σάρρας ἀψευδῆ μαρτυρίαν, καὶ τοῦ
Ἰσαὰκ ὀρθότατα λέγοιτ' ἂν εἶναι πατήρ. μετα-
δίδωσι δὲ καὶ τῷ σοφῷ τῆς ἰδίου κλήσεως Ἀβραάμ,
ᾧ καὶ τὸ χαίρειν, ἐπιγέννημα σοφίας, ἐκτεμὼν
λύπην δεδώρηται. εἴ τις οὖν ἱκανός ἐστιν ἀκοῦσαι
τῆς θεοῦ ποιητικῆς, γέγηθε μὲν ἐξ ἀνάγκης αὐτός,
συγχαίρει δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀκροατικῶς πρότερον
125 ἐσχηκόσιν. ἐν δὲ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ποιητικῇ μύθου
μὲν πλάσμα οὐδὲν εὑρήσεις, τοὺς δὲ ἀληθείας
ἀσινεῖς κανόνας ἅπαντας ἐστηλιτευμένους, οὐδ'
αὖ τὰ φωνῆς μέτρα καὶ ῥυθμοὺς καὶ μέλη ἀκοὰς
διὰ μουσικῆς ψυχαγωγοῦντα, τὰ δὲ φύσεως αὐτῆς
τελειότατα ἔργα τὴν ἴδιον εὐαρμοστίαν κεκληρω-
μένα. καθάπερ δὲ ὁ νοῦς ἀκροατικῶς ἔχων τῶν

[a] See App. p. 495.

hands" cause them, figuratively describing in this way our own undertakings, and the spontaneous movement of our minds to what is wrong. XXXIII. But the crowning purport of righteousness is to give us full rest "from the earth which the Lord God hath cursed." By this is meant wickedness, which has set up its abode in the souls of the unwise, like some fell disease. Yet we may find in the righteous man a safeguard against it, for he has in his righteousness a sovereign remedy.

So when he has thus routed evil things, he is filled with joy, as Sarah was; for she says, "the Lord hath made for me laughter," and goes on, "for whosoever shall hear, will rejoice with me" (Gen. xxi. 6). For God is the Creator of laughter that is good, and of joy, so that we must hold Isaac to be not a product of created beings, but a work of the uncreated One. For if "Isaac" means "laughter," and according to Sarah's unerring witness God is the Maker of laughter, God may with perfect truth be said to be Isaac's father. But he gives to Abraham, the wise one, a share in His own title, and by the excision of grief He has bestowed on him gladness, the offspring of wisdom. If, therefore, a man be capable of hearing the poetry which God makes,[a] he is of necessity glad himself, and he rejoices with those who had an ear for it already. God is an author in whose works you will find no myth or fiction, but truth's inexorable rules all observed as though graven on stone. You will find no metres and rhythms and tuneful verses charming the ear with their music, but nature's own consummate works, which possess a harmony all their own. And even as the mind, with its ear tuned

θεοῦ ποιημάτων χαίρει, οὕτως καὶ ὁ λόγος συνῳδὸς
ὢν τοῖς διανοίας ἐνθυμήμασι καὶ τρόπον τινὰ
προσέχων αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἀνάγκης γέγηθε.
126 XXXIV. Δηλώσει δ' ὁ τῷ πανσόφῳ Μωυσεῖ
δοθεὶς χρησμός, ἐν ᾧ περιέχεται ταῦτα· "οὐκ
ἰδοὺ Ἀαρὼν ὁ ἀδελφός σου, ὁ Λευίτης; ἐπ-
ίσταμαι ὅτι λαλήσει αὐτός σοι· καὶ ἰδοὺ αὐτὸς
ἐξελεύσεται εἰς συνάντησίν σοι, καὶ ἰδών σε
χαρήσεται ἐν ἑαυτῷ" (Exod. iv. 14). τὸν γὰρ
προφορικὸν λόγον διανοίας ἀδελφὸν ὄντα ἐπ-
ίστασθαί φησιν ὁ δημιουργὸς ὅτι λαλεῖ· πεποίηκε
γὰρ αὐτὸν ὥσπερ ὄργανον τοῦ συγκρίματος ἡμῶν
127 παντὸς ἔναρθρον ἠχήν. οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἐμοί τε
καὶ σοὶ καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις φωνεῖ καὶ λαλεῖ καὶ
ἑρμηνεύει τὰ ἐνθυμήματα καὶ προσεξέρχεταί γε
ὑπαντησόμενος οἷς ἡ διάνοια λελόγισται. ἐπειδὰν
γὰρ ὁ νοῦς ἐξαναστὰς πρός τι τῶν οἰκείων ὁρμὴν
λάβῃ ἢ κινηθεὶς ἔνδοθεν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ ἢ δεξάμενος
ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκτὸς τύπους διαφέροντας, κυοφορεῖ τε
καὶ ὠδίνει τὰ νοήματα· καὶ βουλόμενος ἀποτεκεῖν
ἀδυνατεῖ, μέχρις ἂν ἡ διὰ γλώττης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
128 φωνητηρίων ὀργάνων ἠχὴ δεξαμένη μαίας τρόπον
[216] εἰς φῶς προαγάγῃ τὰ νοήματα. φωνὴ | δὲ τηλ-
αυγεστάτη νοημάτων ἐστὶν αὕτη· καθάπερ γὰρ
τὰ ἀποκείμενα ἐν σκότῳ κέκρυπται, ἕως ἂν ἐπι-
λάμψαν φῶς αὐτὰ δείξῃ, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τὰ
ἐνθυμήματα ἐν ἀοράτῳ χωρίῳ, διανοίᾳ, ταμιεύεται,
μέχρις ἂν οἷα φῶς ἐναυγάσασα ἡ φωνὴ πάντ'
129 ἐκκαλύψῃ. XXXV. παγκάλως οὖν εἴρηται, ὅτι

[a] Or "different."
[b] Or "gives voice to thoughts like a far-shining light."

to the poems of God, is glad, so the speech, being in tune with the conceptions of the understanding, and, if we may so speak, lending its ear to them, cannot but rejoice.

XXXIV. This will be made clear by the divine communication to Moses, the man of large wisdom. It contains these words: "Lo, is not Aaron thy brother, the Levite? I know that he will speak for thee; and lo! he shall come forth to meet thee, and on seeing thee he shall rejoice in himself" (Exod. iv. 14). The Creator says that He knows that the uttered word, brother as it is of the mind, can speak; for He has made it, as it were, an instrument of music, to be an articulate utterance of our whole complex being. This "speech," both for me and for thee and for all men, sounds and speaks and interprets our thoughts, and more than this, goes out to meet the reasonings of the understanding. For when the mind bestirs itself and receives an impulse towards some object belonging to its own sphere, either moved from within itself or experiencing marked[a] impressions from external objects, it becomes pregnant and is in travail with its thoughts. It wishes to be delivered of them and cannot, until the sound produced by the tongue and the other organs of speech takes the thoughts into its hands like a midwife, and brings them forth to the light. And such sound is a most far-shining utterance of our thoughts.[b] For just as things laid up in darkness are hidden, until a light shine on them and show them, in the same way conceptions are stored in the understanding, a place that is out of sight, until the voice illumine them like a light and uncover them all. XXXV. Right finely then is it said that speech goes forth

ἐξέρχεται ὁ λόγος τοῖς νοήμασιν ὑπαντησόμενος, καὶ ἐπιτρέχει γε σπουδάζων καταλαβεῖν αὐτά, διὰ τὸν τοῦ μηνῦσαι πόθον. ἑκάστῳ γὰρ τὸ ἴδιον ἔργον ποθεινότατον· ἴδιον δὲ λόγου τὸ λέγειν, πρὸς ὃ οἰκειώσει φυσικῇ τινι σπεύδει. γέγηθε δὲ καὶ χαίρει, ὅταν ὥσπερ ἐναυγασθεὶς ἴδῃ καὶ καταλάβῃ τὸν νοῦν τοῦ δηλουμένου πράγματος ἄκρως· τότε γὰρ περιδραξάμενος ἄριστος ἑρμηνεὺς γίνεται.
130 τοὺς γοῦν μὴ πάνυ τῶν νοημάτων ἐν ταῖς τοῦ λέγειν διεξόδοις περικρατοῦντας ἀδολέσχους καὶ ἀπεραντολόγους ὄντας παραιτούμεθα, κενὰς καὶ μακρὰς ἔτι δὲ ἀψύχους κυρίως εἰπεῖν ῥήσεις συνείροντας. ἀσχημονῶν οὖν ὁ τῶν τοιούτων λόγος δικαίως ἂν στένοι, ὥστε ἔμπαλιν χαίρειν ἀναγκαῖον τὸν ἐκ περισκέψεως τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων ἱκανῶς ἐπὶ τὴν ὧν εἶδε καὶ ὧν δυνατῶς κατέλαβε
131 μήνυσιν ἐλθόντα. γνωρίζεται δὲ τοῦτο σχεδὸν ἅπασιν ἐκ τῆς καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν πείρας· ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ἄκρως εἰδῶμεν ὃ λέγομεν, χαίρων καὶ γεγηθὼς ὁ λόγος ἐμφαντικωτάτων καὶ κυρίων ὀνομάτων πλουτεῖ, οἷς κατὰ πολλὴν περιουσίαν εὐτρόχως καὶ ἀπταίστως ἔτι δὲ ἐναργῶς καὶ ἀνυσίμως τὸ δηλούμενον παρίστησιν· ὅταν δὲ τοῦ νοήματος ἐπαμφοτερίζῃ κατάληψις, ὑπὸ δεινῆς ἀπορίας προσεχῶν καὶ εὐθυβόλων ὀνομάτων παραπαίων ἀκυρολογεῖ· διόπερ αὐτός τε ἐν ἀηδίᾳ καὶ

to meet the thoughts, yea runs toward them in its anxiety to grasp them, owing to its desire to interpret them. For to each one his proper work is most an object of desire, and speaking is the proper work of speech, and so it hastens to it, taught by nature to treat it as its own. And it rejoices and is glad, when, as though illumined, it sees and fully apprehends the sense of the matter shown to it ; for then it lays hands upon it, and gets hold of it, and becomes a perfect interpreter of it. At all events, we avoid people who, in their verbal expositions, show a lack of complete mastery of the ideas to be expressed. We regard them as prating fellows who never cease talking, stringing together idle, long, and (what is worse) soulless harangues—to give them the epithet they deserve. The speech of such people, disgracing itself as it does, might rightly groan, and so, on the other hand, the speech of that man needs must rejoice, who, after consideration of the mental conceptions, has come adequately equipped to the setting forth of things which he has seen, and of thoughts which he has effectively grasped. Almost all of us are familiar with this from everyday experience. When we perfectly know the thing we are saying, our speech is glad and joyous, and is rich in words of the utmost vividness and fitness, and using these in ample measure it runs along without hitch or stumbling ; and it succeeds, moreover, in presenting the theme which it is expounding clearly and to good purpose. But when apprehension of the thought to be expressed lacks definiteness, eur speech suffers from a grievous dearth of apt terms, strikes a false note, and uses words in an improper sense. The result is that not only is our speech itself plunged

ἄσῃ περιρρέων καὶ πλανώμενος γίνεται τούς τε ἀκούοντας ἀντὶ τοῦ πείθειν τὰ ὦτα ἀλγεῖν ἀναγκάζει.

132 XXXVI. Μήτε δ' ὁ πᾶς λόγος ὑπαντάτω μήτε πᾶσι τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασιν, ἀλλ' ὁ τέλειος Ἀαρὼν τοῖς τοῦ τελειοτάτου Μωυσέως· ἐπεὶ τίνος ἕνεκα τῷ "ἰδοὺ Ἀαρὼν ὁ ἀδελφός σου" προσέθηκεν "ὁ Λευίτης", εἰ μὴ τοῦ διδάξαι χάριν, ὅτι μόνῳ τῷ Λευίτῃ καὶ ἱερεῖ καὶ σπουδαίῳ λόγῳ προσήκει μηνύειν τὰ ἐνθυμήματα ψυχῆς τελείας ὄντα

133 βλαστήματα; μὴ γάρ ποτε φαύλου λόγος ἑρμηνεὺς γένοιτο δογμάτων θείων—τὸ γὰρ κάλλος αὐτῶν οἰκείοις μιάσμασιν αἰσχύνει—μηδ' ἔμπαλιν σπουδαίου προφορᾷ τὰ ἀκόλαστα καὶ αἰσχρὰ μηνύοιτο, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τὴν τῶν ἁγίων διήγησιν

134 ἱεροὶ καὶ ἅγιοι ποιείσθωσαν λόγοι. ἔν τινι τῶν

[217] εὐνομωτάτων πόλεων ἔθος εἶναί | φασι τοιοῦτον· ἐπειδάν τις ἢ βουλῇ ἢ δήμῳ τῶν μὴ βεβιωκότων ὀρθῶς ἐπιχειρῇ γνώμην εἰσηγεῖσθαι, κωλύεται μὲν αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ τοῦτο πράττειν, ἀναγκάζεται δὲ πρὸς τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀνενεγκεῖν τὴν γνώμην ἑνὶ τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν· εἶτ' ἐκεῖνος ἀναστὰς ἃ ἤκουσε διηγεῖται, ἀπερραμμένου τὸ στόμα τοῦ διδάξαντος ὁ ἐξ ὑπογυίου μαθητὴς ἀναφανείς, καὶ ἀλλοτρίας εὑρέσεις ἐπιδείκνυται, οὐδ' ἀκροατοῦ τάξιν ἢ θεατοῦ τὸν ἐπινενοηκότα λαχεῖν ἀξιώσας. οὕτως οὐδὲ ὠφεληθῆναί τινες πρὸς ἀδίκων ἀξιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τῆς γενησομένης

[a] See App. p. 495.

into distress and discomfort, as it flounders about not knowing where it is, but also instead of convincing the audience it makes their ears ache.

XXXVI. But neither must all speech without exception meet thoughts, nor must it meet all thoughts without exception, but the perfect Aaron must meet the thoughts of the most perfect Moses. With what other object, pray, did he add "the Levite" to the words "lo! Aaron thy brother," save with that of teaching that only to the Levite, and priest, and speech that is in deep earnest, is it fitting to reveal the thoughts, seeing that they are blooms of a perfect mind? Never may the speech of a worthless man essay to interpret Divine ordinances. He disgraces their beauty by his own pollutions. On the other hand, let base and licentious ideas never be set forth by the lips of a man of worth, but let holy things always be expounded by sacred and holy speech. It is said that in a certain unusually well governed city [a] the following custom prevails. When one of those who have not led a respectable life takes in hand to introduce a proposal to senate or people, he is not allowed to do so in his own person, but is required by the magistrates to impart the substance of his motion to some man of unblemished character. Thereupon this man rises and reproduces what has been said to him. Appearing as pupil, for the nonce, of the man who instructed him, this gentleman's mouth having been sewn up, he exhibits what another has devised, and does not regard the man who hit upon the idea as fit to occupy even the position of listener or looker-on. So far do some carry their unwillingness even to derive benefit from bad men, holding the harm arising from the shame

ὠφελείας μεῖζον τὸ ἐκ τῆς παρακολουθούσης
βλαβερὸν αἰσχύνης νομίζουσι.
135 XXXVII. Τοῦτο τὸ δίδαγμα Μωυσῆς ὁ ἱερώ-
τατός πως ἔοικεν ἀναδιδάξαι· τοιοῦτον γάρ ἐστι
τὸ Ἀαρὼν τὸν Λευίτην ὑπαντᾶν τῷ ἀδελφῷ
Μωυσεῖ καὶ ἰδόντα χαίρειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ (Exod. iv.
14). τὸ δὲ ἐν ἑαυτῷ χαίρειν ἐμφαίνει δίχα τοῦ
λεχθέντος ἤδη καὶ πολιτικώτερον δόγμα,[1] δηλοῦν-
τος τοῦ νομοθέτου τὴν γνήσιον καὶ οἰκειοτάτην
136 ἀνθρώπῳ χαράν. κυρίως γὰρ οὔτε ἐπὶ χρημάτων
ἢ κτημάτων περιουσίᾳ οὔτε ἐπὶ δόξης λαμπρότητι
οὐδὲ συνόλως ἐπί τινι τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀψύχων τε
ὄντων καὶ ἀβεβαίων καὶ ἐξ ἑαυτῶν τὰς φθορὰς
δεχομένων χαίρειν ἔνεστι, καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ῥώμῃ
καὶ εὐτονίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις σώματος πλεονεκτή-
μασιν, ἃ καὶ τῶν φαυλοτάτων ἐστὶ κοινὰ καὶ τοῖς
ἔχουσι πολλάκις ὄλεθρον ἀπαραίτητον ἤνεγκεν.
137 ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐν τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς μόνοις ἀγαθοῖς ἡ
ἀνόθευτος χαρὰ καὶ ἀκιβδήλευτος εὑρίσκεται, ἐν
ἑαυτῷ δὴ πᾶς σοφὸς χαίρει, οὐκ ἐν τοῖς περὶ
αὐτόν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἑαυτῷ διανοίας εἰσὶν ἀρεταί,
ἐφ᾽ αἷς ἄξιον σεμνύνεσθαι, τὰ δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν ἢ ἡ
εὐπάθεια σώματος ἢ ἡ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀφθονία, ἐφ᾽
οἷς οὐ μεγαλαυχητέον.
138 XXXVIII. Ἐπιδεδειχότες οὖν, ὡς ἐνῆν, διὰ
μάρτυρος ἀψευδεστάτου Μωυσέως ὅτι σοφοῦ τὸ
χαίρειν ἴδιον, αὖθις ἐπιδείξωμεν ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἐλπί-

[1] πολιτικοὶ ἕτερον conj. Trs. See App. pp. 495, 496.

[a] Or "lifeless."

entailed to be greater than the advantage that would accrue to them.

XXXVII. This lesson would seem to have been taught by the most holy prophet Moses. It is taught by the fact of Aaron the Levite meeting his brother Moses and on seeing him rejoicing in himself (Exod. iv. 14). The words "rejoicing in himself," apart from what I have already remarked about them, bring out a truth of yet greater importance for unselfish service. The lawgiver is directing attention to the kind of joy that is genuine and most fully proper to man. For strictly speaking there is no ground for rejoicing over abundance of wealth and possessions, or over brilliant position, or, generally, over anything outside us, since all these things are soulless,[a] and insecure, and have the germs of decay in themselves. Nor indeed is there ground for rejoicing over strength and robust health and other bodily advantages. Not only have we these in common with the most worthless of men, but many a time they bring inexorable ruin on those who have them. Since, then, joy that is free from all sham and counterfeit is found only in the good things of the soul, it is "in himself," not in the accidents of his position, that every wise man rejoices; for the things that are "in himself" are excellences of mind, on which we have a right to pride ourselves, but the accidents of our position are either bodily well-being or plenty of external advantages, and of these we must not boast.

XXXVIII. Having shown, then, as far as in us lay, citing in the person of Moses a most truthful witness, that joy is peculiar to the wise man, let us show in the next place that hope is so also, calling

ζειν, οὐχ ἑτέρῳ χρώμενοι μάρτυρι. τὸν γὰρ τοῦ
Σὴθ υἱὸν ὄνομα Ἐνὼς—ἑρμηνεύεται δὲ <ἄν-
[218] θρωπος> — * * * ἐλπίς· "οὗτος ἤλπισε | πρῶτον"
φησίν "ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ"
(Gen. iv. 26), λέγων ὑγιῶς· ἀνθρώπῳ γὰρ τῷ γε
πρὸς ἀλήθειαν τί ἂν γένοιτο οἰκειότερον ἐλπίδος
καὶ προσδοκίας κτήσεως ἀγαθῶν παρὰ τοῦ μόνου
φιλοδώρου θεοῦ; τοῦτ' ἐστίν, εἰ δεῖ τἀληθὲς
εἰπεῖν, ἡ μόνη κυρίως γένεσις ἀνθρώπων, ὡς τῶν
μὴ ἐλπιζόντων ἐπὶ θεὸν λογικῆς φύσεως οὐ
139 μεμοιραμένων. διὸ καὶ προειπὼν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἐνὼς
ὅτι "οὗτος ἤλπισεν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου
τοῦ θεοῦ," ῥητῶς ἐπιφέρει· "αὕτη <ἡ> βίβλος
γενέσεως ἀνθρώπων" (Gen. v. 1), σπουδαιο-
λογῶν· ἐγγράφεται γὰρ τῇ θεοῦ βίβλῳ, ὅτι μόνος
εὔελπις ἄνθρωπος, ὥστε κατὰ τὰ ἐναντία ὁ δύσ-
ελπις οὐκ ἄνθρωπος. ὅρος οὖν τοῦ μὲν συγκρί-
ματος ἡμῶν ζῷον λογικὸν θνητόν ἐστι, τοῦ δὲ
κατὰ Μωυσῆν ἀνθρώπου διάθεσις ψυχῆς ἐπὶ τὸν
140 ὄντως ὄντα θεὸν ἐλπιζούσης. ἀστεῖοι μὲν οὖν
χαρὰν καὶ ἐλπίδα κλῆρον λαχόντες εὐδαίμονα ἢ
ἐχέτωσαν ἢ προσδοκάτωσαν πάντως ἀγαθά· φαῦλοι
δ', ὧν Κάιν ἐστὶ θιασώτης, ἐν λύπαις καὶ φόβοις
ὄντες ἢ μετουσίαν ἢ προσδοκίαν κακῶν ἀργαλεω-
τάτην μερίδα καρπούσθωσαν, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ἐν
χερσὶν ὀδυνηροῖς στένοντες, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς προσ-
δοκωμένοις φοβεροῖς τρέμοντές τε καὶ φρίττοντες
(cf. Gen. iv. 12).

141 XXXIX. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἀρκούντως λελέχθω·
τὰ δ' ἑξῆς ἐρευνήσωμεν. "καὶ εἶπε" φησί

in the same witness as before. For the son of Seth named Enos, which means "man" [was distinguished by] hope. "This man," it says, "first hoped to call on the name of the Lord God" (Gen. iv. 26). It is a sound statement. For what could be found more in keeping with one who is truly a man than a hope and expectation of obtaining good things from the only bountiful God? This is, to tell the truth, men's only birth in the strict sense, since those who do not set their hope on God have no part in a rational nature. Accordingly having first said of Enos "this man hoped (and ventured) to call on the name of the Lord God," he adds expressly, "this is the book of the nativity of men" (Gen. v. 1.). In saying this he utters an important truth, for an entry is hereby made in the book of God to the effect that man only is hopeful. The converse therefore is true, that he that is despondent is not man. The definition, then, of our complex being is "a living creature endowed with reason subject to death," but that of man as Moses portrays him "a soul so constituted as to hope on the God that really IS." Well, then, let goodly men, having obtained joy and hope as their happy portion, either enjoy or at all events expect good things: but let worthless men, of whose company Cain is a member, living in constant pains and terrors, gather in a most grievous harvest, in the experience or expectation of evils, groaning over the painful case in which they are already, and trembling and shuddering at the fearful things which they expect (*cf.* Gen. iv. 12).

XXXIX. Let what we have said on this passage suffice: let us investigate the words that follow. They are these: "And Cain said to the Lord, The

"Κάιν πρὸς κύριον· Μείζων ἡ αἰτία μου τοῦ ἀφεθῆναι" (Gen. iv. 13). τοῦθ' οἷόν ἐστιν, ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων φανεῖται. εἰ θαλαττεύουσαν ναῦν ἀπολείποι κυβερνήτης, ἆρ' οὐκ ἀνάγκη τὰ περὶ πλοῦν τῇ νηὶ διαμαρτάνεσθαι; τί δ', εἰ τέθριππον ἡνίοχος ἐν ἱπποδρομίας ἀγῶνι, οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἄτακτον καὶ πλημμελῆ τὸν δρόμον γίνεσθαι τῷ τεθρίππῳ; τί δ', ὅταν ἀπολειφθῇ πόλις πρὸς ἀρχόντων ἢ νόμων—ἐν ἄρχουσι δὲ γράφονται δήπου καὶ νόμοι—οὐκ ἀναρχίᾳ καὶ ἀνομίᾳ, κακοῖς μεγίστοις, ἡ πόλις ἐκείνη διαφθείρεται; καὶ μὴν σῶμα μὲν ἀπουσίᾳ ψυχῆς, ψυχὴ δὲ ἀπουσίᾳ λογισμοῦ, λογισμὸς δὲ ἐνδείᾳ ἀρετῆς

142 πέφυκε παραπόλλυσθαι. εἰ δ' ἕκαστον ὧν εἶποι ζημία τοῖς ἀπολειφθεῖσι γίνεται πρὸς αὐτῶν, πόσῃ τινὶ χρήσεσθαι κακοπραγίᾳ τοὺς ὑπὸ θεοῦ καταλειφθέντας γνωρίζομεν, οὓς ἀποστραφεὶς καθάπερ λιποτάκτας ἱερωτάτων θεσμῶν ἐξώρισεν ἀναξίους ἐπιστασίας καὶ ἀρχῆς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δοκιμάσας; συνόλως γὰρ εἰδέναι χρή, ὅτι ὁ πρὸς τοῦ κρείττονος καὶ ὠφελοῦντος ἀφεθεὶς ἐν αἰτίαις καὶ ἐγκλήμασι μεγίστοις γίνεται. πότε γὰρ εἴποις ἂν τὸν ἄτεχνον μάλιστα βλάπτεσθαι; ἆρ' οὐχ ὅταν πρὸς ἐπιστήμης κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ἐαθῇ;

143 πότε δὲ τὸν ἀμαθῆ καὶ λίαν ἀπαίδευτον; οὐχ ὅταν ἀπόλειψιν τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ χρηματίσῃ διδα-

[219] σκαλία | καὶ μάθησις; πότε δὲ τοὺς ἄφρονας κακοδαιμονίζομεν μᾶλλον; οὐχ ὅταν φρόνησις

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[a] See App. p. 496.

[b] See App. p. 486, note on *De Cherubim* 115.

charge to which abandonment exposes me is too great" (Gen. iv. 13). The character of this cry will appear from a comparison of like cases. If the helmsman should abandon a ship at sea, must not all arrangements for sailing the ship go wrong? Again, if a charioteer quit a horse-chariot during a race, does it not necessarily follow that the chariot's course will lose all order and direction? And again, when a city has been abandoned by rulers or laws—and of course rulers are living tables on which laws are inscribed[a]—does not that city become a prey to two very great evils, anarchy and lawlessness? Need I add that it is a law of nature that the body perishes if the soul quit it, and the soul if reason quit it, and reason if it be deprived of virtue? Now if each presence that I have named becomes an occasion of loss and damage to those abandoned by it, how great a disaster must we infer that those will experience who have been forsaken by God; men whom He rejects as deserters, false to the most sacred ordinances, and sends into banishment, having tested them and found them unworthy of His rule and governance? For, to say all in a word, it is certain that he who is left by a benefactor far greater than himself is involved in charges and accusations of the most serious kind. For when would you say that the unskilled man suffers the greatest harm? Would it not be when he is entirely let alone by science? When would you say it of the man that is unlearned and utterly uneducated? Would it not be when instruction and pupilage have executed a deed of abandonment[b] in his case? And when do we pronounce foolish people more than usually unhappy? Is it not when sound sense rejects them for

αὐτοὺς εἰσάπαν ἀπώσηται; πότε δὲ τοὺς ἀ-
κολάστους ἢ ἀδίκους; οὐκ ἐπειδὰν σωφροσύνη καὶ
δικαιοσύνη φυγὴν ἀίδιον κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ψηφίσωνται;
πότε δὲ τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς; οὐχ ὅταν εὐσέβεια τῶν
144 ἰδίων ὀργίων ἀποσχοινίσῃ; διό μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ
μὴ τελείως δυσκάθαρτοι εὔξασθαι ἂν κολασθῆναι
μᾶλλον ἢ ἀφεθῆναι· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἄφεσις αὐτοὺς
ὥσπερ ἀνερμάτιστα καὶ ἀκυβέρνητα πλοῖα ῥᾷστα
145 ἀνατρέψει, ἡ δὲ κόλασις ἐπανορθώσεται. ἢ οὐκ
ἀμείνους μὲν τῶν ἀπαιδαγωγήτων οἱ ὑπὸ παιδ-
αγωγῶν ἐν οἷς ἁμαρτάνουσιν ἐπιπληττόμενοι, ἀμεί-
νους δὲ τῶν ἀνεπιτιμήτων οἱ ὑπὸ διδασκάλων ἐν
οἷς περὶ τὰς τέχνας οὐ κατορθοῦσιν ὀνειδιζόμενοι,
εὐτυχέστεροι δὲ καὶ κρείττους τῶν ἀνεπιτροπεύ-
των νέων οἱ μάλιστα μὲν ἐπιστασίας καὶ ἀρχῆς
ἀξιωθέντες φυσικῆς, ἣν οἱ γεννήσαντες ἐπὶ τέκνοις
κεκλήρωνται, εἰ δὲ μή, δευτέρων γοῦν ἡγεμόνων
ἐπιλαχόντες, οὓς ὀρφανίας ἔλεος ἐπιτρόπους εἴωθε
χειροτονεῖν τὴν γονέων ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς συμφέρουσι
τάξιν ἐκπλήσοντας;

146 XL. Ἱκετεύωμεν οὖν τὸν θεὸν οἱ συνειδήσει
τῶν οἰκείων ἀδικημάτων ἐλεγχόμενοι, κολάσαι
μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς ἢ παρεῖναι· παρεὶς μὲν γὰρ οὐκέτι
τοῦ ἵλεω δούλους ἑαυτοῦ, γενέσεως δὲ τῆς ἀνη-
λεοῦς ἀπεργάσεται, κολάζων δὲ ἐπιεικῶς τε καὶ
πρᾴως ἅτε χρηστὸς ὢν ἐπανορθώσεται τὰ ἁμαρτή-
ματα, τὸν σωφρονιστὴν ἔλεγχον, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόγον,
εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκπέμψας, δι᾽ οὗ δυσωπήσας καὶ

[a] See App. p. 496.

good and all? When do we so regard the licentious or the unjust? Is it not when self-mastery and justice issue against them a sentence of eternal banishment? When the irreligious? Is it not when religion excludes them from her own sacred rites? This being so, it seems to me that those who are not utterly beyond cleansing would pray to be punished rather than be let go; for dismissal will most easily overturn them like vessels without ballast or helmsman, while punishment will set them up again. Are not boys who are rebuked by their slave-tutors when they do wrong better than those who are without tutors? Are not apprentices[a] who are found fault with by their masters when they do not succeed in the craft they are learning better than those who have no one to chide them? Are not youths without someone to direct them inferior to, and less well off than, those who, best of all, have been vouchsafed the natural direction and guidance which has been assigned to parents over their children, or, failing that, have been placed under the next-best sort of guides, whom pity for fatherless children so often appoints[a] to fill the place of parents in all that is for their good?

XL. Let us then, who are convicted by consciousness of our own acts of unrighteousness, beseech God to punish us rather than let us alone. For if He lets us alone, He will make us servants, not as before, of Himself the gracious One, but of the creation that has no pity; but if He punishes us, He will of His gracious goodness gently and kindly correct our faults, by sending forth into our mind His own word, that reproves and chastens, by means of which He will upbraid it, and make it ashamed of its errors,

ὀνειδίσας περὶ ὧν ἐπλημμέλησεν αὐτὴν ἰάσεται.
147 διὰ τοῦτο “πάνθ᾿ ὅσα ἂν εὔξηται χήρα καὶ ἐκβεβλημένη κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῆς” φησὶν ὁ νομοθέτης μενεῖν αὐτῇ (Num. xxx. 10)· τὸν μὲν γὰρ θεὸν ἄνδρα καὶ πατέρα τῶν ὅλων σπορὰν καὶ γένεσιν ἁπάντων παρεχόμενον ἐνδίκως φήσομεν, διάνοιαν δὲ ἐκβεβλῆσθαι καὶ χήραν θεοῦ, ἥτις ἢ γονὰς θείας οὐ παρεδέξατο ἢ παραδεξαμένη ἑκου-
148 σίως αὖθις ἐξήμβλωσε. τοιγαροῦν ὅσα ἂν ὁρίσηται, καθ᾿ ἑαυτῆς ὁριεῖται, καὶ ταῦτα μενεῖ πάντως ἀνίατα· πῶς γὰρ οὐ κακὸν ἀπευκτόν, ὁρίζεσθαί τι καὶ παγίως ἀποφαίνεσθαι περὶ αὐτῆς γένεσιν τὴν ἄστατον πάντῃ καὶ φορητήν, ἐπιγράφουσαν αὐτῇ τὰς τοῦ ποιοῦντος ἀρετάς; ὧν μία ἐστί, καθ᾿ ἣν
149 ἀνενδοιάστως καὶ ἀκλινῶς ἕκαστα ὁρίζεται. τοιγαροῦν οὐ χηρεύσει μόνον ἐπιστήμης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκβεβλήσεται· τοῦτο δ᾿ ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον· ἡ χηρεύουσα μὲν μήπω δὲ ἐκβεβλημένη τοῦ καλοῦ ψυχὴ δύναταί πως ἐγκαρτερήσασα τὰς πρὸς τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον τὸν νόμιμον <ἄνδρα> συμβάσεις καὶ καταλλαγὰς εὑρεῖν·
[220] ἡ δ᾿ ἅπαξ διαζευχθεῖσα καὶ | διοικισθεῖσα ὡς ἄσπονδος μέχρι τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος ἐκτετόξευται, εἰς τὸν ἀρχαῖον οἶκον ἐπανελθεῖν ἀδυνατοῦσα.

150 XLI. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ “μείζων ἡ αἰτία μου τοῦ ἀφεθῆναι” τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω· τὰ δ᾿ ἀκόλουθα σκεψώμεθα. “εἰ ἐκβάλλεις με” φησί “σήμερον

[a] Or “to receive Divine impregnation.”

and so will heal it. It is for this reason that the lawgiver says that "whatever one widowed and ejected shall have vowed against her soul" shall stand for her (Numb. xxx. 10). For we may justly say that God is husband and father of the universe, supplying, as He does, the germs of life [a] and well-being to all; and that a mind has been cast forth and widowed of God, which has either failed to welcome divinely-bestowed power to bear children, or, after welcoming it, has subsequently chosen to bring about abortion. Accordingly, whatever she shall have determined, against herself shall she determine, and the things determined shall stand absolutely incurable. For how can it be anything but a deplorable evil that an unstable creature never continuing in one stay should determine and fix by announcing it aught concerning itself, thus arrogating to itself the prerogatives of the Creator? One of these prerogatives is that in virtue of which He decisively and unswervingly determines all things. So it comes about that the mind shall not only be widowed of knowledge, but shall also be cast out from it. Let me explain. The soul that is widowed but not yet cast out of the good and beautiful, may still by steadfast persistence find a means of reconciliation and agreement with right reason, her lawful husband. But the soul that has once been dismissed from hearth and home as irreconcilable, has been expelled for all eternity, and can never return to her ancient abode.

XLI. What has been said about the words, "The charge to which abandonment exposes me is too great," must suffice, and we must consider the words that follow. "If" he says "Thou castest me out

ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου σου κρυβήσομαι" (Gen. iv. 14). τί λέγεις, ὦ γενναῖε; ἐὰν ἐκβληθῇς ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς γῆς, ἔτι
151 κρυβήσῃ; τίνα τρόπον; ζῆν γὰρ δύναιο ἄν; ἢ τοῦτ' ἠγνόησας, ὅτι τοῖς ζῴοις ἡ φύσις διαφέροντας καὶ οὐχὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τόπους πρὸς διαμονὴν ἐδωρήσατο, θάλατταν μὲν ἰχθύσι καὶ παντὶ τῷ ἐνύδρῳ γένει, γῆν δὲ ἅπασι τοῖς χερσαίοις; χερσαῖον δὲ κατὰ γοῦν τὰς σώματος συγκρίσεις ζῷον καὶ ἄνθρωπός ἐστι· διὰ τοῦτο ἀμείψαντα τὰς οἰκείους χώρας ἕκαστα καὶ ὥσπερ εἰς ἀλλοδαπὴν ἐλθόντα ῥᾳδίως τελευτᾷ, τὰ μὲν χερσαῖα καθ' ὕδατος δύντα, τὰ δ' ἔνυδρα ἐπὶ χέρσον ἀνα-
152 πλεύσαντα. εἴπερ οὖν ἐκβληθείης ἀπὸ γῆς ἄνθρωπος ὤν, ποῖ τετράψῃ; νήξῃ καθ' ὕδατος τὴν τῶν ἐνύδρων ἀπομιμούμενος φύσιν; ἀλλ' ὑποβρύχιος αὐτίκα τεθνήξῃ. ἀλλὰ πτερώσας καὶ μετεωρίσας σαυτὸν ἀεροβατεῖν ἐθελήσεις τὸ χερσαῖον εἰς πτηνοῦ γένος μεταβαλών; ἀλλ' εἰ δύνασαι μετάπλαττε καὶ μεταχάραττε τὸ θεῖον νόμισμα· ἀλλ' οὐ δυνήσῃ· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν μετεωρότερον σεαυτὸν ἐξάρῃς, τοσούτῳ θᾶττον ἀφ' ὑψηλοτέρου μετὰ πλείονος φορᾶς ἐπὶ γῆν τὸ οἰκεῖον χωρίον ἐνε-
153 χθήσῃ. XLII. ἄνθρωπος δ' ἂν ἤ τι τῶν γενομένων κρύπτεσθαι δυνηθείη θεόν; ποῦ; τὸν ἐφθακότα πάντῃ, τὸν ἄχρι περάτων ἀποβλέποντα, τὸν πεπληρωκότα τὸ πᾶν, οὗ τῶν ὄντων οὐδὲ τὸ βραχύτατον ἔρημον; καὶ τί παράδοξον, εἰ μηδενὶ τῶν γενομένων ἐφικτὸν κρύπτεσθαι τὸ ὄν, ὁπότε

to-day from the face of the earth, from Thy face also shall I be hidden" (Gen. iv. 14). What are you saying, good sir? If you shall have been cast out of all the earth, will you still hide yourself? How? Could you live? Or did you not know that nature has not given to all living creatures the same abiding-place, but different ones, the sea to fish and all the watery tribe, and earth to all land creatures? And man, so far at all events as the constituents of his body go, is a land creature. For this reason, each living creature, when he leaves his proper abode and enters so to speak a foreign one, dies without more ado, the land creatures on going under water, the aquatic animals on making their way to dry land. If, therefore, being a man, you should be cast out from earth, whither will you turn? Will you take on the nature of aquatic creatures and swim under water? Nay, under water you will be dead in a moment. But perhaps you will take wings and raise yourself aloft and elect to traverse the air, transforming land-kind into bird-kind? Aye, change if you can the moulding and stamp of the Divine coinage. You will never be able to do that: for the further you lift yourself aloft, so much the more swiftly will you be borne from a higher region with greater impetus to earth, your proper quarter. XLII. But could you, being a man, or any other created thing, hide yourself from God? Where? From Him who is there before us whichever way we go; from Him Whose sight reaches to the ends of earth; from Him Who has filled the universe; from Him of Whom the least thing that exists is not void? And can this surprise you, that no created thing can manage to hide itself from that which IS, seeing that

οὐδὲ τὰς ὑλικὰς ἀρχὰς ἔνεστι διεκδῦναι, ἀλλ'
ἀνάγκη τῷ μίαν διαφυγόντι εἰς ἑτέραν μεταβῆναι;
154 εἰ τὸ ὄν, καθ' ἣν τέχνην ἐποίει τὰ ἀμφίβια, κατὰ
ταύτην καὶ ζῷον πανταχοῦ βιωσόμενον ἐβουλήθη
καινουργῆσαι, τοῦτο τὸ ζῷον, εἰ μὲν τὰ βάρος
ἔχοντα ἀπεδίδρασκε γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ, πρὸς τὰ τῇ
φύσει κοῦφα ἀέρα καὶ πῦρ ἧκεν ἄν, ἔμπαλιν δ'
ἐνομιλῆσαν τοῖς μεταρσίοις, εἰ μετανάστασιν ἐζήτει
τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, τὸν ἐναντίον ἤμειψεν ἂν χῶρον·
ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὸ πάντως καθ' ἓν τοῦ κόσμου μέρος
προφαίνεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ παντὸς ἔξω δραμεῖν ἦν
ἀδύνατον, πρὸς τῷ μηδὲ ἐκτὸς ὑπολελεῖφθαί τι τὸν
δημιουργὸν ὅλας δι' ὅλων τὰς τέτταρας ἀρχὰς εἰς
τὴν τοῦ κόσμου σύστασιν ἀναλώσαντα, ἵνα ἐκ
[221] μερῶν τελείων τελειότατον | ἀπεργάσηται τὸ πᾶν.
155 ὁπότ' οὖν ὅλον ἐκφυγεῖν τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔργον ἀ-
μήχανον, πῶς οὐκ ἀδύνατον μᾶλλον ἀποδρᾶναι τὸν
ποιητὴν καὶ ἡγεμόνα τούτου; μηδεὶς οὖν τὴν
πρόχειρον ἐκδοχὴν τοῦ λόγου παραδεχόμενος
ἀνεξετάστως τῷ νόμῳ τὴν ἰδίαν εὐήθειαν προσ-
αρτάτω, περισκεψάμενος δ' ὅπερ αἰνίττεται δι'
156 ὑπονοιῶν τὸ σαφὲς διαγνώτω. XLIII. μήποτ'
οὖν ὅπερ ἐμφαίνεται διὰ τοῦ "εἰ ἐκβάλλεις με
σήμερον ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ
προσώπου σου κρυβήσομαι" τοῦτ' ἐστίν· εἰ μὴ
παρέχεις μοι τὰ γῆς ἀγαθά, οὐδὲ τὰ οὐρανοῦ

[a] See App. p. 496.

we cannot get out of the first elements of material things, but, having made our escape from one, must ever pass thence into another? If the existent One had willed to employ the skill, by which He made amphibious creatures, in making a new kind of creature capable of living in all elements, this creature, if it had sped away from the heavy elements of the earth and water, would have arrived at the elements that are naturally light, namely air and fire; and again, after making acquaintance with the regions on high, if it had wanted to remove from them, it would have merely exchanged them for the opposite region. It would have been necessary for it in any case to show itself in some one quarter of the universe, since it was impossible for it to speed away outside it. And, besides this, the Creator had left nothing remaining outside, having entirely used up all the four elements to constitute the world, that out of perfect parts He might make the whole most perfect.[a] Seeing then that it is in all cases out of the question to escape beyond the handiwork of God, must it not be still more impossible to flee from its Maker and Ruler? Let no one therefore accept without examining it the way of understanding the language that first suggests itself, and by so doing make the Law guilty of his own foolishness. Let him carefully note the sense which it conveys in a figure through deeper meanings underlying the expressions employed, and so attain to certain knowledge. XLIII. Probably, then, what is expressed by the words "if Thou art casting me out this day from the face of the earth, from Thy face also shall I be hidden" is this: "if Thou art ceasing to supply me with the good things of earth, neither do I accept

δέχομαι· καὶ εἰ μή τίς ἐστι χρῆσις καὶ ἀπόλαυσις ἡδονῆς, καὶ ἀρετὴν παραιτοῦμαι· καὶ εἰ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων μὴ μεταδίδως ἀγαθῶν, ἔχε καὶ τὰ
157 θεῖα. τὰ γὰρ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀναγκαῖα καὶ τίμια καὶ γνήσια ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγαθὰ ταῦτα· φαγεῖν, πιεῖν, [περιβαλέσθαι], ποικιλίαις χρωμάτων δι' ὄψεως ἡσθῆναι, μελῳδίαις παντοδαπῶν ἤχων δι' ἀκοῆς τερφθῆναι, ἀτμῶν ἀποφοραῖς εὐώδεσι διὰ μυκτήρων γανωθῆναι, ταῖς γαστρὸς καὶ μετὰ γαστέρα ἡδοναῖς ἁπάσαις εἰς κόρον χρήσασθαι, τῆς ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ κτήσεως μὴ ἀμελῆσαι, τιμὰς καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα συντείνοντα πρὸς δόξαν περιβαλέσθαι· φρόνησιν δ' ἢ καρτερίαν ἢ δικαιοσύνης αὐστηρὰς διαθέσεις ἐπίπονον παρασκευαζούσας βίον ἐῶμεν· εἰ δ' ἄρα καὶ χρηστέον αὐταῖς, οὐχ ὡς ἀγαθοῖς τελείοις χρηστέον, ἀλλὰ ὡς ποιητικοῖς ἀγαθοῦ.

158 Σὺ μὲν οὖν, ὦ καταγέλαστε, φῂς ὅτι τῶν σωματικῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀφαιρεθεὶς πλεονεκτημάτων εἰς ὄψιν οὐκ ἀφίξῃ θεοῦ; ἐγὼ δέ σοι λέγω ὅτι, ἐὰν ἀφαιρεθῇς, πάντως ἀφίξῃ· λυθεὶς γὰρ τῶν ἀρρήκτων σώματος καὶ περὶ σῶμα δεσμῶν φαντα-
159 σιώσῃ τὸν ἀγένητον. XLIV. <τὸν> Ἀβραὰμ οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι "γῆν καὶ συγγένειαν καὶ πατρὸς οἶκον," τὸ σῶμα, τὴν αἴσθησιν, τὸν λόγον, "καταλιπὼν" (Gen. xii. 1) ἄρχεται ταῖς τοῦ ὄντος ἐντυγχάνειν δυνάμεσιν; ὅταν γὰρ ὑπεξέλθῃ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκίαν, λέγει ὁ νόμος ὅτι "ὤφθη ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ" (Gen. xii. 7)

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[a] See App. pp. 496, 497.
[b] Philo makes these words mean "where you cannot see God."

those of heaven ; and if I am being cut off from the experience and enjoyment of pleasure, I decline virtue also ; and if Thou art giving me no part in what is human, keep back also what is divine. For the good things that are,[a] in our judgement, necessary and of value and really genuine are these, eating, drinking ; delighting in variety of colours by the use of sight ; being charmed through hearing by all kinds of melodious sounds, and through the joy of fragrant scents which our nostrils inhale ; indulging to the full in all the pleasures arising from digestive and other organs ; unceasing attention to the acquisition of gold and silver ; being adorned with honours and public offices, and all else that tends to make us distinguished. But let us have nothing to do with sound sense, or hardy endurance, or righteousness with her stern disposition filling life with labour and travail. But if these prove to be a necessary part of our experience, they must be treated not as good things to be sought for their own sake, but as means to and productive of good."

Oh ! ridiculous man ! Do you assert that, when stript of bodily and outward advantages, you will be out of sight of God ? [b] I tell you that, if you be stripped of them, you will be more than ever in sight of Him : for when set free from bonds that cannot be broken, imposed by the body and bodily requirements, you will have a clear vision of the Uncreated. XLIV. Do you not see that Abraham, when he had "forsaken land and kindred and his father's house," *i.e.* the body, sense, and speech (Gen. xii. 1), begins to meet with the powers of Him that IS ? For when he has gone out from all his house, the Law says that " God appeared to him " (Gen. xii. 7), showing

δηλῶν ὅτι ἐναργῶς φαίνεται τῷ τὰ θνητὰ ὑπεκδύντι
καὶ εἰς ἀσώματον τοῦδε τοῦ σώματος ψυχὴν
160 ἀναδραμόντι. διὸ καὶ Μωυσῆς "λαβὼν τὴν αὐτοῦ
σκηνὴν ἔξω πήττει τῆς παρεμβολῆς" (Exod. xxxiii.
7) καὶ μακρὰν διοικίζει τοῦ σωματικοῦ στρατο-
πέδου, μόνως ἂν οὕτως ἐλπίσας ἱκέτης καὶ θερα-
πευτὴς ἔσεσθαι τέλειος θεοῦ.

Τὴν δὲ σκηνὴν ταύτην κεκλῆσθαί φησι μαρτυρίου,
[222] σφόδρα παρατετηρημένως, ἵν' ἡ τοῦ ὄντος | ὑπάρχῃ,
μὴ καλῆται μόνον· τῶν γὰρ ἀρετῶν ἡ μὲν θεοῦ
πρὸς ἀλήθειάν ἐστι κατὰ τὸ εἶναι συνεστῶσα, ἐπεὶ
καὶ ὁ θεὸς μόνος ἐν τῷ εἶναι ὑφέστηκεν· οὗ χάριν
ἀναγκαίως ἐρεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ· "ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὤν"
(Exod. iii. 14), ὡς τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ὄντων
κατὰ τὸ εἶναι, δόξῃ δὲ μόνον ὑφεστάναι νομιζο-
μένων· ἡ δὲ Μωυσέως σκηνὴ συμβολικῶς οὖσα
ἀνθρώπου ἀρετὴ κλήσεως, οὐχ ὑπάρξεως, ἀξιωθή-
σεται, μίμημα καὶ ἀπεικόνισμα τῆς θείας ἐκείνης
161 ὑπάρχουσα. τούτοις ἕπεται καὶ τὸ Μωυσῆν,
ὁπότε χειροτονεῖται "θεὸς τοῦ Φαραώ," μὴ
πρὸς ἀλήθειαν γεγενῆσθαι, δόξῃ δὲ μόνον ὑπο-
λαμβάνεσθαι· θεὸν γὰρ διδόντα μὲν οἶδα καὶ χαρι-
ζόμενον, διδόμενον δὲ οὐ δύναμαι νοῆσαι, λέγεται δὲ
ἐν ἱεραῖς βίβλοις· "δίδωμί σε θεὸν Φαραώ"
(Exod. vii. 1), τοῦ διδομένου πάσχοντος, οὐ
δρῶντος· δραστήριον δὲ τὸ ὄντως ὄν, οὐ πάσχον,
162 ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι. τί οὖν διὰ τούτων συνάγεται;
ὅτι ὁ σοφὸς λέγεται μὲν θεὸς τοῦ ἄφρονος, πρὸς
ἀλήθειαν δὲ οὐκ ἔστι θεός, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὸ ἀδόκιμον

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[a] See App. p. 497.

that He clearly manifests Himself to him that escapes from things mortal and mounts up into a soul free from the encumbrance of this body of ours. So Moses "taking his tent sets it up outside the camp" (Exod. xxxiii. 7), and places its abode far from the bodily encampment, expecting that only thus might he become a perfect suppliant and worshipper of God.

Of this tent he says that it has received the title of "Tent of Testimony," using his words quite advisedly, to show that the Tent of the Existent One really is, and does not merely receive the title. For, among the virtues, that of God really is, actually existing, inasmuch as God alone has veritable being. This is why Moses will say of Him as best he may [a] in human speech, "I am He that is" (Exod. iii. 14), implying that others lesser than He have not being, as being indeed is, but exist in semblance only, and are conventionally said to exist. To Moses' Tent, however, which figuratively represents human virtue, must be accorded not existence but only a title, seeing that it is a copy and likeness of that divine virtue. It follows as a consequence of this that, when Moses is appointed "a god unto Pharaoh," he did not become such in reality, but only by a convention is supposed to be such; for I do indeed know God as granting favours and giving, but I am unable to conceive of Him as being given; yet it is said in the sacred books, "I give thee as a god to Pharaoh" (Exod. vii. 1), that which is given being passive not active; but He that really is must needs be active not passive. What then do we gather from these words? That the wise man is said to be a god to the foolish man, but that in reality he is not God,

τετράδραχμόν ἐστι τετράδραχμον· ἀλλ' ὅταν μὲν τῷ ὄντι παραβάλληται, ἄνθρωπος εὑρεθήσεται θεοῦ, ὅταν δὲ ἄφρονι ἀνθρώπῳ, θεὸς πρὸς φαντασίαν καὶ δόκησιν, οὐ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὸ εἶναι, νοούμενος.

163 XLV. τί οὖν ματαιάζεις λέγων "εἴ με ἐκβάλλεις ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, καὶ σὲ κρυβήσομαι" (Gen. iv. 14); τοὐναντίον γὰρ εἴ σε τοῦ γεώδους ἀπελάσαι, τὴν εἰκόνα ἐμφανῶς δείξει τὴν ἑαυτοῦ. τεκμήριον δέ· σὺ μὲν ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ μεταστήσῃ, μεταναστὰς δὲ τὸ γήινον σῶμα οὐδὲν ἧττον οἰκήσεις· λέγει γὰρ αὖθις· ἐξῆλθε δὲ Κάιν ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ᾤκησεν <ἐν> τῇ γῇ" (Gen. iv. 16)· ὥστε οὐκ ἐκβληθεὶς ἀπὸ γῆς ἀποκέκρυψαι τὸν ὄντα, ἀλλ' ἐκτραπεὶς αὐτὸν εἰς γῆν καταπέφευγας,

164 τὸ θνητὸν χωρίον. καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ πᾶς "ὁ εὑρίσκων σε ἀποκτενεῖ," καθάπερ σοφιζόμενος διεξῄεις (Gen. iv. 14)· τὸ γὰρ εὑρισκόμενον ὑπὸ δυοῖν, ἢ ὁμοίου ἢ ἀνομοίου, πάντως εὑρίσκεται, ὑπὸ μὲν [οὖν] τοῦ ὁμοίου καὶ συγγενοῦς διὰ τὴν ἐν ἅπασιν οἰκειότητα καὶ κοινωνίαν, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀνομοίου διὰ τὴν ἀντίπαλον ἀλλοτριότητα· τὸ μὲν οὖν ὅμοιόν ἐστι καὶ φυλακτικὸν τοῦ παραπλησίου, τὸ δ'

165 ἀνόμοιον καὶ φθαρτικὸν τοῦ διαλλάττοντος. ἴστωσαν δὴ καὶ ὁ Κάιν καὶ εἴ τις ἕτερος πανοῦργος, ὅτι οὐχ ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ ἐντυγχάνοντος ἀναιρεθήσεται, ἀλλὰ ῥᾳδιουργοὶ μὲν ἀδελφὰς καὶ συγγενεῖς κακίας ἐζηλωκότες φρουροὶ καὶ φύλακες αὐτοῦ

just as the counterfeit four-drachma piece is not a tetradrachm. But when the wise man is compared with Him that IS, he will be found to be a man of God; but when with a foolish man, he will turn out to be one conceived of as a god, in men's ideas and imagination, not in view of truth and actuality. XLV. Why then do you talk idly saying, "If Thou art casting me out of the earth, Thee also shall I hide from myself" (Gen. iv. 14)? For, on the contrary, were He to expel you from the earthly sphere, He will show you His own image clearly manifested. This can be proved. You are going to remove out of the presence of God, and having so removed you will none the less inhabit your earthly body; for he says afterwards, "and Cain went out from the presence of God and dwelt in the earth" (Gen. iv. 16); so that, instead of having been cast out of the earth and having hidden from yourself Him that IS, you have turned away from Him and have taken refuge in earth, *i.e.* the mortal region. Moreover, it is not really true that "everyone that findeth you shall kill you," as you dishonestly argued (Gen. iv. 14). For the thing that is found is assuredly found by one of two, either by one like it or by one unlike it. He that is like it and akin to it finds it because of their congruity and fellowship in all respects; he that is unlike it, owing to their opposition and incongruity. That which is like is prone to guard and keep what is so nearly related to it: that which is unlike is on its part ready to destroy what differs from it. Let Cain and every other scoundrel know assuredly that he will not be killed by everyone that meets with him, but whereas unscrupulous people, given to vices closely akin to his, will prove his guards and keepers,

γενήσονται, φρόνησιν δ' ὅσοι καὶ ἄλλην ἀρετὴν
ἐξεπόνησαν ὡς ἄσπονδον ἐχθρόν, ἣν δύνωνται,
καθελοῦσι· πάντα γάρ, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, καὶ σώματα
[223] καὶ | πράγματα πρὸς μὲν οἰκείων καὶ φίλων
σῴζεται, πρὸς ἀλλοτρίων δὲ καὶ δυσμενῶν δια-
166 φθείρεται. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ χρησμὸς ἀντιμαρτυρῶν
τῇ προσποιήτῳ εὐηθείᾳ τοῦ Κάιν φησίν· "οὐχ
οὕτως" φρονεῖς ὡς λέγεις (Gen. iv. 15)· λέγεις
μὲν γὰρ ὅτι πᾶς ὁ τὰ παλαίσματά σου τῆς τέχνης
εὑρὼν ἀνελεῖ, οἶδας δὲ ὅτι οὐχὶ πᾶς, μυρίων ἐν
τῇ σῇ τεταγμένων συμμαχίᾳ, ἀλλὰ μόνος ὁ ἀρετῇ
μὲν φίλος σοὶ δὲ ἐχθρὸς ἀσύμβατος.

167 XLVI. "Ὁ δ' ἀποκτείνας" φησί "Κάιν ἑπτὰ
ἐκδικούμενα παραλύσει" (Gen. iv. 15). καὶ
τοῦτο τίνα ἔχει λόγον πρὸς τὰς ῥητὰς δι-
ερμηνεύσεις, οὐκ οἶδα· οὔτε γὰρ τίνα ἐστὶ τὰ
ἑπτὰ οὔτε πῶς ἐκδικούμενα οὔτε ὃν τρόπον παρίεται
καὶ ἐκλύεται, δεδήλωκεν· ὥστε τροπικώτερον καὶ
δι' ὑπονοιῶν ἀνάγκη πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγεσθαι
νομίζειν. μήποτ' οὖν ὃ βούλεται παριστάνειν ἐστὶ
168 τοιόνδε· τὸ ἄλογον τῆς ψυχῆς εἰς ἑπτὰ διανέμεται
μοίρας, ὅρασιν ἀκοὴν ὄσφρησιν γεῦσιν ἁφὴν λόγον
γόνιμον· εἰ δή τις τὸν ὄγδοον ἀνέλοι, νοῦν τὸν
ἡγεμόνα τούτων Κάιν, παραλύσει καὶ τὰ ἑπτά·
ῥώμῃ μὲν γὰρ τῆς διανοίας καρτερᾷ πάντα συρρών-

all who have engaged in the toilsome quest of sound sense and other virtues, will regard him as an enemy with whom there can be no truce, and destroy him if they can. For it is an almost invariable rule that both persons and causes are cherished by those who are friendly and attached to them, but brought to ruin by those who have nothing in common with them, and look on them with no favour. For this cause the sacred utterance, testifying in opposition to the feigned simplicity of Cain, says ' " Not so " are you minded as your words run ' (Gen. iv. 15) ; for you say that everyone that has found your artifices in the wrestling-bout of words will kill you, but you know that not everyone will do so, since countless numbers have been enrolled on your side, and only he will do so who is a friend of virtue, but to you an irreconcilable enemy.

XLVI. " He " it continues, " that slayeth Cain shall loosen seven punishable objects " (Gen. iv. 15). What meaning this conveys to those who interpret literally, I do not know. For there is nothing to show what the seven objects are, nor how they are punishable, nor in what way they become loose and unstrung. We must make up our minds that all such language is figurative and involves deeper meanings. It would seem, then, that the thought which Moses desires to convey is of this nature. The irrational side of the soul is divided into seven parts, seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, touching, speaking, begetting. Were a man to do away with the eighth, mind, which is the ruler of these, and here called Cain, he will paralyse the seven also. For they are all strong by sharing the strength and vigour of the mind, and with its weak-

νυται, ἀσθενείᾳ δὲ συγκάμνει, φθορᾷ δὲ ἣν ἐπάγει κακία παντελεῖ πάρεσίν τε καὶ ἔκλυσιν λαμβάνει.
169 τὰ δὲ ἑπτὰ ταῦτα ἐν μὲν σοφοῦ ψυχῇ ἀμίαντα καὶ καθαρά, ταύτῃ καὶ τιμῆς ἐπάξια εὑρίσκεται, ἐν δὲ ἄφρονος ἀκάθαρτα καὶ μεμιασμένα καὶ ὅπερ εἶπεν ἐκδικούμενα, ἴσον τῷ δίκης ἐπάξια καὶ τιμωρίας.
170 ὁπότε γοῦν τὴν γῆν ὕδατι καθαίρειν ὁ δημιουργὸς διενοήθη καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τῶν ἀμυθήτων ἀδικημάτων κάθαρσιν λαβεῖν ἐκνιψαμένην καὶ ἀπολουσαμένην τὰ μιάσματα τρόπον ἁγνείας ἱερᾶς, παραινεῖ τῷ φανέντι δικαίῳ, ὃς οὐ παρεσύρη τῇ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ φορᾷ, εἰσάγειν εἰς τὴν κιβωτόν, ὅπερ ἦν τὸ ψυχῆς ἀγγεῖον τὸ σῶμα, "ἀπὸ τῶν κτηνῶν τῶν καθαρῶν ἑπτά, ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ" (Gen. vii. 2), δικαιώσας τὸν ἀστεῖον λογισμὸν χρῆσθαι μέρεσι
171 τοῖς τοῦ ἀλόγου πᾶσι καθαροῖς. XLVII. καὶ τοῦθ' ὅπερ ὥρισεν ὁ νομοθέτης ἐξ ἀνάγκης παρακολουθεῖ πᾶσι τοῖς σοφοῖς· ἔχουσι γὰρ κεκαθαρμένην ὅρασιν καὶ ἐξητασμένην ἀκοὴν καὶ πᾶσαν αἴσθησιν, ἔχουσι μέντοι καὶ λόγον ἀκηλίδωτον καὶ
172 τὰς πρὸς συνουσίας οὐκ ἐκνόμους ὁρμάς. ἕκαστον δὲ τῶν ἑπτὰ τῇ μὲν ἄρρεν γίνεται, τῇ δὲ καὶ θῆλυ· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἢ ἴσχεται ἢ κινεῖται, ἴσχεται μὲν κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἠρεμοῦντα, κινεῖται δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἐγρηγόρσεσιν ἤδη ἐνεργοῦντα, τὸ μὲν καθ' ἕξιν καὶ ἠρεμίαν ἅτε πρὸς τὸ παθεῖν ὑποβεβλημένον καλεῖται
[224] θῆλυ, τὸ δὲ | κατὰ κίνησίν τε καὶ ἐνέργειαν ἅτε ἐν
173 τῷ δρᾶν ἐπινοούμενον ἄρρεν ὀνομάζεται. οὕτως

[a] See Vol. I., App. p. 476, note on *De Op.* 117.

ness they wax feeble, and by the complete corruption brought on them by wickedness they incur a weakening and slackening. These seven in a wise man's soul are found to be pure and undefiled, and herein deserving of honour, but in the soul of a foolish man unclean and polluted, and, just as Moses said, exposed to punishment which is equivalent to "deserving of penalty and retribution." Let me give an illustration. When the Creator was minded to purge the earth by water, and determined that the soul should receive a cleansing from its unutterable wrongdoings by washing away and purging out its defilements after the fashion of a sacred purification, He charges the man who proved righteous, who was not swept away by the oncoming of the deluge, to bring into the ark, which was the body or the vessel that contains the soul, "from among the clean beasts seven, male and female" (Gen. vii. 2), for He deemed it right that the goodly reasoning faculty should find all parts of the irrational side clean for its use. XLVII. And this that the lawgiver prescribed is an unfailing characteristic of all wise men: they have sight purged and cleansed, hearing and every sense severely tested; yes, and they have utterance unsullied, and the impulses of sex under control. Each of the seven faculties[a] shows itself in one way as male, in another way as female; for since it is either in restraint or in motion, in restraint when at rest in sleep, in motion when now awake and active—when regarded under the aspect of restraint and inaction, it is called female owing to its having been reduced to passivity; when looked at under the aspect of movement and employment of force, being thought of as in action, it is described as male. Thus in the

μὲν ἐν τῷ σοφῷ τὰ ἑπτὰ φαίνεται καθαρά, κατὰ δὲ τὰ ἐναντία ἐν τῷ φαύλῳ πάντα ἐκδικούμενα· πόσην γὰρ ὑπολαμβάνομεν πληθὺν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ὑπ' ὀφθαλμῶν προδίδοσθαι πρὸς τὰ χρώματα καὶ σχήματα καὶ ἃ μὴ θέμις ὁρᾶν αὐτομολούντων; πόσην δὲ ὑπὸ ὤτων ἁπάσαις φωναῖς ἐπακολουθούντων; πόσην δὲ πρὸς τῶν ὀσφρήσεως καὶ γεύσεως ὀργάνων ὑπό τε ἀτμῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
174 ἀπλέτου ποικιλίας[1] ἀγομένων; ἔτι τοίνυν σοι λέγω τὸ πλῆθος ὧν ἀχαλίνου γλώττης ῥεῦμα ἀνεπίσχετον διέφθειρεν ἢ ὁ περὶ τὰς μίξεις μετ' ἐπιθυμίας ἀκρατοῦς ἀνίατος οἶστρος; μεσταὶ μὲν αἱ πόλεις, μεστὴ δὲ ἀπὸ περάτων ἐπὶ πέρατα πᾶσα ἡ γῆ τῶν κακῶν τούτων, ἐξ ὧν ὁ συνεχὴς καὶ ἄπαυστος καὶ μέγιστος πολέμων ὁ κατ' εἰρήνην ἀνθρώπων
175 γένει καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ φύεται. XLVIII. διόπερ ἑλέσθαι ἄν μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ μὴ τελείως ἀπαίδευτοι πεπηρῶσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ μὴ προσήκονθ' ὁρᾶν <καὶ> κεκωφῶσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ βλαβερῶν ἀκούειν λόγων καὶ ἐκτετμῆσθαι γλῶτταν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν
176 τῶν ἀρρήτων ἐκλαλῆσαι. φασὶ γοῦν ἤδη τινὰς τῶν σοφῶν τροχιζομένους ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ ἄρρητα μηνῦσαι γλῶτταν ἀποτραγόντας τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀργαλεωτέραν κατὰ τῶν βασανιστῶν ἀντιτεχνήσασθαι βάσανον οὐ δυνηθέντων ἃ ἐπόθουν ἐπιγνῶναι. ἐξευνουχισθῆναί γε μὴν ἄμεινον ἢ πρὸς συνουσίας ἐκνόμους λυττᾶν. ἅπαντα δὴ ταῦτα συμφοραῖς ἀνηκέστοις

[1] Reading ἀπλέτου ποικιλίας with Mangey for ἀπλέτοις ποικιλίαις.

wise man the seven faculties are evidently clean, but, by the law of contraries, in the worthless man all exposed to punishment. How vast a multitude must we suppose to be betrayed every day by eyes deserting to colours and forms and things that it is wrong to look at? And by ears that go after all sounds? And by the organs of smell and taste led by pleasing odours and an endless variety of other enticements? [a] Need I, then, go on to remind you of the multitude of those who have been ruined by the stream that there is no stopping, flowing from an unbridled tongue, or by the deadly stimulus to sexual sins which accompanies ungoverned lust? Our cities are full of these evils; all the earth is full of them from one end to another; and out of them springs up for mankind, both as individuals and in communities, the war that is waged in time of peace, the war that has no break or pause, and is the greatest of all wars. XLVIII. And so, to my thinking, those who are not utterly ignorant would choose to be blinded rather than see unfitting things, and to be deprived of hearing rather than listen to harmful words, and to have their tongues cut out to save them from uttering anything that should not be divulged. Such things have been done before now. Certain wise men, they tell us, while being tortured on the wheel to induce them to reveal secrets have bitten off their tongue, and so contrived a worse torture for their torturers, who found themselves unable to obtain the information which they wanted. It is better to be made a eunuch than to be mad after illicit unions. All these things, seeing that they plunge the soul in disasters for which there is

βαπτίζοντα τὴν ψυχὴν δίκης καὶ τιμωρίας εἰκότως
177 ἂν τῆς ἀνωτάτω τυγχάνοι. λέγει δ᾿ ἑξῆς ὅτι
"ἔθετο κύριος ὁ θεὸς σημεῖον τῷ Κάιν, τοῦ μὴ
ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν πάντα τὸν εὑρίσκοντα" (Gen. iv. 15)·
καὶ τί τὸ σημεῖόν ἐστιν, οὐ δεδήλωκε, καίτοι γε
εἰωθὼς τὴν ἑκάστου φύσιν διὰ σημείου δεικνύναι,
ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τὴν ῥάβδον μεταβαλὼν
εἰς ὄφιν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα Μωυσέως εἰς χιόνος ἰδέαν
178 καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν εἰς αἷμα. μήποτ᾿ οὖν αὐτὸ τοῦτο
σημεῖόν ἐστι τῷ Κάιν τοῦ μὴ φονευθῆναι τὸ μηδέ-
ποτε ἀναιρεθῆναι· οὐ γὰρ θάνατον αὐτοῦ διὰ πάσης
τῆς νομοθεσίας δεδήλωκεν αἰνιττόμενος ὅτι, ὥσπερ
ἡ μεμυθευμένη Σκύλλα, κακὸν ἀθάνατόν ἐστιν
[225] ἀφροσύνη, | τὴν μὲν κατὰ τὸ τεθνάναι τελευτὴν οὐχ
ὑπομένουσα, τὴν δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν πάντα
ἐνδεχομένη τὸν αἰῶνα. εἴθε μέντοι συμβαίνοι
τἀναντία, ὡς ἐκποδὼν τὰ φαῦλα ἀναιρεῖσθαι παν-
τελῆ φθορὰν ὑπομένοντα· νῦν δ᾿ ἀεὶ ζωπυρούμενα
τὴν ἀθάνατον ἐγκατασκήπτει νόσον τοῖς ἅπαξ
πρὸς αὐτῶν ἁλοῦσιν.

[a] See App. p. 497

no remedy, would properly incur the most extreme vengeance and punishment.

It goes on to say "the Lord God set a sign upon Cain, that everyone that found him might not kill him" (Gen. iv. 15), and what the sign is, he has not pointed out, although he is in the habit of showing the nature of each object by means of a sign, as in the case of events in Egypt when he changed the rod into a serpent, and the hand of Moses into the form of snow, and the river into blood. It would seem then that just this is the sign regarding Cain that he should not be killed, namely that on no occasion did he meet with death. For nowhere in the Book of the Law has his death been mentioned. This shows in a figure that, like the Scylla [a] of fable, folly is a deathless evil, never experiencing the end that consists in having died, but subject to all eternity to that which consists in ever dying. Would that the opposite might come to pass, that worthless things should be taken out of sight and abolished, undergoing absolute destruction. As it is, they are continually kindled into flame, and inflict on those who have once been taken captive by them the disease that never dies.

ON THE POSTERITY OF CAIN AND HIS EXILE

(DE POSTERITATE CAINI)

ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

The treatise begins with a denunciation of anthropomorphism and a defence of allegorical interpretation suggested by the statement that " Cain went out *from the face* of God " (1-7).

What the Lawgiver teaches by these words is that the soul that forfeits with Adam, or forgoes with Cain, the power of seeing God, loses the joy of the quest of Him, experienced by Moses and by Abraham (8-21); and incurs instability, in lieu of the firm standing gained by them through nearness to God (22-32). Moreover, he is 'wedded' to the impious view that " man is the measure of all things," and fails to regard his offspring, as Seth regarded his, as the gift of God (33-48).

The " city builded " by Cain is the creed set up by every impious soul. Its buildings are arguments, its inhabitants the self-conceited, its law lawlessness, its tower of confusion (Babel) the defence of its tenets. Even the lovers of Virtue are forced by the worldly to build such cities for them (49-59).

At this point (§ 60) Philo stops to illustrate, from the instance of Hebron, how names, like 'Enoch,' 'Methuselah,' 'Lamech,' can have two discrepant shades of meaning, as they have when borne by descendants of Cain and when borne by descendants of Seth. He is also led to give examples of that

which is later in time being given precedence over what is earlier, as Hebron was placed above Zoan (60-65).

Having now made clear the nature of the creed which the Cain-like soul sets up, Philo turns to its offspring—' Gaidad ' (or ' Irad) ' is the " flock " of untended irrational faculties. ' Maiel ' (or ' Mehujael ') means " away from the Love of God " ; ' Methuselah ' is one " incurring soul death " ; and Lamech one " low-cringing " ; who " takes to himself " as wives Adah and Zillah (66-74).

Here Philo cannot refrain from pointing out the wrongness of a man *taking* a wife *to himself* instead of receiving her as a gift from God. He makes an attempt to account for the fact that the self-same expression is used of Abraham, Isaac, and Moses (75-78).

' Adah ' = ' Witness,' and is like success, leading us to think our actions right because of what they bring. Her son is ' Jobel ' = " one altering," the remover of Virtue's boundaries fixed by right reason, making virtues vices (79-93).

Here follow some subtle remarks on Leviticus xxvii. 32 f. (" both shall be holy "), and on the proofs of holiness, and the number 10, all tending to show that the Law is opposed to ' altering ' (94-97).

Jobel is also the father of rearers of ' cattle ' ; and " cattle " are soul-less passions (98 f.).

Jobel's son is Jubal, the uttered word, " inclining this way and that," with no sure, firm, speech. He is also the originator of musical instruments, which are inferior to song-birds, but, like articulate speech, capable of such *varied* utterance, that it is natural that they should be invented by one who knows no

abiding, and is son of one who *alters* all things (100-111).

Adah having been dealt with (79-111), we turn to Zillah, whose name signifies " shadow," and who is therefore a symbol of the unsubstantial goods of the body and the outside world. Her son, Tubal, bears a name meaning " all in one," and represents the " health and wealth " which men deem the sum of human bliss. He is, by trade, a ' hammerer,' maker of war and munitions of war, for lusts are the real war-makers and batterers of mankind. Verily is he son of ' Shadow.' His sister is Noeman or " fatness," the product of plenty (112-123).

Lamech, his wives and progeny having been dealt with (73-123), we are brought to Seth, in whom the murdered Abel comes to life. His name signifies " Watering," for the Mind waters the senses, as the Word of God waters the Virtues, which are symbolized by the four " heads " of the river going out of Eden. The word " heads " is used to indicate the sovereignty conferred by Virtues. The " River " is the Word of God, ever flowing for souls that love God.

" Watering " is so apt a figure of teaching, that Philo is soon showing us Hagar, who represents preliminary education, filling her water-skin from the well of knowledge, to give drink to the boy, who is the soul in its first craving for instruction, that he may grow up to be an ' archer,' directing arguments with sure aim. But Philo hastens to give us the picture of Rebecca supplying the water of perfection to the servant of Abraham. Her *going down* to the well of God's wisdom shows us that a sense of our own weakness is the beginning of stepping upwards. Her *pitcher* represents the directness of spiritual teaching,

in contrast with the earlier, indirect, instruction through the senses and sensible objects, represented by Hagar's bulky water-skin.

Every detail of Rebecca's behaviour to Eliezer brings out a characteristic of the true teacher. She addresses him respectfully. She forgets self in her concern for his need. She says " Drink," not " *I will give* thee to drink." She lets the pitcher down on her left fore-arm and tilts it, suiting her action to the 'pupil's' capacity. She does not forget to water the *camels*, *i.e.* to encourage *memory*, for these animals chew the cud ; and they are watered from the *well*, itself a symbol of memory, from whose depths we draw by the aid of a reminder. The readiness of the camel for *toil* brings Philo to the Water of Marah, and to the tree by means of which the Israelites, after their toilsome march from Egypt, tasted the sweetness that is essential to fruitful toil. Philo cannot pass over the water which the worshippers of the golden calf were made to drink. His main point is that the grinding down of the calf, the symbol, like Egypt and the animals it worshipped, of the body, shows the inferiority of bodily advantages. Then the ear-rings of which the calf was made show the inferiority of hearing to sight, and the greatness of intuition, implied in the words " *See* that I AM," words which are equivalent to " Behold My *subsistence*," the essence or quality of God being invisible (138-169).

Returning to Gen. iv. 25 Philo deduces from the word " raised up out of " (the earth) the doctrine that God sows nothing futile in our souls. He takes the word " another " (seed) to mean 'other than Cain' in one way, 'other than Abel' in another way, and

goes on to work out Seth's 'otherness' from Abel. Whereas Abel has relinquished all that is mortal, and gone hence to a higher life, Seth, sprung from human excellence, will never relinquish the human race, but be 'enlarged' *in* it. He is 'enlarged' in righteous *Noah*, the tenth from *Adam*; in faithful *Abraham*, another tenth; in *Moses*, wise in all things, seventh from Abraham. The limit of knowledge attained by Seth is Noah's starting-point; Noah's limit is Abraham's starting-point; and Abraham's limit the starting-point of Moses (170-174).

In the passage with which the treatise closes we have one of the writer's contrasts. "*God hath raised up* to me" is contrasted with the folly and impiety of Lot and his daughters, 'Counsel' and 'Consent,' and with Rachel's faulty cry to Jacob, "Give me children." As she learned from Jacob's rebuke, "Am I in the place of God?" to say "Let God add to me another son," so let us, if we so err, repent. The gross sin of Onan is rebuked, and the act of Phinehas the "Mouth-muzzle," is interpreted as meaning that "he put a stop to the revolt within himself, and turned clean away from his own pleasure." The last words are a reflection, as appropriate to the twentieth as to the first century, that the soul is the theatre of the most dire wars, and that all wars come from disordered souls (175-185).

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΚΗΣΙΣΟΦΟΥ ΚΑΙΝ ΕΓΓΟΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΩΣ ΜΕΤΑΝΑΣΤΗΣ ΓΙΓΝΕΤΑΙ

1 [226] I. "Ἐξῆλθε δὲ Κάιν ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ,
καὶ ᾤκησεν ἐν γῇ Ναὶδ κατέναντι Ἐδέμ" (Gen.
iv. 16). νυνὶ διαπορῶμεν, εἰ χρὴ τῶν ἐν ταῖς
διερμηνευθείσαις βίβλοις ὑπὸ Μωυσέως τροπικώ-
τερον ἀκούειν, τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασι προχείρου
2 φαντασίας πολὺ τἀληθοῦς ἀπᾳδούσης. εἰ γὰρ
πρόσωπον μὲν ἔχει τὸ ὄν, ὁ δὲ βουλόμενος αὐτὸ
καταλιπεῖν ἑτέρωσε μετανίστασθαι ῥᾷστα δύναται,
τί τὴν Ἐπικούρειον ἀσέβειαν ἢ τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων
ἀθεότητα ἢ τὰς μυθικὰς ὑποθέσεις, ὧν μεστὸς ὁ
3 βίος ἐστί, παραιτούμεθα; πρόσωπον μὲν γὰρ ζῴου
τμῆμά ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ θεὸς ὅλον, οὐ μέρος· ὥστ' ἀνάγκη
καὶ τὰ ἄλλα προσαναπλάττειν, αὐχένα καὶ στέρνα
[227] καὶ χεῖρας <καὶ> βάσεις, ἔτι | δ' αὖ γαστέρα καὶ
τὰ γεννητικὰ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τῶν ἐντός τε καὶ ἐκτὸς
4 ἀνάριθμον πλῆθος. ἀκολουθεῖ δ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης τῷ
ἀνθρωπομόρφῳ τὸ ἀνθρωποπαθές, ἐπεὶ καὶ ταῦτα
οὐ περιττὰ καὶ παρέλκοντα, τῆς δὲ τῶν ἐχόντων
ἐπίκουρα ἀσθενείας ἡ φύσις ἀπειργάζετο τὰ ὅσα
πρὸς τὰς οἰκείας χρείας τε καὶ ὑπηρεσίας ἀκο-

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[a] *i.e.*, that God has a human form. See App. p. 498.

[b] *i.e.*, their worship of animals.

ON THE POSTERITY OF CAIN AND HIS EXILE

I. "And Cain went out from the face of God, and dwelt in the land of Naid, over against Eden" (Gen. iv. 16). Let us here raise the question whether in the books in which Moses acts as God's interpreter we ought to take his statements figuratively, since the impression made by the words in their literal sense is greatly at variance with truth. For if the Existent Being has a face, and he that wishes to quit its sight can with perfect ease remove elsewhere, what ground have we for rejecting the impious doctrines of Epicurus,[a] or the atheism of the Egyptians,[b] or the mythical plots of play and poem of which the world is full? For a face is a piece of a living creature, and God is a whole not a part, so that we shall have to assign to Him the other parts of the body as well, neck, breasts, hands, feet, to say nothing of the belly and genital organs, together with the innumerable inner and outer organs. And if God has human forms and parts, He must needs also have human passions and experiences. For in the case of these organs, as in all other cases, Nature has not made idle superfluities, but aids to the weakness of those furnished with them. And she adjusts to them, according to their several needs, all that enables them

λούθως ἐφαρμόττουσα. τὸ δὲ ὂν οὐδενὸς χρεῖον, ὥστ' εἰ μηδὲ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν μερῶν ὠφελείας, οὐδ' ἂν ἔχοι μέρη τὸ παράπαν.

5 II. Ἐξέρχεται δὲ πόθεν; ἢ ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων τοῦ πανηγεμόνος; θεοῦ δὲ οἶκος αἰσθητὸς τίς ἂν εἴη πλὴν ὅδε ὁ κόσμος, ὃν καταλείπειν ἀμήχανόν τε καὶ ἀδύνατον; πάντα γὰρ ὧν γένεσίς ἐστιν οὐρανοῦ κύκλος περισφίγξας ἐντὸς ἑαυτοῦ κατέχει. καὶ γὰρ αἱ τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἀναστοιχειούμεναι μοῖραι πάλιν εἰς τὰς τοῦ παντὸς δυνάμεις ἐξ ὧν συνέστησαν ἀποκρίνονται, τοῦ δανεισθέντος ἑκάστῳ δανείσματος κατὰ προθεσμίας ἀνίσους ἀποδιδομένου τῇ συμβαλούσῃ φύσει, ὁπότε βουληθείη τὰ ἑαυτῆς χρέα κομίζεσθαι.

6 Καὶ μὴν ὅ γε ἐξιὼν ἀπό τινος ἐν ἑτέρῳ χωρίῳ τοῦ ἀπολειπομένου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ[1]· τῷ δὲ συμβέβηκεν ἀκολουθεῖν τὸ χηρεύειν τινὰ μέρη τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ, θεοῦ μηδὲν κενὸν μηδὲ ἔρημον ἑαυτοῦ καταλελοιπότος, ἀλλὰ πάντα διὰ πάντων ἐκπεπληρωκότος.

7 Εἰ δὲ μήτε πρόσωπον ἔχει ὁ θεὸς ἅτε τὰς τῶν γεγονότων ἰδιότητας ἁπάντων ἐκβεβηκὼς μήτε ἐν μέρει καταγίνεται ἅτε περιέχων, οὐ περιεχόμενος, ἀδύνατον <δ'> ἐστὶν ὥσπερ ἐκ πόλεως τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου μεταναστῆναί τι μέρος αὐτοῦ μηδενὸς ἀπολειφθέντος ἔξω, λοιπὸν ἂν εἴη λογισαμένους ὅτι τῶν προταθέντων οὐδὲν κυριολογεῖται τὴν δι' ἀλληγορίας ὁδὸν φυσικοῖς <φίλην> ἀνδράσι τρέπεσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνθένδε τοῦ λόγου ποιησαμένους·

[1] τοῦ ἀπολειπομένου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ is printed from the conjecture of Wendland and Holwerda.

[a] See App. p. 498.

[b] Those who discard alike *mythical* and *popular* interpretations of God and things Divine, and seek to find the *truth* or *reality* underlying statements concerning them.

to render their own special services and ministries. But the Existent Being is in need of nothing, and so, not needing the benefit that parts bestow, can have no parts at all.

II. And whence does Cain "go out"? From the palace of the Lord of all? But what dwelling apparent to the senses could God have, save this world, for the quitting of which no power or device avails? For all created things are enclosed and kept within itself by the circle of the sky. Indeed the particles of the deceased break up into their original elements and are again distributed to the various forces of the universe out of which they were constituted, and the loan which was lent [a] to each man is repaid, after longer or shorter terms, to Nature his creditor, at such time as she may choose to recover what she herself had lent.

Again he that goes out from someone is in a different place from him whom he leaves behind. (If, then, Cain goes out from God), it follows that some portions of the universe are bereft of God. Yet God has left nothing empty or destitute of Himself, but has completely filled all things.

Well, if God has not a face, transcending as He does the peculiarities that mark all created things; if He is to be found not in some particular part only, seeing that He contains all and is not Himself contained by anything; if it is impossible for some part of this world to remove from it as from a city, seeing that nothing has been left over outside it; the only thing left for us to do is to make up our minds that none of the propositions put forward is literally intended and to take the path of figurative interpretation so dear to philosophical [b] souls. Our argument

8 εἰ τὸ ἐκ προσώπου μεταναστῆναι βασιλέως θνητοῦ χαλεπόν ἐστι, πῶς οὐ παγχάλεπον τὴν θεοῦ φαντασίαν καταλιπόντα οἴχεσθαι, μηκέτι εἰς ὄψιν ἀφικνεῖσθαι τὴν αὐτοῦ διεγνωκότα, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἀφάνταστον αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τὸ ψυχῆς ὄμμα πηρω-
9 θέντα; καὶ ὅσοι μὲν ἐξ ἀνάγκης τοῦτο ὑπέμειναν ἀπαραιτήτου δυνάμεως κράτει πιεσθέντες, ἐλέου μᾶλλον ἢ μίσους τυγχάνοιεν ἄν· ὅσοι δὲ ἑκουσίῳ γνώμῃ τὸ ὂν ἐξετράποντο, ὑπερβάλλοντες καὶ τὸν αὐτῆς ὅρον κακίας—τί γὰρ ἂν ἰσοστάσιον εὑρεθείη κακόν;—μὴ τὰς ἐξ ἔθους, ἀλλὰ καινὰς καὶ παρηλλαγμένας διδότωσαν δίκας. ἢ καινοτέραν καὶ μείζονα ἐπινοῶν οὐκ ἄν τις εὕροι τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ πανηγεμόνος ἐξόδου καὶ φυγῆς.

10 [228] III. | Τὸν μὲν οὖν Ἀδὰμ ὁ θεὸς ἐκβάλλει, ὁ δὲ Κάιν ἐθελοντὴς ἐξέρχεται, δηλοῦντος ἡμῖν Μωυσέως ἑκάτερον τροπῆς εἶδος, ἑκούσιόν τε καὶ ἀκούσιον. ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἀκούσιον ἅτε οὐχ ἡμετέρᾳ γνώμῃ συνιστάμενον λήψεται τὴν ἐνδεχομένην αὖθις ἴασιν· "ἐξαναστήσει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς σπέρμα ἕτερον ἀντ' Ἄβελ, ὃν ἀπέκτεινε Κάιν" (Gen. iv. 25), ψυχῇ τῇ μὴ παρ' ἑαυτῆς τραπείσῃ, γέννημα
11 ἄρρεν, Σὴθ τὸν ποτισμόν. τὸ δὲ ἑκούσιον ἅτε βουλῇ καὶ προμηθείᾳ γενόμενον ἀνιάτους εἰς ἀεὶ κῆρας ἐνδέξεται. καθάπερ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ προνοίας ἀμείνω τῶν ἀκουσίων κατορθώματα, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐν τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασι κουφότερα τῶν ἑκουσίων τὰ ἀκούσια.

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[a] Heinemann's conjecture is adopted. See *De Agricultura* 176, 179, 180.

must start in this way. If it is a difficult thing to remove out of sight of a mortal monarch, must it not be a thousandfold more difficult to quit the vision of God and be gone, resolved henceforth to shun the sight of Him ; in other words to become incapable of receiving a mental picture of Him through having lost the sight of the soul's eye ? Men who have suffered this loss under compulsion, overwhelmed by the force of an inexorable power, deserve pity rather than hatred. But those who have of their own free choice turned away and departed from the Existent Being, transcending the utmost limit of wickedness itself—for no evil could be found equivalent to it—these must pay no ordinary penalties, but such as are specially devised and far beyond the ordinary. Now no effort of thought could hit upon a penalty greater and more unheard of than to go forth into banishment from the Ruler of the Universe.

III. Adam, then, is driven out by God ; Cain goes out voluntarily. Moses is showing us each form of moral failure,[a] one of free choice, the other not so. The involuntary act, not owing its existence to our deliberate judgement, is to obtain later on such healing as the case admits of, " for God shall raise up another seed in place of Abel whom Cain slew " (Gen. iv. 25). This seed is a male offspring, Seth or " Watering," raised up to the soul whose fall did not originate in itself. The voluntary act, inasmuch as it was committed with forethought and of set purpose, must incur woes for ever beyond healing. For even as right actions that spring from previous intention are of greater worth than those that are involuntary, so, too, among sins those which are involuntary are less weighty than those which are voluntary.

12 IV. Τὸν μὲν οὖν Κάιν ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ μεταστάντα ἡ τιμωρὸς ἀσεβῶν ἐκδέξεται δίκη. Μωυσῆς δὲ τοῖς γνωρίμοις αὐτοῦ παράγγελμα κάλλιστον ὑποθήσεται, "ἀγαπᾶν τὸν θεὸν καὶ εἰσακούειν καὶ ἔχεσθαι αὐτοῦ" (Deut. xxx. 20). ταύτην γὰρ εἶναι ζωὴν τὴν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εὐήμερόν τε καὶ μακραίωνα. πάνυ δ' ἐμφαντικῶς ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ τριποθήτου καὶ ἀξιεράστου καλεῖ τιμὴν εἰπὼν ἔχεσθαι αὐτοῦ, τὸ συνεχὲς καὶ ἐπάλληλον καὶ ἀδιάστατον τῆς κατ' οἰκείωσιν ἁρμονίας καὶ ἑνώσεως παριστάς.

13 Ἃ μὲν δὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις παραινεῖ, ταῦτά ἐστι καὶ τοιαῦτα. αὐτὸς δ' οὕτως ἀπαύστως ὀρέγεται τοῦ ὁρᾶν καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὁρᾶσθαι, ὥσθ' ἱκετεύει δυστόπαστον οὖσαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν δηλῶσαι γνωρίμως (Exod. xxxiii. 13), ἵν' ἤδη ποτὲ ἀψευδοῦς δόξης μεταλαβὼν ἀβεβαίου ἐνδοιασμοῦ βεβαιοτάτην πίστιν ἀλλάξηται. καὶ ἐπιτείνων οὐκ ἀνήσει τὸν πόθον, ἀλλὰ καὶ γνοὺς ὅτι δυσθηράτου μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνεφίκτου πράγματος ἐρᾷ, ὅμως ἐπαγωνιεῖται μηδὲν συντόνου σπουδῆς ἀνιείς, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι τοῖς παρ' ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τὸ τυχεῖν ἀπροφασίστως καὶ
14 ἀόκνως συγχρώμενος. V. ἤδη γοῦν καὶ εἰς τὸν γνόφον ὅπου ἦν ὁ θεὸς εἰσελεύσεται (Exod xx. 21). τουτέστιν εἰς τὰς ἀδύτους καὶ ἀειδεῖς περὶ τοῦ ὄντος ἐννοίας. οὐ γὰρ ἐν γνόφῳ τὸ αἴτιον
[229] οὐδὲ συνόλως ἐν τόπῳ, | ἀλλ' ὑπεράνω καὶ τόπου καὶ χρόνου· τὰ γὰρ γεγονότα πάντα ὑποζεύξας

IV. Cain, then, has left the face of God to fall into the hands of Justice who takes vengeance on the impious. But Moses will lay down for his pupils a charge most noble "to love God and hearken to and cleave to Him" (Deut. xxx. 20); assuring them that this is the life that brings true prosperity and length of days. And his way of inviting them to honour Him Who is the worthy object of strong yearning and devoted love is vivid and expressive. He bids them "cleave to Him," bringing out by the use of this word how constant and continuous and unbroken is the concord and union that comes through making God our own.

These and other exhortations like these does Moses address to others. But so unceasingly does he himself yearn to see God and to be seen by Him, that he implores Him to reveal clearly His own nature (Exod. xxxiii. 13), which is so hard to divine, hoping thus to obtain at length a view free from all falsehood, and to exchange doubt and uncertainty for a most assured confidence. Nor will he abate the intensity of his desire, but although he is aware that he is enamoured of an object which entails a hard quest, nay, which is out of reach, he will nevertheless struggle on with no relaxation of his earnest endeavour, but honestly and resolutely enlisting all his faculties to co-operate for the attainment of his object. V. So see him enter into the thick darkness where God was (Exod. xx. 21), that is into conceptions regarding the Existent Being that belong to the unapproachable region where there are no material forms. For the Cause of all is not in the thick darkness, nor locally in any place at all, but high above both place and time. For He has placed all

ἑαυτῷ περιέχεται μὲν ὑπ' οὐδενός, ἐπιβέβηκε δὲ
πᾶσιν. ἐπιβεβηκὼς δὲ καὶ ἔξω τοῦ δημιουργη-
θέντος ὢν οὐδὲν ἧττον πεπλήρωκε τὸν κόσμον
ἑαυτοῦ· διὰ γὰρ <τῶν ὅλων τὰς ἑαυτοῦ> δυνάμεις[1]
ἄχρι περάτων τείνας ἕκαστον ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τοὺς
15 ἁρμονίας λόγους συνύφηνεν. ὅταν οὖν φιλόθεος
ψυχὴ τὸ τί ἐστι τὸ ὂν κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ζητῇ, εἰς
ἀειδῆ καὶ ἀόρατον ἔρχεται ζήτησιν, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῇ
περιγίνεται μέγιστον ἀγαθόν, καταλαβεῖν ὅτι ἀ-
κατάληπτος ὁ κατὰ τὸ εἶναι θεὸς παντὶ καὶ αὐτὸ
16 τοῦτο ἰδεῖν ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀόρατος. δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ
πρὶν ἄρξασθαι τῆσδε τῆς σκέψεως ὁ ἱεροφάντης
τὸ ἄχρηστον[2] αὐτῆς κατανοῆσαι, ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸν
ἱκετεύει τὸν ὄντα μηνυτὴν καὶ ὑφηγητὴν τῆς
ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως γενέσθαι. λέγει γάρ· "ἐμφάνισόν
μοι σεαυτόν" (Exod. xxxiii. 13), ἐναργέστατα
διὰ τούτου παριστὰς ὅτι τῶν γεγονότων ἱκανὸς
οὐδὲ εἷς ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ τὸν κατὰ τὸ εἶναι θεὸν ἀναδιδα-
17 χθῆναι. VI. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Ἀβραὰμ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸν
τόπον, ὃν εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεός, τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ
ἀναβλέψας ὁρᾷ τὸν τόπον μακρόθεν (Gen. xxii. 3,
4). ποῖον τόπον; ἆρ' εἰς ὃν ἦλθε; καὶ πῶς ἔστι
18 μακράν, εἴπερ ἔφθη παραγενόμενος; ἀλλὰ μήποτε
ὅπερ αἰνίττεται τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν· ὁ σοφὸς αἰεὶ γλιχό-
μενος κατανοῆσαι τὸν ἡγεμόνα τοῦ παντός, ὅταν
τὴν δι' ἐπιστήμης καὶ σοφίας ἀτραπὸν βαδίζῃ,
λόγοις μὲν προεντυγχάνει θείοις παρ' οἷς προ-

[1] τῶν ὅλων τὰς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεις, from Wendland's conjecture based on Diels.

[2] ἄχρηστον is the translator's conjecture for the μέγιστον of the MSS. But τὸ μέγιστον *might* mean "the main point." See App. p. 498.

creation under His control, and is contained by nothing, but transcends all. But though transcending and being beyond what He has made, none the less has He filled the universe with Himself; for He has caused His powers to extend themselves throughout the Universe to its utmost bounds, and in accordance with the laws of harmony has knit each part to each. When therefore the God-loving soul probes the question of the essence of the Existent Being, he enters on a quest of that which is beyond matter and beyond sight. And out of this quest there accrues to him a vast boon, namely to apprehend that the God of real Being is apprehensible by no one, and to see precisely this, that He is incapable of being seen. But the holy Guide seems to me even before he began this search to have discerned its futility. That he did so is evident from his imploring the Existent One to be His own Interpreter and reveal His own Nature. He says, "Manifest Thyself to me" (Exod. xxxiii. 13), showing quite clearly by so saying that there is not a single created being capable of attaining by his own efforts the knowledge of the God Who verily exists. VI. This must be borne in mind if we are to understand what we read about Abraham, how, on reaching the place of which God had told him, he looked up on the third day and "seeth the place from afar" (Gen. xxii. 3 f.). What place? The one which he had reached? And how can it be far off if he is already there? It may be that what we are told under a figure is to this effect. The wise man is ever longing to discern the Ruler of the Universe. As he journeys along the path that takes him through knowledge and wisdom, he comes into contact first with divine words, and

καταλύει, τρέπεσθαι δὲ τὴν ἄλλην ἐγνωκὼς ἐπ-
έχεται· διοιχθέντων γὰρ τῶν διανοίας ὀμμάτων
ὀξυδερκέστερον εἶδεν ὅτι ἐπὶ τὴν δυσαλώτου πράγ-
ματος θήραν ἀποδέδυκεν[1] ἐξαναχωροῦντος αἰεὶ καὶ
μακρὰν ἀφισταμένου καὶ φθάνοντος ἀπείρῳ τῷ
19 μεταξὺ διαστήματι τοὺς διώκοντας. εὖ γοῦν
νομίζει, ὅτι πάνθ' ὅσα τῶν ὑπ' οὐρανὸν ὠκυ-
δρομώτατα ἑστάναι ἂν δόξαι πρὸς τὴν ἡλίου καὶ
σελήνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φορὰν ἀστέρων ἀντ-
εξετασθέντα. καίτοι σύμπας οὐρανὸς ὑπὸ θεοῦ
γέγονεν, αἰεὶ δὲ τὸ ποιοῦν τοῦ γινομένου προ-
ελήλυθεν· ὥστε ἐξ ἀνάγκης οὐ μόνον τὰ ἄλλα τῶν
παρ' ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πάντων ὀξυκινητότατον, ὁ
νοῦς, ἀπεριγράφοις <ἂν> ἀπολειφθείη τῆς κατα-
λήψεως τοῦ αἰτίου διαστήμασιν. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν
ἀστέρες παραμείβονται τὰ κινούμενα καὶ αὐτοὶ
κινούμενοι, ὁ δὲ θεός, τὸ παραδοξότατον, ἑστὼς
20 ἔφθακε πάντα. λέγεται δ' ὅτι καὶ ἐγγύτατα ὁ
αὐτὸς ὢν καὶ μακράν ἐστιν, ἁπτόμενος μὲν ταῖς
ποιητικαῖς καὶ κολαστηρίοις δυνάμεσι πλησίον
ὑπαρχούσαις ἑκάστου, πορρωτάτω δὲ τῆς κατὰ τὸ
εἶναι φύσεως αὐτοῦ τὸ γενητὸν ἀπεληλακώς, ὡς
μηδὲ κατὰ τὰς ἀκραιφνεῖς καὶ ἀσωμάτους τῆς |
[230] διανοίας ἐπιβολὰς ψαῦσαι δύνασθαι.
21 Τοῖς μὲν οὖν φιλοθέοις τὸ ὂν ἀναζητοῦσι, κἂν
μηδέποτε εὕρωσι, συγχαίρομεν—ἱκανὴ γὰρ ἐξ
ἑαυτῆς προευφραίνειν ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ καλοῦ ζήτησις,
κἂν ἀτυχῆται τὸ τέλος—τῷ δὲ φιλαύτῳ Κάιν
συναχθόμεθα, ὃς ἀφάντασΤον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν

[1] ἀποδέδυκεν] Wendland's conjecture for ἀναδέδυκεν.

with these he makes a preliminary stay, and though he had meant to go the remainder of the way, he comes to a stop. For the eyes of his understanding have been opened, and he sees perfectly clearly that he has engaged in the chase of a quarry hard to capture, which always eludes its pursuers and is off to a distance leaving them ever so far behind. Rightly does he reflect that all the fleetest things under the sky would be seen to be standing still, if their motion were compared with that of the sun and moon and the other heavenly bodies. And yet (he ponders) all heaven is God's handiwork, and that which makes is ever ahead of the thing made : it follows, then, that not only other things with which we are familiar, but that whose movement surpasses them all in swiftness, the mind, would come short of the apprehension of the First Cause by an immeasurable distance. But the strangest thing of all is, that whereas the heavenly bodies as they go past moving objects are themselves in motion, God who outstrips them all is motionless. Yea, we aver that remaining the same He is at once close to us and far from us. He takes hold of us by those forming and chastening powers which are so close to each one of us ; and yet He has driven created being far away from His essential Nature, so that we cannot touch it even with the pure spiritual contact of the understanding.

With the lovers of God, then, in their quest of the Existent One, even if they never find Him, we rejoice, for the quest of the Good and Beautiful, even if the goal be missed, is sufficient of itself to give a foretaste of gladness. But the self-loving Cain we commiserate, for he has left in the lurch his own soul

τοῦ ὄντος καταλέλοιπεν, τὸ ᾧ μόνῳ βλέπειν ἠδύνατο ἑκουσίως πηρώσας.

22 VII. Ἄξιον δὲ σκέψασθαι καὶ τὴν χώραν, εἰς ἣν ἐκ προσώπου γενόμενος θεοῦ στέλλεται· ἔστι δὲ ἣ καλεῖται σάλος, δηλοῦντος τοῦ νομοθέτου ὅτι ὁ ἄφρων ἀστάτοις καὶ ἀνιδρύτοις ὁρμαῖς κεχρημένος σάλον καὶ κλόνον, οἷα κυμαῖνον πέλαγος πρὸς ἐναντίων πνευμάτων χειμῶνος ὥρᾳ, ὑπομένει, γαλήνης δὲ ἢ νηνεμίας ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ὄναρ ἐπῄσθηται. ὥσπερ δ᾽ ὅταν ναῦς σαλεύῃ θαλαττεύουσα, τότ᾽ οὔτε πλεῖν οὔτε ὁρμεῖν ἐστιν ἱκανή, διαφερομένη δὲ ὧδε κἀκεῖσε πρὸς ἑκάτερον τοῖχον ἀποκλίνει καὶ ταλαντεύουσα ἀντιρρέπει, οὕτως ὁ φαῦλος παραφόρῳ καὶ χειμαινούσῃ διανοίᾳ κεχρημένος εὐθύνειν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πλοῦν ἀπταίστως ἀδυνατῶν αἰεὶ σαλεύει βίου μελετῶν ἀνατροπήν.

23 Ὁ δ᾽ εἱρμὸς τῆς ἀκολουθίας οὐ μετρίως με καταπλήττει· συμβαίνει γὰρ τὸ [μὲν] τῷ ἑστῶτι πλησιάζον ἠρεμίας διὰ πόθον ὁμοιότητος ἐφίεσθαι. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀκλινῶς ἑστὼς ὁ θεός ἐστι, τὸ δὲ κινητὸν ἡ γένεσις· ὥστε ὁ μὲν προσιὼν θεῷ στάσεως ἐφίεται, ὁ δὲ ἀπαλλαττόμενος ἅτε γενέσει τῇ τρεπο-

24 μένῃ προσιὼν κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς φορεῖται. VIII. διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς ἀραῖς γέγραπται ὅτι "οὐκ ἀναπαύσει σε, οὐδ᾽ οὐ μὴ γένηται στάσις τῷ ἴχνει τοῦ ποδός σου" καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον ὅτι "ἔσται ἡ ζωή σου κρεμαμένη ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν σου" (Deut. xxviii. 65, 66). πέφυκε γὰρ ὁ ἄφρων αἰεὶ παρὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον κινούμενος ἠρεμίᾳ καὶ

[a] "Nod" is akin to the Hebrew for "toss."

bereft of any conception of the Existent One, having deliberately blinded the organ by which alone he could have seen Him.

VII. It is worth while to notice the country also into which he betakes himself when he has left the presence of God: it is the country called "Tossing.[a]" In this way the lawgiver indicates that the foolish man, being a creature of wavering and unsettled impulses, is subject to tossing and tumult, like the sea lashed by contrary winds when a storm is raging, and has never even in fancy had experience of quietness and calm. And as at a time when a ship is tossing at the mercy of the sea, it is capable neither of sailing nor of riding at anchor, but pitched about this way and that it rolls in turn to either side and moves uncertainly swaying to and fro; even so the worthless man, with a mind reeling and storm-driven, powerless to direct his course with any steadiness, is always tossing, ready to make shipwreck of his life.

I am greatly struck by the perfect sequence of cause and effect in all this. Proximity to a stable object produces a desire to be like it and a longing for quiescence. Now that which is unwaveringly stable is God, and that which is subject to movement is creation. He therefore that draws nigh to God longs for stability, but he that forsakes Him, inasmuch as he approaches the unresting creation is, as we might expect, carried about. VIII. It is for this reason that it is written in the Curses "He shall not cause thee to rest, and there shall be no standing for the sole of thy feet," and a little later "thy life shall be hanging before thine eyes" (Deut. xxviii. 65, 66). For it is the nature of the foolish man to be ever moving contrary to right reason, and to be averse to

ἀναπαύσει δυσμενὴς εἶναι καὶ ἐπὶ μηδενὸς ἑστάναι
25 παγίως καὶ ἐρηρεῖσθαι δόγματος. ἄλλοτε γοῦν
ἀλλοῖα δοξάζει καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔστιν ὅτε
μηδενὸς περὶ αὐτὰ συμβεβηκότος καινοτέρου τἀναντία, μέγας καὶ μικρὸς καὶ ἐχθρὸς καὶ φίλος καὶ
πάνθ', ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τὰ μαχόμενα ἐν ἀκαρεῖ
[231] χρόνου γινόμενος. καὶ ἔστιν αὐτῷ, | ὅπερ ἔφη ὁ
νομοθέτης, πᾶσα ἡ ζωὴ κρεμαμένη, βάσιν οὐκ
ἔχουσα ἀκράδαντον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τῶν ἀντισπώντων
καὶ ἀντιμεθελκόντων ἀεὶ φορουμένη πραγμάτων.
26 οὗ χάριν ἐν ἑτέροις "κεκατηραμένον ὑπὸ θεοῦ
τὸν κρεμάμενον ἐπὶ ξύλου" φησίν (Deut. xxi. 23),
ὅτι, θεοῦ δέον ἐκκρέμασθαι, ὁ δὲ ἀπῃώρησεν ἑαυτὸν
σώματος, ὅς ἐστιν ἐν ἡμῖν ξύλινος ὄγκος, ἐπιθυμίαν ἐλπίδος ἀντικαταλλαξάμενος, ἀγαθοῦ τελείου
μέγιστον κακόν. ἐλπὶς μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀγαθῶν οὖσα
προσδοκία ἐκ τοῦ φιλοδώρου θεοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν
ἀρτᾷ, ἐπιθυμία δὲ ἀλόγους ἐμποιοῦσα ὀρέξεις ἐκ
τοῦ σώματος, ὃ δεξαμενὴν καὶ χώραν ἡδονῶν ἡ
27 φύσις ἐδημιούργησεν. IX. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ὥσπερ
ἀπ' ἀγχόνης τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἐκκρεμάσθωσαν.
Ἀβραὰμ δὲ ὁ σοφὸς ἐπειδὴ ἕστηκε, συνεγγίζει
τῷ ἑστῶτι θεῷ· λέγει γὰρ ὅτι "ἑστὼς ἦν ἔναντι
κυρίου καὶ ἐγγίσας εἶπεν" (Gen. xviii. 22, 23).
ὄντως γὰρ ἀτρέπτῳ ψυχῇ πρὸς τὸν ἄτρεπτον θεὸν
μόνη πρόσοδός ἐστι, καὶ ἡ τοῦτον διακειμένη τὸν
τρόπον ἐγγὺς ὡς ἀληθῶς ἵσταται δυνάμεως θείας.
28 Τό γε μὴν χρησθὲν τῷ πανσόφῳ Μωυσῇ λόγιον
ἐναργέστατα δηλοῖ τὴν περὶ τὸν σπουδαῖον βεβαιοτάτην εὐστάθειαν, ἔστι δὲ τὸ λόγιον τοιόνδε· "σὺ
δὲ αὐτοῦ στῆθι μετ' ἐμοῦ" (Deut. v. 31)· ἐξ οὗ

rest and quietness, and never to plant himself firmly and fixedly on any principle. He has one set of views at one time, another set at another, and sometimes holds conflicting views about the same matters, though no fresh element has been introduced into them. He becomes great and small, foe and friend, and nearly every other pair of opposites in a moment of time. And, as the lawgiver said, his whole life is hanging, with no firm foothold, but always swept off its feet by interests drawing and dragging him in opposite directions. This is why the lawgiver says in another place that "he that hangeth on a tree is cursed of God" (Deut. xxi. 23), for, whereas it behoves us to hang upon God, the man of whom we are thinking suspended himself from his body, which is a log-like mass in us. By doing so he gave up hope and took desire in its place, a grievous evil in place of a supreme good. For hope, being an expectation of good things, fastens the mind upon the bountiful God; whereas desire, infusing irrational cravings, fastens it on the body, which Nature wrought as a receptacle and abode of pleasures. IX. Let such men be hung on desire as from a halter. But Abraham the wise, being one who stands, draws near to God the standing One; for it says "he was standing before the Lord and he drew near and said" (Gen. xviii. 22 f.). For only a truly unchanging soul has access to the unchanging God, and the soul that is of such a disposition does in very deed stand near to the Divine power.

But what shows in the clearest light the firm steadfastness of the man of worth is the oracle communicated to the all-wise Moses which runs thus: "But as for thee stand thou here by Me" [a] (Deut. v. 31).

[a] or "by Me myself."

δύο παρίσταται, ἓν μὲν ὅτι τὸ ὂν τὸ τὰ ἄλλα
κινοῦν καὶ τρέπον ἀκίνητόν τε καὶ ἄτρεπτον,
ἕτερον δ' ὅτι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως, ἠρεμίας, τῷ
σπουδαίῳ μεταδίδωσιν. ὡς γὰρ οἶμαι κανόνι ὀρθῷ
τὰ στρεβλὰ εὐθύνεται, οὕτως τὰ κινούμενα κράτει
29 τοῦ ἑστῶτος ἐπέχεταί τε καὶ ἵσταται. νυνὶ μὲν
οὖν ἑτέρῳ στῆναι μετ' αὐτοῦ παραγγέλλει. ἀλλα-
χόθι δέ φησιν· "ἐγὼ καταβήσομαι μετὰ σοῦ εἰς
Αἴγυπτον, καὶ ἀναβιβάσω σε εἰς τέλος" (Gen.
xlvi. 4), οὐχί σὺ μετ' ἐμοῦ. διὰ τί; ὅτι θεοῦ
μὲν ἴδιον ἠρεμία καὶ στάσις, γενέσεως δὲ μετάβασίς
30 τε καὶ μεταβατικὴ πᾶσα κίνησις. ὅταν μὲν οὖν
πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον ἀγαθὸν καλῇ, "σὺ μετ' ἐμοῦ στῆθι"
φησίν, οὐκ "ἐγὼ μετὰ σοῦ"· οὐ γὰρ στήσεται ὁ
θεός, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ ἕστηκεν. ὅταν δὲ πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον
γενέσεως ἔρχηται, ὀρθότατα ἐρεῖ· "ἐγὼ μετὰ σοῦ
καταβήσομαι·" σοὶ γὰρ ἡ τόπων ἐνάλλαξις ἁρμόζει.
ὥστε μετ' ἐμοῦ μὲν οὐδεὶς κάτεισιν—ἐγὼ γὰρ
οὐ τρεπόμενος—στήσεται δ' ὅτιπερ ἠρεμία μοι
φίλον· σὺν δὲ τοῖς κατιοῦσι μεταβατικῶς—ἀδελφὸν
γὰρ καὶ συγγενὲς αὐτοῖς μετάβασις—ἐγὼ κατα-
βήσομαι τονικῶς, οὐ χωρία ἐναλλάττων, ὃς τὸ
31 πᾶν ἐμαυτοῦ πεπλήρωκα. καὶ τοῦτο μέντοι ποιῶ
διὰ φύσεως οἶκτον λογικῆς, ἵνα ἐκ τοῦ τῶν παθῶν
[232] ᾅδου πρὸς τὸν | ὀλύμπιον χῶρον ἀρετῆς ἀναβιβασθῇ
ποδηγετοῦντος ἐμοῦ, ὃς τὴν εἰς οὐρανὸν ἄγουσαν

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[a] τονικῶς (from τείνομαι "I extend myself"; lit., "by way

This oracle proves two things, one that the Existent Being who moves and turns all else is Himself exempt from movement and turning; and secondly that He makes the worthy man sharer of His own Nature, which is repose. For I take it that, just as crooked things are straightened by a correct ruler, so moving things are brought to a stop and made stationary by the force of Him Who stands. In this case He charges another to stand with Him. Elsewhere He says, "I will go down with thee into Egypt, and will bring thee up at last" (Gen. xlvi. 4). He does not say "thou with Me." Why is this? Because quiescence and abiding are characteristic of God, but change of place and all movement that makes for such change is characteristic of creation. When then He invites a man to the good peculiar to Him, He says "Do thou stand with Me," not "I with thee:" for in God's case standing is not a future but an ever present act. But when He comes to that which is proper to creation, His words will quite rightly be "I will go down with thee," for to thee change of place is appropriate. Accordingly with Me no one shall go down—for I know no turning or change—but one shall stand, seeing that quiescence is dear to Me. But with those who go down in the sense of changing their place—for change of place is near of kin to them—I will go down, in all-pervading Presence [a] without any alteration of locality, seeing I have filled the universe with Myself. I do this in pity for rational nature, that it may be caused to rise out of the nether world of the passions into the upper region of virtue guided step by step by Me, Who have laid down the road that leads to

of self-extension") from Mangey's conjecture. See *De Sacrificiis* 68 with note, App. p. 491.

ὁδὸν ἀνατεμὼν λεωφόρον ἱκέτισι ψυχαῖς, ὡς μὴ κάμνοιεν βαδίζουσαι, πάσαις ἀποδέδειχα.

32 X. Δεδηλωκότες οὖν ἑκάτερον, ἠρεμίαν τε ἀστείου καὶ ἄφρονος σάλον, τὸ ἑπόμενον τῷ λόγῳ συνεπισκεψώμεθα. φησὶ γὰρ Ναίδ, τὸν κλόνον, εἰς ὃν ἡ ψυχὴ μετῳκίσατο, ἀπέναντι Ἐδέμ. συμβολικῶς δέ ἐστιν Ἐδὲμ ὀρθὸς καὶ θεῖος λόγος, παρὸ καὶ ἑρμηνείαν ἔχει "τρυφήν," ὅτι ἐνευφραίνεται καὶ ἐντρυφᾷ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, ἀμιγέσι καὶ ἀκράτοις ἔτι δὲ ἀρτίοις καὶ πλήρεσι κεχρημένος ἀγαθοῖς, ὕοντος τοῦ πλουτοδότου θεοῦ τὰς παρθένους καὶ ἀθανάτους χάριτας αὐτοῦ. φύσει δὲ μάχεται ἀγαθῷ κακόν, ἄδικον δικαίῳ, φρόνιμον ἄφρονι καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἀρετῆς πρὸς τὰ κακίας εἴδη. τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τὸ Ναὶδ ἀντικρὺς [καὶ] εἶναι Ἐδέμ.

33 XI. Ταῦτ' εἰπών φησιν ἑξῆς· "καὶ ἔγνω Κάιν [φησί] τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ συλλαβοῦσα ἔτεκεν τὸν Ἐνώχ· καὶ ἦν οἰκοδομῶν πόλιν, καὶ ἐπωνόμασε τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἐνώχ" (Gen. iv. 17). ἆρ' οὐκ εἰκὸς διαπορῆσαι, τίνα ἔγνω γυναῖκα ὁ Κάιν; γένεσις γὰρ οὐδεμιᾶς ἄλλης μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς διαπλασθεῖσαν
34 Εὔαν ἄχρι νῦν μεμήνυται γυναικός. εἰ δὲ φήσει τις ἀδελφῇ τὸν Κάιν συνεληλυθέναι, χωρὶς τοῦ ἀνοσίου καὶ ψεύσεται· τὰς γὰρ θυγατέρας Ἀδὰμ ὀψὲ γεγεννημένας εἰσάγει. τί οὖν χρὴ λέγειν; γυναῖκα ἀσεβοῦς λογισμοῦ, ὥς γε οἴομαι, καλεῖ δόξαν, ἣν περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τίθεται καθάπερ μυρίοι τῶν φιλοσοφησάντων, οἱ μὲν τὰ αὐτά, οἱ

heaven and appointed it as a highway for all suppliant souls, that they might not grow weary as they tread it."

X. Having now shown each side of the picture, calm in a good man, restlessness in a foolish one, let us devote our attention to the sequel. The lawgiver says that Naid, "Tumult," to which the soul migrated, is over against Eden. "Eden" is a symbolic name for right and divine reason, and so it is literally rendered "luxuriance." For right reason above all others finds its delight and luxury in the enjoyment of good things pure and undiluted, yea complete and full, while God the Giver of wealth rains down His virgin and deathless boons. And evil is by nature in conflict with good, unjust with just, wise with foolish, and all forms of virtue with all forms of vice. That is the meaning of Naid being over against Eden.

XI. Having said this, he says next: "And Cain knew his wife, and she conceived and bare Enoch; and Cain was building a city, and he called the city after his son's name Enoch" (Gen. iv. 17). Is it not reasonable to inquire, what woman Cain knew? For since Eve, who was formed out of Adam's side, there has been hitherto no record of the creation of any other woman. If anyone should suggest that Cain married his sister, his suggestion will be not only unholy but untrue; for Adam's daughters are mentioned as having been born at a later time. What then must we say? "Wife" is, I think, the name he gives to the opinion held by an impious man's reasoning faculty, the opinion which the impious man (habitually) assumes touching (all) matters. So do a host of those who have professed philosophy, some sects agreeing in the rules which they deduce from

δὲ καὶ διαφέροντα εἰσηγησάμενοι τῷ βίῳ δόγματα.
35 τίς οὖν ἐστιν ἀσεβοῦς δόξα; μέτρον εἶναι πάντων χρημάτων τὸν ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν· ᾗ καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν τινα σοφιστῶν ὄνομα Πρωταγόραν φασὶ χρήσασθαι, τῆς Κάιν ἀπονοίας ἔκγονον. τεκμαίρομαι δὲ ἐνθένδε ὅτι γνωρισθεῖσα αὐτῷ ἡ γυνὴ τὸν Ἐνὼχ ἀπέτεκεν· ἑρμηνεύεται δὲ Ἐνὼχ χάρις σου.
36 εἰ γὰρ πάντων μέτρον ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, χάρις ἐστὶ καὶ δωρεὰ τοῦ νοῦ τὰ πάντα, ὥστε ὀφθαλμῷ μὲν κεχάρισται τὸ βλέπειν, ὠσὶ δὲ τὸ ἀκούειν, ἑκάστῃ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθήσεων τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι, καὶ τῷ κατὰ τὴν προφορὰν μέντοι λόγῳ τὸ λέγειν· εἰ δὲ
[233] καὶ | ταῦτα, καὶ αὐτὸ δήπου <τὸ> νοεῖν, ἐν ᾧ μυρία ἐννοήματα, διανοήσεις, βουλαί, προμήθειαι, καταλήψεις, ἐπιστῆμαι, τέχναι, διαθέσεις, ἄλλων
37 ἀριθμὸς δυνάμεων ἀδιεξίτητος. τί οὖν ἔτι σεμνομυθούμενοι περὶ ὁσιότητος καὶ θεοῦ τιμῆς λέγειν τε καὶ ἀκούειν ἐγνώκατε, εἴ γε ἔχετε παρ᾿ ἑαυτοῖς τὸν ἀντίθεον νοῦν, ὃς πάντα ἀνὰ κράτος τὰ κατ᾿ ἀνθρώπους ἀναψάμενος ἀγαθά τε καὶ κακὰ τοῖς μὲν ἀμφότερα κερασάμενος, τοῖς δὲ θάτερα ἄκρατα
38 ἐπιπέμπει; κἂν ἄρα τις γραφὴν ἀσεβείας ἐπενέγκῃ καθ᾿ ὑμῶν, ἀπολογούμενοι θαρρεῖτε φάσκοντες παρ᾿ ὑφηγητῇ καὶ διδασκάλῳ πάνυ καλῷ πεπαιδεῦσθαι Κάιν, ὃς τὸ πλησίον πρὸ τοῦ μακρὰν αἰτίου παρῄνει τιμᾶν· ᾧ διά τε ἄλλα προσεκτέον καὶ μάλισθ᾿ ὅτι σαφέσιν ἔργοις τὴν τοῦ δόγματος ἰσχὺν ἐπεδείξατο νικήσας τὸν τῆς ἐναντίας δόξης εἰσηγητὴν Ἄβελ καὶ ἅμ᾿ αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν δόξαν

[a] Familiar to Philo from Plato, *Theaet.* 152 A and *Cratylus* 385 E.

[b] or "dispositions." See *De Cher.* 62 and note.

it for the conduct of life, and some making a variety of deductions. Of what sort then is an impious man's opinion? That the human mind is the measure of all things, an opinion held they tell us by an ancient sophist named Protagoras, an offspring of Cain's madness. I gather that by "wife" this opinion is meant from the fact that when Cain knew her she bore Enoch, and Enoch means "thy gift." For if man is the measure of all things,[a] all things are a present and gift of the mind. It has bestowed on the eye seeing as a favour, on the ears hearing, on each of the other senses their power of perception, yes and speech on the faculty of thought-utterance. But if all these are gifts, so too is thinking, including in itself countless products of thought, resolves, counsels, forethought, comprehension, acquisition of knowledge, skill in arts and in organizing,[b] other faculties too many to recount. Why, pray, are you any longer ready to deliver grave and solemn discourses about holiness and honouring God, and to listen to such discourses from others, seeing that you have with you the mind to take the place of God, and forcibly to appropriate all things human both good and bad, sending to some a blend of both, to others one of the two unmixed? And if someone bring against you an indictment for impiety, you boldly defend yourselves, asserting that you have been trained under an admirable master and instructor, even Cain, who advised you to honour what was near you rather than the far off Cause, and that you are bound to attend to his advice both for other reasons and most of all because he proved the strength of his creed by unmistakable deeds in his victory over Abel, the champion of the opposite opinion, and in getting rid

39 ἐκποδὼν ἀνελών. ἀλλὰ παρ᾿ ἔμοιγε καὶ φίλοις
τοῖς ἐμοῖς τῆς μετὰ ἀσεβῶν ζωῆς ὁ μετὰ εὐσεβῶν
αἱρετώτερος ἂν εἴη θάνατος· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ οὕτως
ἀποθανόντας ἡ ἀθάνατος ἐκδέξεται ζωή, τοὺς δὲ
ἐκείνως ζῶντας ὁ ἀίδιος θάνατος.
40 XII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Κάιν τὸν Ἐνὼχ γεγέννηκε καὶ
αὖθις ἔκγονος τοῦ Σὴθ πάλιν Ἐνὼχ ὀνομάζεται
(Gen. iv. 17, v. 18), σκεπτέον ἂν εἴη πότερον
ἑτέρους ἢ τοὺς αὐτοὺς εἶναι συμβέβηκεν. ἐρευνή-
σωμεν δ᾿ ἅμα τούτοις καὶ <τὰς> τῶν ἄλλων
ὁμωνύμων διαφοράς. ὥσπερ γὰρ Ἐνώχ, οὕτω
καὶ Μαθουσάλα καὶ Λάμεχ ἀπόγονοι μὲν Κάιν,
ἀπόγονοι δ᾿ οὐδὲν ἧττον καὶ τοῦ Σήθ εἰσι (Gen.
41 iv. 18, v. 21, 25). χρὴ τοίνυν εἰδέναι ὅτι τῶν
λεχθέντων ἕκαστον ὀνομάτων ἑρμηνευθὲν διπλοῦν
ἐστιν. ἑρμηνεύεται δ᾿ ὁ μὲν Ἐνώχ, καθάπερ
εἶπον, χάρις σου, Μαθουσάλα δ᾿ ἐξαποστολὴ
θανάτου, ὁ δ᾿ αὖ Λάμεχ ταπείνωσις. τὸ μὲν οὖν
“ χάρις σου ” λέγεται μὲν πρὸς τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν νοῦν
ὑπ᾿ ἐνίων, λέγεται δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὅλων ὑπὸ
42 τῶν ἀμεινόνων. οἱ μὲν οὖν φάσκοντες δωρεὰν
εἶναι τῆς ἑαυτῶν ψυχῆς πάνθ᾿ ὅσα ἐν τῷ νοεῖν ἢ
αἰσθάνεσθαι ἢ λέγειν, ἀσεβῆ καὶ ἄθεον εἰσηγού-
μενοι δόξαν γένει τῷ Κάιν προσκεκληρώσθωσαν,
ὃς μηδ᾿ αὑτοῦ κρατεῖν ἱκανὸς ὢν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
ἁπάντων ἀπετόλμησεν [ὡς] εἰπεῖν ὡς ἔχοι τὴν
παντελῆ κτῆσιν· οἱ δ᾿ ὅσα ἐν γενέσει καλὰ μὴ
σφετεριζόμενοι, χάρισι δὲ ταῖς θείαις ἐπιγρά-
φοντες, εὐγενεῖς πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὐκ ἐκ παλαι-
πλουσίων ἀλλ᾿ ἐκ φιλαρέτων φύντες, ὑπὸ ἀρχηγέτῃ

both of him and his opinion. But, in my judgement and in that of my friends, preferable to life with impious men would be death with pious men; for awaiting those who die in this way there will be undying life, but awaiting those who live in that way there will be eternal death.

XII. Now since Cain is said to have begotten Enoch, and there is afterwards a descendant of Seth with the name of Enoch again (Gen. iv. 17, v. 18), we must consider whether they were two different persons or the same person. While we are engaged with these, let us investigate also the difference between others who have the same name. Like Enoch, Methuselah and Lamech appear as descendants of Cain, and descendants no less of Seth (Gen. iv. 18, v. 21, 25). It is important, then, that we should know that each of the names mentioned has a meaning that can be taken in two ways. "Enoch," as I have already said, means "thy gift," "Methuselah" "a sending forth of death," and "Lamech" "humiliation." Take the first. Thy gift is, on some people's lips, an address to the mind within us; on the lips of the better kind of men it is addressed to the universal Mind. Those who assert that everything that is involved in thought or perception or speech is a free gift of their own soul, seeing that they introduce an impious and atheistic opinion, must be assigned to the race of Cain, who, while incapable even of ruling himself, made bold to say that he had full possession of all other things as well. But those who do not claim as their own all that is fair in creation, but acknowledge all as due to the gift of God, being men of real nobility, sprung not from a long line of rich ancestors but from lovers of virtue, must remain

[234]
43 τῷ | Σὴθ τετάχθωσαν. δυσεύρετον σφόδρα τὸ
τούτων ἐστὶ γένος ἀποδιδρασκόντων τὸν ἐπί-
βουλον καὶ ῥᾳδιουργὸν καὶ πανοῦργον καὶ κεχυ-
μένον παθῶν τε καὶ κακιῶν πλήρη βίον. οὓς γὰρ
ὁ θεὸς εὐαρεστήσαντας αὐτῷ μετεβίβασε καὶ μετ-
έθηκεν ἐκ φθαρτῶν εἰς ἀθάνατα γένη, παρὰ τοῖς
44 πολλοῖς οὐκέθ᾽ εὑρίσκονται. XIII. διεσταλκότες
οὖν τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἐνὼχ σημαινόμενα μέτιμεν ἑξῆς
ἐπὶ τὸν Μαθουσάλα, ὅς ἦν ἐξαποστολὴ θανάτου.
δύο δ᾽ ἐκ ταύτης παρίσταται τῆς φωνῆς, ἓν μὲν
καθ᾽ ὅ τινι ἐπιπέμπεται θάνατος, ἕτερον δὲ καθ᾽
ὃ ἀπό τινος ἀποστέλλεται. ὅτῳ μὲν οὖν ἐπι-
πέμπεται, θνήσκει πάντως ἐκεῖνος, ἀφ᾽ οὗ δὲ ἀπο-
45 στέλλεται, ζῇ τε καὶ περίεστι. τῷ μὲν δὴ Κάιν
ὁ τὸν θάνατον δεχόμενός ἐστιν οἰκεῖος ἀεὶ τὸν πρὸς
ἀρετὴν βίον θνῄσκοντι, τῷ δὲ Σὴθ συγγενέστατος
ἀφ᾽ οὗπερ ἀποστέλλεται καὶ διατειχίζεται τὸ ἀπο-
θνῄσκειν· τὴν γὰρ ἀληθῆ ζωὴν ὁ σπουδαῖος
46 κεκάρπωται. καὶ μὴν ὅ γε Λάμεχ ταπείνωσις ὢν
ἀμφίβολός ἐστιν· ἢ γὰρ ὑφιεμένων τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς
τόνων κατὰ τὰ ἐξ ἀλόγων παθῶν ἐγγενόμενα
νοσήματά τε καὶ ἀρρωστήματα ταπεινούμεθα ἢ
κατ᾽ ἀρετῆς ζῆλον στέλλοντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ οἰδούσης
47 οἰήσεως. ἡ μὲν οὖν προτέρα γίνεται κατ᾽ ἀσθέ-
νειαν, εἶδος τῆς πολυμόρφου καὶ πολυτρόπου
λέπρας οὖσα· ὅταν γὰρ ἡ ὄψις ταπεινοτέρα φαίνη-
ται τὴν ὁμαλὴν καὶ εὔτονον κλασθεῖσα φαντασίαν,
τὴν χαλεπὴν νόσον λέπραν ὁ νομοθέτης φησὶ
48 γενέσθαι (Lev. xiii. 3). ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα ἀπὸ ἰσχύος

enrolled under Seth as the head of their race. This sort is very hard to find, since they make their escape from a life beset with passions and vices, with its treachery and unscrupulousness, its villainy and dissoluteness. For those who have been well-pleasing to God, and whom God has translated and removed from perishable to immortal races, are no more found among the multitude. XIII. Having now distinguished between the things signified by Enoch's name, we will pass on next to Methuselah. His name, as we saw, means "a sending forth of death," and these words call up two pictures to the mind. In one of them death is being sent to fall upon somebody; in the other death is being dismissed from somebody. The man on whom it is sent to fall, dies without fail, while he from whom it is dismissed lives and survives. He who receives death is an intimate of Cain, who is ever dying to the way of life directed by virtue; to Seth he is close of kin from whom dying is dismissed and debarred; for the good man has reaped true life as his crop. "Low estate" again, which is the meaning of "Lamech," has a twofold bearing. We are brought low either when the energies of the soul are let down owing to sicknesses and infirmities produced in us as the result of irrational passions, or when in our eager quest of virtue we check in ourselves the swelling of self-conceit. The former kind of being brought low is due to weakness, and is a species of leprosy, that changeful disease which assumes so many different forms. For when the uniform and healthy appearance of the flesh is impaired and the mischief is visible below the surface, the lawgiver says that the cruel disease of leprosy has set in (Lev. xiii. 3). The

συνίσταται καρτερᾶς, ᾗ καὶ ἱλασμὸς ἕπεται κατὰ τὸν τῆς δεκάδος ἀριθμὸν τέλειον· προστέτακται γὰρ τὰς ψυχὰς ταπεινοῦν δεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνός (Lev. xxiii. 27), ὅπερ ἐστὶ μεγαλαυχίαν ἀποτίθεσθαι, ἧς ἡ ἀπόθεσις ἀδικημάτων ἑκουσίων καὶ ἀκουσίων ἐργάζεται παραίτησιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν οὕτως ταπεινὸς Λάμεχ ἔκγονος μέν ἐστι Σήθ, πατὴρ δὲ τοῦ δικαίου Νῶε, ὁ δὲ ἐκείνως ἐκβλάστημα Κάιν.

49 XIV. Ἑπόμενον δ' ἂν εἴη σκέψασθαι, τίνος ἕνεκα κτίζων καὶ οἰκοδομῶν πόλιν αὐτὸς οὗτος εἰσάγεται· πλήθει γὰρ ἀνθρώπων μεγέθους δεῖ πόλεως πρὸς οἴκησιν, τρισὶ δὲ τοῖς κατ' ἐκεῖνον οὖσι τὸν χρόνον ὑπώρειά τις ἢ μικρὸν ἄντρον αὐταρκέστατον ἦν ἐνδιαίτημα. κἀγὼ μὲν εἶπον τρισί, τὸ δ' εἰκὸς ἑνὶ μόνῳ ἑαυτῷ· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ γονεῖς τοῦ δολοφονηθέντος τὴν αὐτὴν τῷ κτείναντι πόλιν ὑπέμειναν <ἂν> οἰκεῖν, μεῖζον ἀνδροφονίας [235]
50 ἄγος ἀδελφοκτονίαν | ἐργασαμένῳ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ οὐ παράδοξον μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ παράλογον παντί τῳ δῆλον, ἕνα ἄνδρα πόλιν οἰκοδομεῖν. τίνα ἔστι τρόπον; ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν οἰκίας μέρος τὸ ἀφανέστατον, μὴ χρώμενον ὑπηρέταις ἑτέροις. ἦ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ λιθοτομεῖν ἂν δύναιτο, ὑλοτομεῖν, σίδηρον, χαλκὸν ἐργάζεσθαι, τειχῶν μέγαν κύκλον πόλει περιβάλλεσθαι, προπύλαια καὶ προτειχίσματα, ἱερὰ καὶ τεμένη καὶ στοὰς καὶ νεωσοίκους καὶ οἰκίας καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα δημόσια καὶ ἴδια ἔθος οἰκοδομεῖσθαι; καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις ὀχετοὺς κατὰ

other form of being brought low results from the exercise of hardy strength, and this has for its sequel propitiation, determined by 10, the perfect number: for there is a command to bring low our souls on the tenth day of the month (Lev. xxiii. 27), and this signifies to put away boasting, a putting away which leads to an imploring of pardon for sins voluntary and involuntary. So the Lamech lowly in this way is a descendant of Seth, and father of righteous Noah; but the Lamech brought low in the former way is sprung from Cain.

XIV. The next thing for us to consider is why Cain, all alone as he is, appears in the narrative as founding and building a city; for a multitude of men needs a good-sized city to dwell in, whereas for the three that then existed some foot-hill or small cave would have been a quite adequate habitation. I said "for three," but most likely it was for one, Cain himself only: for the parents of the murdered Abel would not have brooked dwelling in the same city with his slayer, seeing he had incurred a more defiling guilt than that of a man-slayer by slaying his brother. Everyone can see how the building of a city by a single man runs counter not only to all our ideas but to our reason itself. How is such a thing possible? Why, he could not have built even the most insignificant part of a house without employing others to work under him. Could the same man at the same moment do a stone-mason's work, hew timber, work iron and brass, surround the city with a great circuit of walls, construct great gateways and fortifications, temples and sacred enclosures, porticoes, arsenals, houses, and all other public and private buildings that are customary? Could he in addition to these

γῆν ἀναστέλλειν, στενωποὺς ἀνευρύνειν, κρήνας καὶ ὑδρορροὰς καὶ ὅσων ἄλλων πόλει δεῖ κατα-
51 σκευάζεσθαι; μήποτ᾿ οὖν, ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπᾴδει, βέλτιον ἀλληγοροῦντας λέγειν ἐστὶν ὅτι καθάπερ πόλιν τὸ αὑτοῦ δόγμα κατασκευάζειν ὁ Κάιν ἔγνωκε.

52 XV. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν πᾶσα πόλις ἐξ οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ οἰκητόρων καὶ νόμων συνέστηκε, τὰ μὲν οἰκοδομήματά ἐστιν αὐτῷ λόγοι οἱ ἀποδεικνύντες, οἷς καθάπερ ἀπὸ τείχους πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἐναντίων ἀπομάχεται προσβολὰς πιθανὰς εὑρέσεις κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας μυθοπλαστῶν, οἰκήτορες δὲ οἱ ἀσεβείας, ἀθεότητος, φιλαυτίας, μεγαλαυχίας, ψευδοῦς δόξης ἑταῖροι δοκησίσοφοι, τὸ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν σοφὸν οὐκ εἰδότες, ἄγνοιαν καὶ ἀπαιδευσίαν καὶ ἀμαθίαν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀδελφὰς καὶ συγγενεῖς κῆρας συγκεκροτηκότες, νόμοι δὲ ἀνομίαι, ἀδικίαι, τὸ ἄνισον, τὸ ἀκόλαστον, θρασύτης, ἀπόνοια, αὐθάδεια, ἡδονῶν ἀμετρίαι, τῶν παρὰ
53 φύσιν ἄλεκτοι ἐπιθυμίαι. τοιαύτης πόλεως ἕκαστος τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐν ἑαυτοῦ τῇ παναθλίᾳ ψυχῇ δημιουργὸς εὑρίσκεται, μέχρις ἂν ὁ θεὸς βουλευθεὶς (Gen. xi. 6) ταῖς σοφιστικαῖς αὐτῶν τέχναις ἀθρόαν καὶ μεγάλην ἐργάσηται σύγχυσιν. τοῦτο δ᾿ ἔσται, ὅταν μὴ μόνον πόλιν, <ἀλλὰ> καὶ πύργον οἰκοδομῶσιν, οὗ ἡ κεφαλὴ εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀφίξεται (Gen. xi. 4), τουτέστι λόγον ἑκάστου κατασκευαστικόν, ὅπερ[1] εἰσηγοῦνται, κεφαλὴν ἔχοντα τὸ οἰκεῖον νόημα, ὃ προσαγορεύεται συμβολικῶς οὐρανός· ἀνάγκη γὰρ παντὸς λόγου κεφαλὴν καὶ τέλος εἶναι τὸν δηλούμενον νοῦν, οὗ χάριν αἱ

[1] ὅπερ is printed for ὅνπερ from conjecture (Tr.).

construct drains, open up streets, provide fountains and conduits and all else that a city needs? It would seem, then, since all this is at variance with reality, that it is better to take the words figuratively, as meaning that Cain resolves to set up his own creed, just as one might set up a city.

XV. Now, every city needs for its existence buildings, and inhabitants, and laws. Cain's buildings are demonstrative arguments. With these, as though fighting from a city-wall, he repels the assaults of his adversaries, by forging plausible inventions contrary to the truth. His inhabitants are the wise in their own conceit, devotees of impiety, godlessness, self-love, arrogance, false opinion, men ignorant of real wisdom, who have reduced to an organized system ignorance, lack of learning and of culture, and other pestilential things akin to these. His laws are various forms of lawlessness and injustice, unfairness, licentiousness, audacity, senselessness, self-will, immoderate indulgence in pleasures, unnatural lusts that may not be named. Of such a city every impious man is found to be an architect in his own miserable soul, until such time as God takes counsel (Gen. xi. 6), and brings upon their sophistic devices a great and complete confusion. This time will come when they are building, not a city only, but a tower as well, whose top shall reach to heaven (Gen. xi. 4). By a "tower" is meant a discourse working up each (immoral) doctrine which they introduce. The discourse has for a head its own proper point, which is figuratively spoken of as "heaven." For every discourse must needs have as its head and aim the thought brought out by it; and it is to bring this out that men of eloquence are in

μακραὶ διέξοδοί τε καὶ ῥήσεις ὑπὸ λογίων ἀνδρῶν
54 εἰώθασι γίνεσθαι. XVI. τοσοῦτον δ' ἄρα τῆς ἀσεβείας ἐπιβεβήκασιν, ὥστ' οὐ μόνον δι' ἑαυτῶν ἐγείρειν τὰς τοιαύτας πόλεις ἀξιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν φιλάρετον πληθὺν Ἰσραὴλ ἀναγκάζουσιν ἐπιστάτας καὶ διδασκάλους κακῶν ἔργων ἐπ' αὐτοῖς χειροτονήσαντες. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι κακωθέντες ὑπὸ
[236] τῶν ἐπιστατῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς χώρας | τρεῖς πόλεις οἰκοδομοῦσι, Πειθώ, Ῥαμεσσή, Ὤν, ἥ
55 ἐστιν Ἡλίου πόλις (Exod. i. 11). αὗται δὲ τροπικώτερον νοῦν, αἴσθησιν, λόγον, τὰ περὶ ἡμᾶς ὄντα, δηλοῦσιν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ Πειθὼ ὁ λόγος ἐστίν, ὅτι περὶ τοῦτον τὸ πείθειν, ἔχει δὲ ἑρμηνείαν στόμα ἐκθλῖβον, ἐπειδήπερ καὶ ὁ τοῦ φαύλου λόγος ἐξωθεῖν καὶ ἀνατρέπειν τὰ σπουδαῖα μελετᾷ.
56 Ῥαμεσσὴ δὲ ἡ αἴσθησις * * * καθάπερ γὰρ ὑπὸ σητὸς ὑφ' ἑκάστης τῶν αἰσθήσεων νοῦς ἐκβιβρώσκεται καὶ διεσθίεται, σειόμενος καὶ σπαραττόμενος· αἱ γὰρ ἐπεισιοῦσαι μὴ καθ' ἡδονὴν φαντασίαι λυπηρὸν καὶ ἐπίπονον ἀποτίκτουσι τὸν
57 βίον. ἡ δὲ Ὢν καλεῖται μὲν βουνός, ἔστι δὲ συμβολικῶς ὁ νοῦς· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦτον οἱ πάντων θησαυρίζονται λόγοι. μάρτυς δὲ καὶ ὁ νομοθέτης τὴν Ὢν Ἡλίου πόλιν προσαγορεύσας· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἀνατείλας ἥλιος τὰ κρυπτόμενα νυκτὶ ἐμφανῶς ἐπιδείκνυται, οὕτως ὁ νοῦς τὸ οἰκεῖον φῶς ἀποστέλλων πάντα καὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰ πράγματα
58 τηλαυγῶς παρασκευάζει καταλαμβάνεσθαι. διόπερ οὐκ ἄν τις εἰπὼν ἁμάρτοι τοῦ συγκρίματος εἶναι ἡμῶν τὸν νοῦν ἥλιον, ὃς ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ βραχεῖ κόσμῳ μὴ ἀνατείλας καὶ τὸ ἴδιον φέγγος

the habit of delivering their lengthy expositions and perorations. XVI. To such a pitch of impiety have they gone that they think fit not only to raise such cities with their own hands, but they force the virtue-loving host of Israel to do the like, appointing over them taskmasters and instructors in wicked works. For it is said that under the maltreatment of their taskmasters they built for the king of the country three cities, Peitho, Rameses, and On, which is Heliopolis (Exod. i. 11). These signify, when taken as figures, our properties of mind, sense, and speech. Peitho is our speech, because persuasion [a] is its function, and the word means "harassing mouth," for the speech of the worthless man makes a study of harassing and overturning all that is good and worthy. Rameses is sense-perception [for it means a "moth's troubling"],[b] since the mind is eaten out and gnawed through by each of the senses, just as though the moth were at work loosening and tearing it. For when ideas enter the mind such as cannot give it pleasure they fill our life with pain and toil. "On" is by name "Heap" but symbolically it is the mind, for to it as to a treasure-heap [c] all men's words are brought. The lawgiver is evidence of this by calling On "Heliopolis" [c] or "Sun-city." For as the sun, when it has risen, shows clearly the objects which night hides, so the mind sending forth its proper light causes all forms and conditions to be clearly apprehended. It would therefore not be amiss to speak of the mind as the sun of our complex system. For if it does not rise and let its peculiar light shine forth in man, the microcosm, it sheds a

[a] Greek "peitho."

[b] The words which seem to have dropped out here are found in *De Somniis* i. 77.

[c] See App. p. 498.

ἐκλάμψας, πολὺ σκότος τῶν ὄντων καταχέας οὐδὲν
59 ἐᾷ προφαίνεσθαι. XVII. τὸν βουνὸν τοῦτον ὁ
ἀσκητὴς Ἰακὼβ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Λάβαν δικαίοις
μάρτυρα καλεῖ (Gen. xxxi. 46, 47) δογματικώτατα
δηλῶν ὅτι ὁ νοῦς ἑκάστῳ μάρτυς ἐστὶν ὧν ἐν
ἀφανεῖ βουλεύεται καὶ τὸ συνειδὸς ἔλεγχος ἀ-
δέκαστος καὶ πάντων ἀψευδέστατος. * * *
* * * * πρὸ τούτων τῶν πόλεων οἰκοδομεῖται.
60 φησὶ γὰρ τοὺς κατασκόπους ἐλθεῖν εἰς Χεβρών,
ἐκεῖ δ' εἶναι Ἀχειμὰν καὶ Σεσεὶν καὶ Θαλαμείν,
γενεὰς Ἐνάχ· εἶτ' ἐπιφέρει· "καὶ Χεβρὼν ἑπτὰ
ἔτεσιν ᾠκοδομήθη πρὸ τοῦ Τάνιν Αἰγύπτου"
(Num. xiii. 22). φυσικώτατον <τὸ> τὰς ὁμω-
νυμίας εἴδεσι διαστέλλεσθαι. Χεβρὼν <γὰρ> ἑρ-
μηνεύεται συζυγή· διssὸν δὲ τοῦτο, ψυχῆς ἢ
σώματι συνεζευγμένης ἢ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἡρμοσμένης.
61 ἡ μὲν οὖν σωματικαῖς συζυγίαις ὑποβάλλουσα
αὑτὴν οἰκήτορας ἔχει τοὺς λεχθέντας· ἑρμηνεύεται
δὲ ὁ μὲν Ἀχειμὰν ἀδελφός μου, ὁ δὲ Σεσεὶν ἐκτός
μου, ὁ δὲ Θαλαμεὶν κρεμάμενός τις· ἀνάγκη γὰρ
ψυχαῖς ταῖς φιλοσωμάτοις ἀδελφὸν μὲν νομίζεσθαι
τὸ σῶμα, τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς ἀγαθὰ διαφερόντως τετι-
μῆσθαι· ὅσαι δὲ τοῦτον διάκεινται τὸν τρόπον,
[237] ἀψύχων ἐκκρέμανται καὶ | καθάπερ οἱ ἀνασκολο-
πισθέντες ἄχρι θανάτου φθαρταῖς ὕλαις προσήλων-
62 ται. ἡ δὲ τῷ καλῷ συνεζευγμένη διαφερόντων
ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἔλαχεν οἰκητόρων, οὓς τὸ διπλοῦν
σπήλαιον (Gen. xxiii. 9) ζυγάδην κεχώρηκεν,
Ἀβραὰμ Σάρραν, Ἰσαὰκ Ῥεβέκκαν, Λείαν Ἰακώβ,
ἀρετὰς καὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας. ἡ Χεβρὼν αὕτη, μνήμας

[a] See App. p. 498. [b] See App. pp. 498, 499.

deep darkness on all things and prevents anything from being visible. XVII. This "Heap"[a] is called to witness by Jacob, the man of earnest effort, in his controversy with Laban (Gen. xxxi. 46 f.). This conveys the deep truth that the mind is for each man the witness of his secret purposes, and the conscience an impartial scrutineer unequalled in veracity. [But the city of Witness][b] was built before these cities. For we are told that the spies came to Hebron, and that Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai, the children of Anak, were there; then it is added: "and Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt" (Numb. xiii. 22). It is a thoroughly philosophical proceeding to show how one and the same name has different shades of meaning. "Hebron," for instance, means "union," but union may be of two kinds, the soul being either made the body's yokefellow, or being brought into fellowship with virtue. The soul, then, that submits to bodily couplings has as its inhabitants those mentioned just now. "Ahiman" means "my brother"; "Sheshai" "outside me"; "Talmai" "one hanging": for it is a necessity to souls that love the body that the body should be looked upon as a brother, and that external good things should be valued pre-eminently: and all souls in this condition depend on and hang from lifeless things, for, like men crucified and nailed to a tree, they are affixed to perishable materials till they die. But the soul wedded to goodness obtained inhabitants excelling in the virtues, whom the double cave[c] (Gen. xxiii. 9) received in pairs, Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebecca, Leah and Jacob, these being virtues and their possessors. This Hebron, a treasure-house

[c] So the Greek renders "Machpelah."

ἐπιστήμης <καὶ> σοφίας θησαυροφυλακοῦσα, προ-
τέρα καὶ Τάνεως καὶ πάσης ἐστὶν Αἰγύπτου.
πρεσβυτέραν γὰρ ἡ φύσις ψυχὴν μὲν σώματος,
Αἰγύπτου, ἀρετὴν δὲ κακίας, Τάνεως—ἐντολὴ γὰρ
ἀποκρίσεως[1] ἑρμηνεύεται Τάνις—εἰργάζετο, τὸ πρε-
σβύτερον ἀξιώματι μᾶλλον ἢ χρόνου μήκει δοκιμά-
63 σασα. XVIII. παρὸ καὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ νεώτερον ὄντα
χρόνῳ πρωτόγονον υἱὸν (Exod. iv. 22) ἀξιώματι
καλεῖ, διασυνιστὰς ὅτι <ὁ> τὸν θεὸν ὁρῶν, ἀρχε-
γονώτατον ὄν, τετίμηται, τοῦ ἀγενήτου γέννημα
πρώτιστον, ἐκ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς θνητοῖς μισουμένης
ἀρετῆς ἀποκυηθέν, ᾧ [ὁ] νόμος ἐστὶν ὡς πρε-
σβυτάτῳ διπλᾶ δίδοσθαι τὰ πρεσβεῖα (Deut. xxi.
64 17). διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ ἑβδόμη τάξει μὲν ἐπι-
γέννημά ἐστιν ἑξάδος, δυνάμει δὲ πρεσβυτάτη παντὸς
ἀριθμοῦ, μηδὲν διαφέρουσα μονάδος. δηλώσει δὲ
καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ τῆς κοσμοποιίας ἐπιλόγῳ φάσκων·
"καὶ κατέπαυσεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ
ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ ὧν ἐποίησε· καὶ
εὐλόγησεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἑβδόμην καὶ
ἡγίασεν αὐτήν, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῇ κατέπαυσεν ἀπὸ
πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ ὧν ἤρξατο ὁ θεὸς
65 ποιῆσαι" (Gen. ii. 2, 3). εἶτ' ἐπιλέγει· "αὕτη
ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὅτε ἐγένετο,
ᾗ ἡμέρᾳ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν
γῆν" (Gen. ii. 4). τῇ δὲ πρώτῃ ταῦτα γέγονεν,
ὥστε τὴν ἑβδόμην εἰς μονάδα τὴν πρώτην καὶ
ἀρχὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀναφέρεσθαι. ταῦτ' ἐμηκύναμεν
ὑπὲρ τοῦ δεῖξαι τηλαυγέστερον τὴν δόξαν, ἣν ὁ

[1] Wendland suggests ταπεινώσεως for ἀποκρίσεως, from the *Tanis mandans humile* and *Tanis mandatum humile* of the Onomastica.

guarding personal monuments of knowledge and wisdom, is earlier than Zoan and all Egypt. For nature wrought soul elder than body (or Egypt), and virtue elder than vice (or Zoan); for "Zoan" means "Command of evacuation"[a]; and nature determines precedence not by length of time but by worth. XVIII. Accordingly he calls Israel, though younger in age, his "firstborn" son in dignity (Exod. iv. 22), making it evident that he who sees God, the original Cause of being, is the recipient of honour, as earliest offspring of the Uncreated One, conceived by Virtue the object of the hatred of mortals, and as he to whom there is a law that a double portion, the right of the first-born, should be given as being the eldest (Deut. xxi. 17). For this reason also the seventh day, although in order it is the number born after 6, yet in value takes precedence of every number, in nothing differing from 1. This will be made clear by the lawgiver himself, who in his epilogue to the narrative of the creation says: "And God rested on the seventh day from all His works which He had made; and God blessed the seventh day and hallowed it, because in it God rested from all his works which God had begun to make" (Gen. ii. 2 f.). After this he adds: "This is the book of the creation of heaven and earth, when it was created, in the day in which God made the heaven and the earth" (Gen. ii. 4). Now these things were created on the first day, so that the seventh day is referred back to 1, the first and starting-point of all. I have written thus fully with the object of showing the more clearly the opinion which Cain

[a] See App. p. 499.

Κάιν ὥσπερ τινὰ πόλιν οἴεται δεῖν κατασκευά-
ζειν.
66 XIX. Υἱὸς δὲ τοῦ Ἐνὼχ λέγεται Γαϊδάδ (Gen.
iv. 18), ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται ποίμνιον, σφόδρα ἀκο-
λούθως· τὸν γὰρ τῷ νῷ χαριζόμενον τὰ πάντα τῷ
μηδὲ τὴν αὑτοῦ φύσιν ἥτις ἐστὶ καταλαβεῖν δυνα-
μένῳ γεννᾶν ἀλόγους ἥρμοττε δυνάμεις, ἀγειρο-
μένας εἰς ποίμνιον· οὐ γὰρ λογικῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸ
67 δόγμα. ποίμνη δὲ πᾶσα τὸν ἐπιστάντα οὐκ
ἔχουσα ποιμένα μεγάλαις ἐξ ἀνάγκης κακοπραγίαις
[238] | χρῆται, ἅτ' οὐ δυναμένη δι' ἑαυτῆς ἀπωθεῖσθαι
μὲν τὰ βλάπτοντα, αἱρεῖσθαι δὲ τὰ ὠφελήσοντα.
παρὸ καὶ Μωυσῆς εὐχόμενός φησιν· "ἐπι-
σκεψάσθω κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης
σαρκὸς ἄνθρωπον ἐπὶ τῆς συναγωγῆς ταύτης, ὅστις
ἐξελεύσεται πρὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν καὶ ὅστις εἰσ-
ελεύσεται, καὶ ὅστις ἐξάξει αὐτοὺς καὶ ὅστις
εἰσάξει, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ἡ συναγωγὴ κυρίου ὡσεὶ
πρόβατα οἷς οὐκ ἔστι ποιμήν" (Num. xxvii. 16,
68 17). ὅταν γὰρ ὁ προστάτης ἢ [ὁ] ἐπίτροπος ἢ
πατὴρ ἢ ὅ τι φίλον καλεῖν τοῦ συγκρίματος ἡμῶν,
ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος, οἴχηται καταλιπὼν τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν
ποίμνιον, ἀτημέλητον ἐαθὲν διόλλυται μὲν αὐτό,
μεγάλη δὲ τῷ δεσπότῃ ζημία γίνεται· τὸ δ'
ἄλογον καὶ ἀπροστασίαστον θρέμμα χηρεῦσαν
ἀγελάρχου τοῦ νουθετήσοντός τε καὶ παιδεύσοντος
μακρὰν λογικῆς καὶ ἀθανάτου ζωῆς ἀπῴκισται.
69 XX. Διὸ τοῦ Γαϊδὰδ υἱὸς εἶναι λέγεται Μαιήλ
(Gen. iv. 18), οὗ τὸ ὄνομα μεταληφθέν ἐστιν ἀπὸ
ζωῆς θεοῦ. ἐπεὶ γὰρ τὸ ποίμνιον ἄλογον, ὁ δὲ
θεὸς πηγὴ λόγου, ἀνάγκη τὸν ἀλόγως βιοῦντα
τῆς θεοῦ ζωῆς ἀπεσχοινίσθαι. τὸ μὲν οὖν κατὰ

deems it necessary to set up as though he were building a city.

XIX. The son of Enoch is named Gaidad (Gen. iv. 18), which means "a flock." Such a name follows naturally upon his father's name. For it was fitting that the man who deems himself beholden to mind, which is incapable of comprehending its own nature, should beget irrational faculties, collected into a flock; for men endowed with reason do not profess that creed. Now every flock that has no shepherd over it necessarily meets with great disasters, owing to its inability by itself to keep hurtful things away and to choose things that will be good for it. Accordingly Moses says in his Prayer "Let the Lord, the God of the spirits and of all flesh, appoint a man over this congregation, which shall go out before their face and which shall come in, and which shall lead them out and which shall lead them in, and the congregation of the Lord shall not be as sheep that have no shepherd" (Numb. xxvii. 16 f.). For when the protector, or governor, or father, or whatever we like to call him, of our complex being, namely right reason, has gone off leaving to itself the flock within us, the flock itself being left unheeded perishes, and great loss is entailed upon its owner, while the irrational and unprotected creature, bereft of a guardian of the herd to admonish and discipline it, finds itself banished to a great distance from rational and immortal life. XX. This is why Gaidad is said to have a son Maiel (Gen. iv. 18), whose name translated is "away from the life of God." For since the flock is without reason, and God is the Fountain of reason, it follows that he that lives an irrational life has been cut off from the life of God. Now Moses

*θεὸν ζῆν ἐν τῷ ἀγαπᾶν αὐτὸν ὁρίζεται Μωυσῆς·
λέγει γὰρ ὅτι ἡ ζωή σου τὸ ἀγαπᾶν τὸν ὄντα*
70 (Deut. xxx. 19, 20). *τοῦ δ' ἐναντίου βίου παρά-
δειγμα τίθεται τὸν ἐπιτυχόντα τοῦ κλήρου τράγον·
"στήσει γὰρ αὐτὸν" φησί "ζῶντα ἐναντίον
κυρίου τοῦ ἐξιλάσασθαι ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, ὥστε ἐξ-
αποστεῖλαι αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀποπομπήν"* (Lev.
71 xvi. 10), *ἄγαν ἐξητασμένως· ὡς γὰρ ἡδονῶν ἀπ-
εχομένους πρεσβύτας εὖ φρονῶν οὐκ ἄν τις ἀπο-
δέξαιτο, ὅτι τὸ γῆρας, ἡ μακρὰ καὶ ἀνίατος νόσος,
τοὺς τῶν ὀρέξεων ἐχάλασέ τε καὶ ἔλυσε τόνους,
ἐπαίνου δ' ἂν ἀξιώσειε τοὺς ἡβῶντας, ὅτι φλε-
γούσης τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ὑπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν
ἀκμῆς ὅμως σβεστηρίων ὀργάνων τῶν κατὰ
παιδείαν λόγων εὐπορήσαντες τὸν πολὺν φλογμὸν
ἅμα καὶ βρασμὸν τῶν παθῶν ἐπεκούφισαν, οὕτως
οἷς μὲν οὐδὲν νόσημα, οἷα ἐκ πονηρᾶς φιλεῖ
διαίτης ἐπανίστασθαι, ἐλάττων ἔπαινος ἕπεται,
ὅτι κατὰ φύσεως εὐμοιρίαν ἀπροαιρέτως ἐχρή-
σαντο εὐτυχίᾳ, οἷς δ' ἐξεγερθὲν ἀντιστατεῖ, μείζων,
εἰ δὴ διερεισάμενοι καθελεῖν αὐτὸ βουληθεῖέν τε*
72 *καὶ δυνηθεῖεν. τὰ γὰρ ἡδονῆς ὁλκοῦ δελέατα
αὐστηρῷ τόνῳ καθελεῖν ἰσχῦσαι τὸν ἐφ' ἑκουσίοις
ἔχει κατορθώμασιν ἔπαινον. ἐὰν οὖν τῶν τὸν
εὐδαίμονα κλῆρον ἀπολαχόντων*[1] *μηδέν, ζῇ δὲ ἐν
ἡμῖν τὰ ἀποπομπαῖα νοσήματα καὶ ἀρρωστήματα,*
[239] | *σπουδάζωμεν αὐτὰ ἀνατρέπειν καὶ καταβάλλειν·*

[1] *τῶν τὸν εὐδαίμονα κλῆρον ἀπολαχόντων* is a conjectural reading (Tr.).

[a] See App. p. 499.
[b] The reference is to the goat on which the lot fell "for the Lord."

defines living in accordance with God as consisting in loving Him, for he says "thy life is to love Him that is" (Deut. xxx. 19 f.). As an example of the opposite life he gives the goat on which the lot fell, for he says, "he shall set him alive [a] before the Lord, to make atonement over him, so as to send him forth for dismissal afar" (Lev. xvi. 10). A well considered direction. No one of sound sense would applaud old men for abstaining from indulgences, for old age, that long and incurable illness, renders the vehemence of their cravings far less intense. He would deem praiseworthy young men in their prime, because when appetite was a-flame within them owing to the keenness that belongs to their time of life, they nevertheless fully availed themselves of engines for quenching these fires in the shape of the lessons supplied by a sound education, and so checked the raging flame and assuaged the boiling heat of the passions. On these principles fainter praise is accorded to those who have no disease, such as commonly arises from an evil mode of life, because nature bestowed on them an easy lot, and without any effort of will they simply enjoyed good fortune, whereas those who have developed such a disease and against whom it is doing battle, are more loudly praised, if they set themselves stoutly to combat it and show both the will and the power to master it. For the strength put forth in overcoming by a severe effort the seductive baits of pleasure receives the praise which is accorded to moral victories, won by will-power. If, then, not one of the qualities that have won the happy lot [b] (live in us), but there be alive in us noxious diseases and sicknesses, banes to be rid of, let us be in earnest to overthrow and cast

τὸ γὰρ ἐξιλάσασθαι ἐπ' αὐτῶν τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὁμολογῆσαι ὅτι ἔχοντες αὐτὰ ἐν ψυχῇ ζῶντα καὶ περιόντα οὐκ ἐνδίδομεν, ἀλλ' ἀντιβάντες ἅπασι καρτερῶς ἀπομαχόμεθα, μέχρις ἂν παντελῶς ἀπο-
73 διοπομπησώμεθα. XXI. τί δ' ἕπεται τῷ μὴ κατὰ βούλημα τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ζῶντι ἢ θάνατος ὁ ψυχῆς; οὗτος δὲ ὀνομάζεται Μαθουσάλα, ὃς ἑρμηνευθεὶς ἦν ἀποστολὴ θανάτου. διὸ τοῦ Μαιὴλ υἱός ἐστι (Gen. iv. 18), τοῦ τὸν ἴδιον βίον ἀπολελοιπότος, ᾧ τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν ἐπιπέμπεται, ψυχῆς θάνατος, <ὃς>[1] ἡ κατὰ πάθος ἄλογόν ἐστιν αὐτῆς μεταβολή.
74 τοῦτο μέντοι τὸ πάθος ὅταν κυοφορήσῃ, μετὰ χαλεπῶν ὠδίνων νοσήματα καὶ ἀρρωστήματα ἔτεκεν ἀνίατα, ὑφ' ὧν ἰλυσπωμένη ταπεινοῦται καὶ κάμπτεται· πιέζει γὰρ αὐτὴν ἕκαστον ἐπιφέρον ἄχθος ἀνήνυτον, ὡς μηδ' ἀνακῦψαι δύνασθαι. τοῦθ' ἅπαν ὠνόμασται Λάμεχ· ἑρμηνείαν γὰρ ἔχει ταπείνωσιν, ἵν' εἰκότως τοῦ Μαθουσάλα γένηται ὁ Λάμεχ υἱός (Gen. iv. 18), πάθος τοῦ περὶ ψυχὴν θανάτου ταπεινὸν καὶ ὑπεῖκον, ἀλόγου ὁρμῆς ἔκγονον ἀρρώστημα.
75 XXII. "Ἔλαβε δ' ἑαυτῷ Λάμεχ δύο γυναῖκας· ὄνομα τῇ μιᾷ Ἀδά, καὶ ὄνομα τῇ δευτέρᾳ Σελλά" (Gen. iv. 19). πᾶν ὅ τι ἂν ἑαυτῷ λαμβάνῃ φαῦλος, πάντως ἐστὶν ἐπίληπτον, ἅτε γνώμῃ δυσκαθάρτῳ μιαινόμενον· καὶ γὰρ ἔμπαλιν αἱ τῶν σπουδαίων ἑκούσιοι πράξεις ἐπαινεταὶ πᾶσαι. διὸ νῦν μὲν ὁ Λάμεχ ἑαυτῷ γυναῖκας αἱρούμενος κακὰ μέγιστα αἱρεῖται, αὖθις <δ'> Ἀβραάμ, Ἰακώβ, Ἀαρὼν ἑαυτοῖς λαμβάνοντες ἀγαθοῖς οἰκείοις συνέρχονται.

[1] ὃς, which Mangey conjectured for ἡ, is inserted before it.

them down ; for this is " to make atonement over them," to acknowledge, that though we have them still living in our soul we refuse to give in, but facing them all we persist in repelling them with vigour, until we shall have fully ensured their complete removal. XXI. What issue awaits him who does not live according to the will of God, save death of the soul ? And to this is given the name Methuselah, which means (as we saw) " a dispatch of death." Wherefore he is son of Mahujael (Gen. iv. 18), of the man who relinquished his own life, to whom dying is sent, yea soul-death, which is the change of soul under the impetus of irrational passion. When the soul has conceived this passion, it brings forth with sore travail-pangs incurable sicknesses and debilities, and by the contortion brought on by these it is bowed down and brought low ; for each one of them lays on it an intolerable burden, so that it is unable even to look up. To all this the name " Lamech " has been given, which means " humiliation," that Lamech may prove himself son of Methuselah (Gen. iv. 18), with entire fitness, a low and cringing passion being offspring of the soul's death, a sore debility child of irrational impulse.

XXII. " And Lamech took to himself two wives, the name of the one was Ada, the name of the second Sella " (Gen. iv. 19). All that a worthless man takes to himself is in every case reprehensible, polluted as it is by an intent wellnigh past cleansing, while on the other hand the voluntary actions of good men are all praiseworthy. So in this instance Lamech in choosing wives for himself, chooses very great evils, while Abraham on the other hand and Jacob and Aaron in taking wives for themselves become associ-

76 λέγει <γὰρ> ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ οὕτως· "καὶ
ἔλαβον Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ναχὼρ ἑαυτοῖς γυναῖκας·
ὄνομα τῇ γυναικὶ Ἀβραὰμ Σάρρα" (Gen. xi.
29), ἐπὶ <δὲ> τοῦ Ἰακώβ· "ἀναστὰς ἀπόδραθι
εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν εἰς τὸν οἶκον Βαθουὴλ
πατρὸς τῆς μητρός σου, καὶ λάβε σεαυτῷ ἐκεῖθεν
γυναῖκα ἐκ τῶν θυγατέρων Λάβαν ἀδελφοῦ τῆς
μητρός σου" (Gen. xxviii. 2), ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἀαρών·
"ἔλαβε δὲ Ἀαρὼν τὴν Ἐλισάβετ, θυγατέρα
Ἀμιναδάμ, ἀδελφὴν Ναασσών, ἑαυτῷ γυναῖκα"
77 (Exod. vi. 23). Ἰσαὰκ δὲ καὶ Μωυσῆς λαμ-
βάνουσι μέν, οὐ δι' ἑαυτῶν δὲ λαμβάνουσιν, ἀλλ'
ὁ μὲν Ἰσαὰκ ὅτε εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τῆς
μητρὸς λαβεῖν λέγεται (Gen. xxiv. 67), Μωυσῇ
δὲ ὁ ἄνθρωπος παρ' ᾧ κατῴκησε τὴν θυγατέρα
Σεπφώραν ἐκδίδοται (Exod. ii. 21).

78 XXIII. Τούτων δ' οὐ παρέργως αἱ διαφοραὶ
[240] παρὰ τῷ νομοθέτῃ | μεμήνυνται. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ
ἀσκηταῖς προκόπτουσι καὶ βελτιουμένοις ἡ ἑκού-
σιος αἵρεσις τἀγαθοῦ μαρτυρεῖται, ἵνα μηδ' ὁ
πόνος ἀστεφάνωτος ἀφεθῇ· τοῖς δ' αὐτοδιδάκτου
καὶ αὐτομαθοῦς σοφίας ἀξιωθεῖσιν ἕπεται τὸ μὴ
δι' ἑαυτῶν παρὰ θεοῦ δ' ἐγγυᾶσθαι λόγον καὶ
79 λαμβάνειν τὴν σοφῶν σύμβιον ἐπιστήμην. ὁ δὲ
τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀπορριφείς, ὁ ταπεινὸς καὶ χαμαί-
ζηλος Λάμεχ, προτέραν Ἀδὰ ἄγεται γυναῖκα,
ἥτις ἑρμηνεύεται μαρτυρία, προξενήσας ἑαυτῷ
αὐτὸς τὸν γάμον· οἴεται γὰρ τὴν κατὰ τὰς εὐ-
θίκτους ἐπιβολὰς λείαν κίνησιν καὶ διέξοδον τοῦ
νοῦ, μηδενὸς [τῶν] εἰς εὐμαρῆ κατάληψιν κωλυσι-

[a] See App. p. 499.

ated with good things appropriate to them. For we read in the case of Abraham as follows : " and Abram and Nahor took to themselves wives ; and the name of Abram's wife was Sarai " (Gen. xi. 29) and in the case of Jacob " arise and escape to Mesopotamia, to the family of Bethuel thy mother's father, and take to thyself from thence a wife from the daughters of Laban thy mother's brother (Gen. xxviii. 2) ; and in the case of Aaron, " and Aaron took to himself Elizabeth, daughter of Aminadab, sister of Naasson, as his wife " (Exod. vi. 23). Isaac and Moses take wives indeed, but they do not take them purely of themselves, but Isaac is said to have taken one when he entered into his mother's dwelling (Gen. xxiv. 67), and to Moses the man with whom he abode gives in marriage his daughter Zipporah (Exod. ii. 21).

XXIII. Not without purpose have the differences between these cases been recorded in the lawgiver's pages. For to those who welcome training, who make progress, and improve, witness is borne of their deliberate choice of the good, that their very endeavour may not be left unrewarded. But the fitting lot of those who have been held worthy of a wisdom that needs no other teaching and no other learning is, apart from any agency of their own, to accept from God's hands Reason as their plighted spouse, and to receive Knowledge, which is partner in the life of the wise. But he that has been cast away from things human, the low and grovelling Lamech, marries as his first wife Ada,[a] which means " Witness." He has arranged the marriage for himself, for he fancies that the prime good for a man is the smooth movement and passage of the mind along the line of well-aimed projects, with nothing to hinder its working towards

80 εργοῦντος, ἀγαθὸν εἶναι πρῶτον ἀνθρώπῳ. τί
γὰρ ἂν εἴη, φησί, κρεῖττον τοῦ τὰς ἐννοίας, τὰς
διανοήσεις, τὰς εἰκασίας, τοὺς στοχασμούς, συνόλως
τὰς βουλάς, τὸ λεγόμενον ἀρτίοις ποσὶ βαίνειν, ὡς
ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος ἀπταίστως προσέρχεσθαι, μαρτυρου-
μένης ἐν ἅπασι <τοῖς> λεχθεῖσι διανοίας; ἐγὼ δ',
εἰ μέν τις εὐθυβόλῳ καὶ εὐθίκτῳ γνώμῃ πρὸς
μόνα χρῆται τὰ καλά, τοῦτον εὐδαίμονα γράφω
διδασκάλῳ τῷ νόμῳ χρώμενος· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς
ἄνδρα ἐπιτυγχάνοντα εἶπε τὸν Ἰωσήφ, οὐκ ἐν
ἅπασιν, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς ὁ θεὸς τὸ εὐοδεῖν ἐχαρίζετο
(Gen. xxxix. 2)· δωρεαὶ δ' αἱ τοῦ θεοῦ καλαὶ
81 πᾶσαι. εἰ δέ τις τῷ τῆς φύσεως εὐστόχῳ καὶ
εὐτρόχῳ μὴ πρὸς τὰ ἀστεῖα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς
τὰ ἐναντία κέχρηται τὰ διάφορα ἐξαδιαφορῶν,
κακοδαιμονιζέσθω. ἐν γοῦν ἀρᾶς εἴδει λέγεται
κατὰ τὸν τῆς συγχύσεως τόπον, ὅτι "οὐκ ἐκλείψει
ἐξ αὐτῶν πάνθ' ὅσα ἂν ἐπιθῶνται ποιεῖν" (Gen.
xi. 6)· ὄντως γὰρ ἀνήκεστός ἐστι συμφορὰ ψυχῆς
82 εὐοδεῖν οἷς ἂν ἐπιθῆται, καὶ τὰ αἴσχιστα. ἐγὼ δ'
ἂν εὐξαίμην, εἴ ποτε διανοηθείην ἀδικεῖν, ἐπιλιπεῖν
τἀδικεῖν, καὶ εἴπερ ζῆν ἀνάνδρως, ἐπιλιπεῖν τὸ
ἀκολασταίνειν, καὶ εἰ θρασέως μέντοι καὶ πανούρ-
γως, ἔνδειαν θρασύτητος καὶ πανουργίας γενέσθαι
παντελῆ· εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῖς κλέπτειν ἢ μοιχεύειν ἢ
ἀνδροφονεῖν ἐγνωκόσιν οὐκ ἔστιν ἄμεινον ἐπιδεῖν
τούτων ἕκαστον ἐκλελοιπὸς καὶ διεφθαρμένον.
83 XXIV. Τὴν οὖν Ἀδὰ παραίτησαι, διάνοια, τὴν
μαρτυροῦσάν τε τοῖς φαύλοις καὶ μαρτυρουμένην

[a] Or "in every word spoken."
[b] See App. p. 499.

easy attainment. "For what," says he, "could be better than that one's ideas, purposes, conjectures, aims, in a word one's plans, should go, as the saying is, without a limp, so as to reach their goal without stumbling, understanding being evidenced in all the particulars mentioned [a]? Now, if a man brings a correct and unerring judgement to bear only on ends that are good, I for my part set this man down as happy. And in doing so I have the Law for my teacher, for the Law itself pronounced Joseph a successful man. It did not say "in all things" but in those in which God vouchsafed success (Gen. xxxix. 2); and God's gifts are all good. But if a man has used a natural aptness and readiness not only for good and worthy ends, but also for their opposites, treating as alike things widely different,[b] let him be deemed unhappy. Certainly the words in the Babel passage are of the nature of a curse, where we read "nothing shall be wanting to them, which they purpose to do" (Gen. xi. 6); for verily it is a desperate misfortune for the soul to succeed in all things which it attempts, although they be utterly base. I for my part would pray, that if ever I should have made up my mind to do a wrong, the wrongdoing might fail me, and if to live in a way unworthy of a man, the undisciplined life might fail me, and if with impudence and rascality, that there might be no impudence and rascality to be found. For assuredly 'tis better for those who have resolved to steal or commit adultery or murder to behold each of these purposes brought to failure and ruin.

XXIV. Therefore, O mind, have nothing to do with Ada, who bears witness to (the success of) worthless things, and is borne witness to (as helping) in the

[241] ἐν | ταῖς πρὸς ἕκαστα αὐτῶν ἐπιβολαῖς. εἰ δὲ
κοινωνὸν αὐτὴν ἀξιώσεις ἔχειν, μέγιστον ἀπο-
τέξεταί σοι κακόν, τὸν Ἰωβήλ (Gen. iv. 20), ὃς
ἑρμηνεύεται μεταλλοιῶν· εἰ γὰρ τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ
χαίρεις ὧν ἂν τύχῃ, στρέφειν καὶ ἀνακυκλεῖν
ἕκαστα βουλήσῃ, τοὺς παγέντας ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως
84 τοῖς πράγμασιν ὅρους μετατιθείς. σφόδρα δὲ καὶ
Μωυσῆς ἀχθόμενος τοῖς τοιούτοις καταρᾶται λέγων·
"ἐπικατάρατος ὁ μετατιθεὶς ὅρια τοῦ πλησίον"
(Deut. xxvii. 17). καλεῖ δὲ πλησίον καὶ ἐγγὺς
τἀγαθόν· οὐ γὰρ ἀναπτῆναι, φησίν, εἰς οὐρανὸν
οὐδὲ πέραν θαλάσσης ἀφικέσθαι δεῖ κατὰ ζήτησιν
τοῦ καλοῦ· ἐγγὺς γὰρ καὶ πλησίον ἵστασθαι
85 ἑκάστῳ. καὶ τριχῇ γε αὐτὸ διαιρεῖ φυσικώτατα·
"ἐν γὰρ τῷ στόματί σου" φησίν "ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν
τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσί" (Deut. xxx. 11-14),
τοῦτο δὴ ἐν λόγοις, ἐν βουλαῖς, ἐν πράξεσι· μέρη
γὰρ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ταῦτα, ἐξ ὧν πέφυκε πήγνυσθαι,
ὡς ἥ γε ἑνὸς ἔνδεια οὐκ ἀτελὲς μόνον ἀπ-
86 εργάζεται τὸ πᾶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνόλως ἀναιρεῖ. τί
γὰρ ὄφελος λέγειν μὲν τὰ βέλτιστα, διανοεῖσθαι
δὲ καὶ πράττειν τὰ αἴσχιστα; σοφιστῶν οὗτος ὁ
τρόπος· τοὺς γὰρ περὶ φρονήσεως καὶ καρτερίας
ἀπομηκύνοντες λόγους τὰ ὦτα καὶ τῶν σφόδρα
διψώντων ἀκοῆς ἀποκναίουσιν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς βουλαῖς
καὶ ταῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον πράξεσιν εὑρίσκονται
87 διαμαρτάνοντες. τί δ' ὄφελος ἃ μὲν χρὴ δια-
νοεῖσθαι, ἔργοις δὲ ἀτόποις καὶ λόγοις χρῆσθαι, διὰ
μὲν τῶν λόγων τοὺς ἀκούοντας, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἔργων
τοὺς ὑπομένοντας ζημιοῦντας; πράττειν γε μὴν
τἄριστα οὐ σὺν διανοίᾳ καὶ λόγῳ πάλιν ὑπαίτιον·

attempts to accomplish each of them. But if you shall think well to have her for a partner, she will bear to you a very great mischief, even Jobel (Gen. iv. 20), which signifies " one altering." For if you delight in the witness borne to (the goodness of) everything that may present itself, you will desire to twist everything and turn it round, shifting the boundaries fixed for things by nature. Moses, full of indignation at such people, pronounces a curse on them saying, " Cursed is he that shifteth his neighbour's boundaries " (Deut. xxvii. 17). What he describes as " near " and " hard by " like a neighbour is the thing that is good. For it is not necessary, he says, to fly up into heaven, nor to get beyond the sea in searching for what is good ; for that it stands hard by and is near to each man. And in a thoroughly philosophic way he makes a threefold division of it : saying " It is in thy mouth and in thy heart and in thine hand " (Deut. xxx. 11-14), that is, in words, in plans, in actions. For these are the parts of the good thing, and of these it is compacted, and the lack of but one not only renders it imperfect but absolutely destroys it. For what good is it to say the best things but to plan and carry out the most shameful things ? This is the way of the sophists, for as they spin out their discourses on sound sense and endurance they grate on the ears of those most thirsting to listen, but in the choices that they make and the actions of their lives we find them going very far wrong. And what is the good of having right intentions, and yet resorting to unfitting deeds and words, by the words inflicting loss on those who hear them, and by the deeds on those who are their victims ? Again, it is blameworthy to practise the things that are excellent without under-

88 τὸ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων τῆς ἀκουσίου μερίδος ὂν οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς ἐπαινετόν. εἰ δέ τινι ἐξεγένετο καθάπερ λύραν ἁρμόσασθαι τοὺς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ πάντας ἤχους καὶ συνῳδὸν ἀποφῆναι λόγον μὲν διανοίᾳ, διάνοιαν δὲ ἔργῳ, τέλειος καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εὐάρμοστος ὁ τοιοῦτος ἂν νομίζοιτο· ὥσθ' ὁ μετατιθεὶς ὅρους τοῦ καλοῦ δικαίως ἐπάρατος ἔστι τε καὶ λέγεται.

89 XXV. Τοὺς δ' ὅρους τούτους οὐχ ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς γένεσις ἔστησεν, ἀλλ' οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν καὶ παντὸς τοῦ γεώδους πρεσβύτεροι λόγοι καὶ θεῖοι· καθὰ καὶ ὁ νόμος δεδήλωκεν ἐπισκήπτων ἡμῶν ἑκάστῳ μὴ κιβδηλεύειν τὸ ἀρετῆς νόμισμα ἐν τούτοις· "οὐ μετακινήσεις ὅρια τοῦ πλησίον, ἃ ἔστησαν οἱ πατέρες σου" (Deut. xix. 14), καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις· "ἐπερώτησον τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ σοι, τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους σου καὶ ἐροῦσί σοι· ὅτε διεμέριζεν ὁ ὕψιστος ἔθνη, ὡς διέσπειρεν υἱοὺς Ἀδάμ, ἔστησεν ὅρια ἐθνῶν κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ· καὶ ἐγένετο μερὶς κυρίου λαὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰακώβ, σχοίνισμα κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ Ἰσραήλ" (Deut.

90 [242] xxxii. 7-9). | ἆρ' οὖν ἐὰν πύθωμαι τοῦ γεννήσαντος καὶ θρέψαντός με πατρὸς ἢ τῶν ἐκείνου μὲν ἡλικιωτῶν, ἐμοῦ δὲ πρεσβυτέρων, ᾗ διένειμεν ἔθνη ὁ θεὸς ἢ ἔσπειρεν ἢ ᾤκισεν, ἀποκρινοῦνταί μοι παγίως, ὥσπερ τῷ μερισμῷ παρηκολουθηκότες ἐκείνῳ; οὐ μὲν οὖν, ἀλλὰ φήσουσιν ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐφ' ἡλικίας παρὰ τῶν γονέων καὶ ἔτι

standing and explicit speech. For what is done apart from these comes under the head of involuntary action, and in no way whatever merits praise. But if a man succeeded, as if handling a lyre, in bringing all the notes of the thing that is good into tune, bringing speech into harmony with intent, and intent with deed, such an one would be considered perfect and of a truly harmonious character. Thus the man who removes the boundaries of the good and beautiful both is accursed and is pronounced to be so with justice.

XXV. These boundaries were fixed not by the creation to which we belong, but on principles which are divine and are older than we and all that belongs to earth. This has been made clear by the Law, where it solemnly enjoins upon each one of us not to adulterate the coinage of virtue, using these words: "thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's boundaries, which thy fathers set up" (Deut. xix. 14), and again in other words: "Ask thy father and he will show thee; thine elders and they will tell thee. When the Most High distributed nations, when He dispersed the sons of Adam, He set boundaries of nations according to the number of the angels of God, and Jacob His people became the Lord's portion, Israel became the lot of His inheritance" (Deut. xxxii. 7-9). If, then, I inquire of the father who begat me and brought me up, or of those of the same age with him but my elders, in what way God distributed or dispersed or settled the nations, will they answer me with steady certainty, as though they had followed that process of distribution step by step? Assuredly not. They will say "We too when we were young made diligent inquiry from our parents

ἀρχαιοτέρων φιλοπευστήσαντες οὐδὲν σαφὲς ἀνεμάθομεν· οὐδὲν γὰρ εἶχον ὅ τι διδάξουσιν ἡμᾶς καὶ αὐτοὶ πάλιν ἄλλων ἀξιώσαντες γενέσθαι ἐπιστημόνων ἀνεπιστήμονες γνώριμοι.

91 XXVI. Μήποτ' οὖν πατέρα μὲν τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον καλεῖ, πρεσβυτέρους δὲ τοὺς ἑταίρους αὐτοῦ καὶ φίλους. οὗτοι τῆς ἀρετῆς τοὺς ὅρους ἐπήξαντο πρῶτοι, πρὸς οὓς ἄξιον φοιτῆσαι μαθήσεως καὶ διδασκαλίας ἕνεκα τῶν ἀναγκαίων. τὰ δ' ἀναγκαῖα ταῦτα· ὁπότε ὁ θεὸς διένεμε καὶ διετείχιζε τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἔθνη τὰ ὁμόφωνα τῶν ἀλλογλώττων διιστὰς καὶ διοικίζων, τούς τε γῆς παῖδας ἔσπειρε καὶ ἐξετόξευσεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, οὓς Ἀδὰμ ὠνόμασεν υἱούς, τότε τῶν ἀρετῆς ἐκγόνων τοὺς ὅρους ἔστησεν ἰσαρίθμους ἀγγέλοις· ὅσοι γὰρ θεοῦ λόγοι, τοσαῦτα ἀρετῆς
92 ἔθνη τε καὶ εἴδη. τίνες <δ'> αἱ τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ λήξεις καὶ τίς ἡ τοῦ παντάρχου καὶ ἡγεμόνος ἀποκεκληρωμένη μοῖρα; τῶν μὲν οὖν ὑπηρετῶν αἱ ἐν εἴδει ἀρεταί, τοῦ δὲ ἡγεμόνος τὸ ἐπίλεκτον γένος Ἰσραήλ· ὁ γὰρ ὁρῶν τὸν θεὸν ὑπὸ ἐκπρεπεστάτου κάλλους ἀγόμενος τῷ ὁρωμένῳ
93 προσκεκλήρωταί τε καὶ μεμέρισται. πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἐπιπληκτέος Ἰωβήλ, ὃς ἑλλάδι γλώττῃ μεταλλοιῶν καλεῖται τὰς φύσεις τῶν πραγμάτων ἢ μεταποιῶν; τὰ γὰρ φρονήσεως καὶ καρτερίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς κάλλη θεοειδέστατα τύποις ἐναντίοις ἀφροσύνης, [καὶ] ἀκρασίας, ἀδικίας, ἁπάσης κακίας μετεχάραττεν ἀφανί-

and persons still older than they, and we ascertained nothing definite; for they had nothing to teach us, seeing that they in their time had applied to others, whom they regarded as knowing, to enlighten their ignorance."

XXVI. Probably, then, the lawgiver gives the title of father of our soul to right reason, and of elders to the associates and friends of right reason. These were the first to fix the boundaries of virtue. To the school of these it is advisable to go, to learn by their teaching the essential matters. The essential matters are these. When God divided and partitioned off the nations of the soul, separating those of one common speech from those of another tongue, and causing them to dwell apart; when He dispersed and put away from Himself the children of earth, whom the lawgiver calls "sons of Adam," then did He fix the boundaries of the offspring of virtue corresponding to the number of the angels; for there are as many forms or "nations" of virtue as there are words of God. But what are the portions of His angels, and what is the allotted share of the All-sovereign Ruler? The particular virtues belong to the servants, to the Ruler the chosen race of Israel. For he that sees God, drawn to Him by surpassing beauty, has been allotted as His portion to Him Whom he sees. How, then, should Jobel escape rebuke, whose name when turned into Greek is "altering" the natures of things or making them other than they are? For he changed the forms of wisdom and endurance and justice and virtue in general, forms of Godlike beauty, substituting contrary shapes of folly, intemperance, injustice, and all wickedness, obliterating the shapes that had been impressed

94 ζων τὰ ἐνσημανθέντα πρότερον. XXVII. αἰεὶ γὰρ ἐπιτεθειμέναι δεύτεραι σφραγῖδες τοὺς τῶν προτέρων τύπους διαφθείρουσιν. ὁ δέ γε νόμος τοσοῦτον δεῖ κακὰ ἀγαθῶν ἐπιτρέπειν ἀντικαταλλάττεσθαι, ὥστ' οὐδὲ καλὰ πονηρῶν ἐᾷ, πονηρὰ οὐ τὰ φαῦλα παραλαμβανων —ἐπεὶ τοῦτό γε εὔηθες [243] μὴ προΐεσθαι τὰ κακὰ ὑπὲρ κτήσεως τῶν | ἀμεινόνων—ἀλλὰ τὰ καματηρὰ καὶ ἐπίπονα, ἅπερ Ἀττικοὶ τὴν πρώτην ὀξυτονοῦντες συλλαβὴν καλοῦσι πόνηρα.

95 Ἔστι δὲ τὸ διάταγμα τοιοῦτο· "πᾶν ὃ ἐὰν ἔλθῃ ἐν τῷ ἀριθμῷ ὑπὸ τὴν ῥάβδον, τὸ δέκατον ἅγιον τῷ κυρίῳ. οὐκ ἀλλάξεις καλὸν πονηρῷ· ἐὰν δε ἀλλάξῃς, αὐτό τε καὶ τὸ ἄλλαγμα ἔσται ἅγια" (Lev. xxvii. 32, 33). καίτοι πῶς τό γε πονηρὸν γένοιτ' ἂν ἅγιον; ἀλλ', ὅπερ ἔφην, τὸ ἐπίπονον ἀλλ' οὐ φαῦλον παρείληπται, ὥστε τοιοῦτον εἶναι τὸ δηλούμενον· τέλειον μὲν ἀγαθόν ἐστι τὸ καλόν, ἀτελὲς δὲ ὠφέλιμον πόνος. ἐὰν οὖν τὸ παντελὲς κτήσῃ, μηκέτι ζήτει τὸ ἐνδέον· εἰ δὲ προσυπερβάλλων ἐθελήσεις ἔτι πονεῖν, ἴσθ' ὅτι δόξεις μὲν ἑνὸς ἓν ἀντικαταλλάττεσθαι, κτήσῃ δὲ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀμφότερα· ἑκάτερον γὰρ εἰ καὶ ἰσότιμον, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ πάντως ἅγιόν ἐστιν.

96 XXVIII. Ἅγιον δὲ πρᾶγμα δοκιμάζεται διὰ τριῶν μαρτύρων, ἀριθμοῦ μέσου, παιδείας, ἀριθμοῦ τελείου. διὸ λέγεται· "πᾶν ὃ ἐὰν ἔλθῃ ἐν τῷ ἀριθμῷ ὑπὸ τὴν ῥάβδον, τὸ δέκατον ἅγιον." τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπαξιωθὲν ἀριθμοῦ βέβηλον, οὐχ ἅγιον,

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[a] See App. pp. 499, 500.
[b] The next words explain "absolutely holy."

before. XXVII. For it is always the case that the application of a second seal destroys the impressions made by the first. The Law is so far from allowing what is evil to be substituted for what is good, that it does not even allow that which is beautiful to take the place of what is troublesome. By "troublesome" it does not mean worthless, for it would be folly not to give up bad things for the sake of getting better ones. It means all that involves toil and trouble, for which Attic writers provide a name by changing the accent of their word for "wicked."

The ordinance is this [a]: "Everything that cometh under the rod in the count, the tenth shall be holy to the Lord. Thou shalt not exchange a good with a bad one: and if thou shalt have changed it both it and that for which it is changed shall be holy" (Lev. xxvii. 32 f.). And yet how could the bad one be holy? Nay, as I have just said, what is troublesome, not what is worthless, is meant, so that the thing signified is to this effect; while what is beautiful is a perfect good, toil is an imperfect boon. If then thou shalt win that which is complete, leave off seeking that which is defective. But if in thy excessive zeal thou shalt choose to go on toiling, know this that thou shalt seem to be exchanging one for another, but that in reality thou shalt acquire both; for each by itself, though of no less value, is not the absolutely holy thing.[b]

XXVIII. Now a thing is proved holy by three lines of evidence—ordinary number, discipline, perfect number. Wherefore it is said "everything that cometh in the count under the rod, the tenth is holy." For that which is not deemed worthy of counting is profane, not holy, but that which is counted, being

τὸ δὲ καταριθμηθὲν ἅτε ἐγκεκριμένον ἤδη δόκιμον.
τὸν γοῦν ὑπὸ Ἰωσὴφ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ συναχθέντα
σῖτόν φησιν ὁ νόμος μὴ δυνηθῆναι ἀριθμηθῆναι,
καὶ ἐπιφέρει· "οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀριθμός" (Gen. xli.
49), ἐπειδὴ τὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων
παθῶν θρεπτικὰ οὐκ ἄξια συνόλως ἀριθμεῖσθαι.
97 ἡ δὲ ῥάβδος παιδείας σύμβολον· ἄνευ γὰρ τοῦ
δυσωπηθῆναι καὶ περὶ ἐνίων ἐπιπληχθῆναι νου-
θεσίαν ἐνδέξασθαι καὶ σωφρονισμὸν ἀμήχανον.
δεκὰς δὲ τῆς κατὰ προκοπὴν τελειώσεως πίστις,
ἀφ᾽ ἧς ὅσιον ἀπάρχεσθαι τῷ τάξαντι, τῷ παιδεύ-
98 σαντι, τῷ τὰ ἐλπισθέντα τελεσφορήσαντι. XXIX.
ταῦτα ἀποχρώντως λελέχθω περὶ τοῦ μεταλ-
λοιοῦντος καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον νόμισμα κιβδηλεύοντος,
ὃν καὶ πατέρα ὀνομάζει κατοικούντων ἐν σκηναῖς
κτηνοτρόφων (Gen. iv. 20). κτήνη μὲν οὖν εἰσιν
αἱ ἄλογοι αἰσθήσεις, κτηνοτρόφοι δ᾽ οἱ φιλήδονοι
καὶ φιλοπαθεῖς τροφὰς παρέχοντες αὐταῖς τὰ ἐκτὸς
αἰσθητά, μακρὰν διεστηκότες ποιμένων. οἱ μὲν
γὰρ ἀρχόντων τρόπον τὰ πλημμελῶς ζῶντα τῶν
θρεμμάτων κολάζουσιν, οἱ δ᾽ ἑστιατόρων τροφὰς
[244] ἀφθόνους | παρασκευάζοντες ἄδειαν ἁμαρτημάτων
παρέχουσιν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ εὐθὺς τὴν ἀπληστίας καὶ
99 κόρου θυγατέρα γεννᾶσθαι ὕβριν. πατὴρ οὖν ἐστιν
εἰκότως <ὁ> ἅπαντα μεταχαράττων καὶ μεταποιῶν
τὰ καλὰ τῶν τὸ αἰσθητὸν καὶ ἄψυχον ἅπαν ἐζη-
λωκότων· εἰ γὰρ τὰς ἀσωμάτους <καὶ> νοητὰς
φύσεις μετεδίωκε, τοὺς ὁρισθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν πρε-

[a] See App. p. 500.

included in the reckoning, is *ipso facto* approved. For instance, the Law says that the corn collected by Joseph in Egypt could not be counted, and adds "for there was not count" (Gen. xli. 49), since the food that sustains the body and the Egyptian passions is absolutely unworthy to be counted. The rod is a symbol of discipline, for there is no way of taking to heart warning and correction, unless for some offences one is chastised and brought to a sense of shame. 10 is the token and pledge of a perfecting by the way of gradual progress. Of that perfecting it is meet and right to offer the first-fruits to Him who marshalled,[a] brought up and disciplined us, and crowned our hopes with fulfilment. XXIX. Let what has been said suffice on the subject of the man who alters and adulterates the original coinage. The lawgiver calls him besides the father of dwellers in tents rearing cattle (Gen. iv. 20). Cattle are the irrational senses, and rearers of cattle the lovers of pleasure and lovers of the passions who provide them with food in the shape of external objects of sense. These differ widely from shepherds, for, whereas the latter after the manner of governors punish the creatures that live amiss, the former after the manner of entertainers supply them with unlimited food and let them feel security in doing wrong; for insolence, the daughter of satiety and greediness, never fails to be immediately engendered. As we might expect, then, the man who alters the make and character of all good things is father of those whose interest is concentrated on everything that is soul-less and an object only of the senses. For, had he taken as the object of his quest the incorporeal natures that come under the cognizance of the mind, he would have

σβυτέρων ὅρους ἐφύλαττεν ἄν, οὓς ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς ὥρισαν ἕκαστον αὐτῆς εἶδος οἰκείῳ τύπῳ χαράξαντες.

100 XXX. Τοῦ δ' Ἰωβὴλ ἀδελφὸν εἶναί φησι τὸν Ἰουβάλ (Gen. iv. 21). ἑρμηνεύεται δὲ καὶ οὗτος μετακλίνων διὰ συμβόλου, ὁ κατὰ προφορὰν λόγος· φύσει γὰρ οὗτος διανοίας ἀδελφός ἐστι. τὸν δὲ τοῦ μεταποιοῦντος νοῦ τὰ πράγματα λόγον μετακλίνοντα σφόδρα δεόντως ὠνόμασε· συμβαίνει γὰρ τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ἐπαμφοτερίζειν καθάπερ ἐπὶ πλάστιγγος ἀντιρρέπον ἢ ὥσπερ θαλαττεῦον σκάφος ὑπὸ πολλοῦ κλύδωνος πρὸς ἑκάτερον τοῖχον ἀποκλῖνον· βέβαιον γὰρ ἢ σταθηρὸν οὐδὲν ὁ ἄφρων
101 λέγειν ἔμαθε. Μωυσῆς δὲ οὔτ' εἰς δεξιὰ οὔτ' εἰς ἀριστερὰ οὐδ' ὅλως εἰς μέρη τοῦ γηίνου Ἐδὼμ ἀποκλίνειν οἴεται δεῖν, τῇ δὲ μέσῃ ὁδῷ παρέρχεσθαι, ἣν κυριώτατα καλεῖ βασιλικήν (Num. xx. 17). ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πρῶτος καὶ μόνος τῶν ὅλων βασιλεὺς ὁ θεός ἐστι, καὶ ἡ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄγουσα ὁδὸς ἅτε βασιλέως οὖσα εἰκότως ὠνόμασται βασιλική. ταύτην δ' ἡγοῦ φιλοσοφίαν, οὐχ ἣν μέτεισιν ὁ νῦν ἀνθρώπων σοφιστικὸς ὅμιλος—λόγων γὰρ οὗτοι τέχνας μελετήσαντες κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας τὴν πανουργίαν σοφίαν ἐκάλεσαν ἔργῳ μοχθηρῷ θεῖον ἐπιφημίσαντες ὄνομα—ἀλλ' ἣν ὁ ἀρχαῖος ἀσκητῶν θίασος διήθλει, τὰς πιθανοὺς τῆς ἡδονῆς γοητείας ἀποστρεφόμενος, ἀστείως καὶ αὐστηρῶς χρώμενος τῇ τοῦ καλοῦ μελέτῃ.

102 Τὴν βασιλικὴν γοῦν ταύτην ὁδόν, ἣν ἀληθῆ καὶ γνήσιον ἔφαμεν εἶναι φιλοσοφίαν, ὁ νόμος καλεῖ θεοῦ ῥῆμα καὶ λόγον. γέγραπται γάρ· "οὐκ ἐκκλινεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥήματος οὗ ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαί σοι

kept to the limits laid down by the men of old, which they laid down in the cause of virtue, stamping each form of it with the impress belonging to it.

XXX. Jubal, the lawgiver tells us, was the brother of Jobel (Gen. iv. 21). "Jubal" is akin in meaning to "Jobel," for it means "inclining now this way now that," and it is a figure for the uttered word, which is in its nature brother to mind. It is a most appropriate name for the utterance of a mind that alters the make of things, for its way is to halt between two courses, swaying up and down as if on a pair of scales, or like a boat at sea, struck by huge waves and rolling towards either side. For the foolish man has never learned to say anything sure or well-grounded. Moses thinks that none ought to turn away either to the right or to the left or to the parts of the earthly Edom at all, but to go by along the central road, to which he gives the most proper title of the king's highway or royal road ; for since God is the first and sole King of the universe, the road leading to Him, being a King's road, is also naturally called royal. This road you must take to be philosophy, not the philosophy which is pursued by the sophistic group of present-day people, who, having practised arts of speech to use against the truth, have given the name of wisdom to their rascality, conferring on a sorry work a divine title. No, the philosophy which the ancient band of aspirants pursued in hard-fought contest, eschewing the soft enchantments of pleasure, engaged with a fine severity in the study of what is good and fair.

This royal road then, which we have just said to be true and genuine philosophy, is called in the Law the utterance and word of God. For it is written "Thou shalt not swerve aside from the word which

σήμερον δεξιὰ οὐδὲ ἀριστερά" (Deut. xxviii. 14)·
ὥστε ἐμφανῶς ἐπιδεδεῖχθαι ὅτι ταὐτόν ἐστι τῇ
βασιλικῇ ὁδῷ τὸ θεοῦ ῥῆμα, εἴγε προτρέπει μήτ'
ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς ὁδοῦ μήτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥήματος,
ὡς συνωνύμων ὄντων, ἀποκλίνοντας ὀρθῇ διανοίᾳ
τὴν ἐπ' εὐθείας ἄγουσαν ἀτραπὸν μέσην τε καὶ
λεωφόρον βαδίζειν.
103 XXXI. "Ὁ δὲ Ἰουβὰλ οὗτος" φησίν "ἐστὶ
[245] πατὴρ | ὁ καταδείξας ψαλτήριον καὶ κιθάραν"
(Gen. iv. 21). πατέρα μουσικῆς καὶ τῶν κατὰ
μουσικὴν πάντων ὀργάνων τὸν γεγωνὸν λόγον
προσφυέστατα καλεῖ· τὸ γὰρ φωνητήριον ὄρ-
γανον ζῴοις ἡ φύσις πρῶτον καὶ τελειότατον
ἐργασαμένη πάσας αὐτῷ τὰς ἁρμονίας καὶ τὰ
γένη τῶν μελῳδιῶν εὐθὺς ἐχαρίζετο, ἵν' ᾖ τοῖς
ἐκ τέχνης μέλλουσι δημιουργεῖσθαι προειργα-
104 σμένον παράδειγμα. [καὶ] καθάπερ γὰρ τὸ οὖς
ἡμῶν κύκλους ἐν κύκλοις, ἐλάττους ἐν μείζοσι,
γράφουσα σφαιρικὸν ἐτόρνευε τοῦ τὴν προσιοῦσαν
φωνὴν μὴ χεομένην ἔξω σκεδάννυσθαι, εἴσω δ'
ὑπὸ τῶν κύκλων συναγομένην καὶ σφιγγομένην
οἷα διαχεομένην τὴν ἀκοὴν εἰς τὰς τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ
δεξαμενὰς ἐπαντλεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦτ' εὐθὺς ἦν παρά-
δειγμα θεάτρων τῶν κατὰ πόλεις εὐδαίμονας·
πρὸς ⟨γὰρ⟩ τὸ ὤτων σχῆμα ἄκρως ἡ θεάτρων
κατασκευὴ μεμίμηται—οὕτως καὶ τὴν τραχεῖαν
ἀρτηρίαν ἡ τὰ ζῷα φύσις διαπλάσασα ὥσπερ
μουσικὸν κανόνα τείνασα τὰ ἐναρμόνια καὶ χρω-
ματικὰ καὶ διατονικὰ γένη συνυφαίνουσα κατὰ
τὰς τῶν συνημμένων καὶ διεζευγμένων μελῳδιῶν
παμπληθεῖς ποικιλίας παντὸς ὀργάνου μουσικοῦ
105 παράδειγμα ἱδρύετο. XXXII. ὅσα γοῦν αὐλοὶ

I command thee this day to the right hand nor to the left hand" (Deut. xxviii. 14). Thus it is clearly proved that the word of God is identical with the royal road. He treats the two as synonymous, and bids us decline from neither, but with upright mind tread the track that leads straight on, a central highway.

XXXI. "This Jubal," he says, "is a father who invented psaltery and harp" (Gen. iv. 21). Most appropriately does he give to sounding speech the title of father of music and of all musical instruments. For nature, when she had wrought for living creatures the organ or instrument of sound as chief and most perfect of all instruments, went on at once to bestow upon it the concords and the various kinds of melodies to the end that it might be a pattern made ready beforehand for the instruments that were to be fashioned artificially. So too with the ear.[a] Nature turned it with her lathe and made it spherical, drawing circles within circles, lesser within larger, in order that the sound that approached it might not escape and be dispersed outside of it, but that the thing heard might be collected and enclosed within by the circles, and being as it were poured through them, be conveyed into the receptacles of the mind. We see here at once a model for the theatres seen in thriving cities, for theatres are constructed in exact imitation of the shape of the ear. So Nature, who fashioned living creatures, stretched the windpipe as though a musical scale, combining in it the enharmonic and chromatic and diatonic modes, answering to the vast variety of melodies with their shorter or longer intervals, and in this way set up a pattern of every musical instrument. XXXII. To show how true this

[a] See App. p. 500.

καὶ λύραι καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια μελῳδοῦσι, τῆς
ἀηδόνων ἢ κύκνων μουσικῆς τοσοῦτον ἀπολείπεται,
ὅσον ἀπεικόνισμα καὶ μίμημα ἀρχετύπου παρα-
δείγματος, φθαρτὸν εἶδος ἀφθάρτου γένους. τὴν
μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων μουσικὴν οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων
συγκρίνειν ἄξιον ἔχουσαν γέρας ἐξαίρετον, ᾧ τετί-
106 μηται, τὴν ἔναρθρον σαφήνειαν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα
τῇ περὶ τὴν φωνὴν κλάσει χρώμενα καὶ ταῖς
ἐπαλλήλοις τῶν τόνων μεταβολαῖς ἀκοὰς αὐτὸ
μόνον ἡδύνει, ὁ δ' ἄνθρωπος, ὥσπερ πρὸς τὸ
λέγειν, οὕτως καὶ πρὸς τὸ ᾄδειν ἀρθρωθεὶς ὑπὸ
φύσεως ἑκάτερον, ἀκοήν τε καὶ νοῦν, ἐπάγεται,
τὴν μὲν τῷ μέλει κηλῶν, τὸν δὲ τοῖς νοήμασιν
107 ἐπιστρέφων. καθάπερ γὰρ ὄργανον ἀμούσῳ μὲν
παραδοθὲν ἀνάρμοστον, μουσικῷ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐν
αὐτῷ τέχνην εὐάρμοστον γίνεται, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον
καὶ ὁ λόγος ὑπὸ μὲν φαύλου νοῦ κινούμενος ἀν-
άρμοστος, ὑπὸ δὲ σπουδαίου πάνυ ἐμμελὴς εὑρί-
108 σκεται. λύρα γε μὴν ἢ εἴ τι τῶν ὁμοίων, εἰ μὴ
[246] πληχθείη πρός τινος, ἠρεμεῖ· λόγος τε αὖ | μὴ
πληχθεὶς ὑφ' ἡγεμονικοῦ κατὰ τἀναγκαῖον ἡσυ-
χίαν ἄγει. καὶ μὴν ὥσπερ ὄργανα κατὰ τὰς τοῦ
μέλους ἀπείρους ὅσας κράσεις μεθαρμόττεται,
οὕτως καὶ ὁ λόγος συνῳδός τις ἑρμηνεὺς πραγ-
μάτων γινόμενος ἀμυθήτους λαμβάνει μεταβολάς.
109 τίς γὰρ ἂν ὁμοίως γονεῦσι καὶ τέκνοις διαλεχθείη,
τῶν μὲν φύσει δοῦλος, τῶν δὲ γενέσει[1] δεσπότης
ὤν; τίς δ' ἂν ἀδελφοῖς καὶ ἀνεψιοῖς ἢ συνόλως

[1] γενέσει is printed for γένει from conjecture.

[a] See App. p. 500.

is, I may mention that all the melodious sounds produced by wind- and stringed-instruments fall as far short of the music that comes from nightingales and swans, as a copy and imitation falls short of an original, or a perishable species of an imperishable genus. For we cannot compare the music produced by the human voice with that produced in any other way, since it has the pre-eminent gift of articulation, for which it is prized. For whereas the other kinds by use of the modulation of the voice and the successive changes of the notes can do no more than produce sounds pleasing to the ear, man, having been endowed by nature with articulate utterance equally for speaking and for singing, attracts alike both ear and mind, charming the one by the tune, and gaining the attention of the other by the thoughts expressed. For just as an instrument put into the hands of an unmusical person is tuneless, but in the hands of a musician answers to the skill which he possesses and becomes tuneful, in exactly the same way speech set in motion by a worthless mind is without tune, but when set going by a worthy one is discovered to be in perfect tune. Moreover, a lyre or anything of that kind, unless struck by someone, is still: speech too, if not struck by the ruling faculty, of necessity maintains silence. Moreover, just as instruments are tuned to vary in accordance with the infinite number of combinations of the music which they have to give forth, so speech proves itself an harmonious interpreter of the matters dealt with and admits of endless variations.[a] For who would talk in the same way to parents and children, being slave of the former by nature, and master of the latter in virtue of the same cause? Who would speak in the same

τοῖς ἐγγὺς γένους καὶ μακρὰν οὖσιν; τίς δ' ἂν
οἰκείοις καὶ ἀλλοτρίοις, ἢ πολίταις καὶ ξένοις, οὐ
μικρὰς οὐδὲ τὰς τυχούσας[1] ἢ φύσεως ἢ ἡλικίας
ἔχουσι διαφοράς; πρεσβύτῃ γὰρ ἑτέρως ὁμιλη-
τέον καὶ νέῳ, καὶ πάλιν ἐνδόξῳ καὶ ταπεινῷ, καὶ
πλουσίῳ καὶ πένητι, καὶ ἄρχοντι καὶ ἰδιώτῃ, καὶ
θεράποντι καὶ δεσπότῃ, γυναικί τε αὖ καὶ ἀνδρί,
110 καὶ ἀτέχνῳ καὶ τεχνίτῃ. καὶ τί δεῖ τὰς τῶν
προσώπων ἀμυθήτους ἰδέας καταλέγεσθαι, πρὸς
ἃς ὁ λόγος τρεπόμενος ἄλλοτε ἀλλοῖα λαμβάνει
σχήματα; καὶ γὰρ αἱ τῶν πραγμάτων ἰδιότητες
τυποῦσιν αὐτὸν κατὰ τοὺς ἰδίους χαρακτῆρας·
μεγάλα γὰρ καὶ μικρὰ ἢ πολλὰ καὶ ὀλίγα ἢ ἰδιω-
τικὰ καὶ δημόσια ἢ ἱερὰ καὶ βέβηλα ἢ ἀρχαῖα
καὶ νέα οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν ἂν ἑρμηνεύσαι τρόπον, ἀλλὰ
τὸν ἑκάστοις ἐφαρμόζοντα τῷ πλήθει καὶ ἀξιώ-
ματι καὶ μεγέθει, τοτὲ μὲν ὑψηλὸν αἴρων ἑαυτόν,
τοτὲ δ' ἔμπαλιν συνάγων τε καὶ συστέλλων.
111 παρέχουσι δ' ὥσπερ τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα
τῷ λόγῳ μεταβολάς, οὕτως καὶ αἱ τῶν γινο-
μένων αἰτίαι καὶ οἱ τρόποι καθ' οὓς γίνεται,
προσέτι μέντοι καὶ τὰ ὧν οὐκ ἄνευ πάντα, χρόνοι
καὶ τόποι. παγκάλως οὖν ὁ μετακλίνων λόγους
Ἰουβὰλ πατὴρ εἴρηται ψαλτηρίου καὶ κιθάρας,
ἀπὸ μέρους τῆς ὅλης μουσικῆς, ὡς ἐπιδέδεικται.
112 XXXIII. Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς Ἀδᾶς ἔγγονα καὶ
αὐτὴ τίς ἐστι δεδήλωται· τὴν δ' ἑτέραν γυναῖκα
τοῦ Λάμεχ Σελλὰν καὶ ὅσα ἀποκύει θεασώμεθα.

[1] οὐδὲ τὰς τυχούσας is Holwerda's conjecture. See App. p. 500.

way to brothers, cousins, near relatives generally, and to those only distantly connected with him? to those associated with him, and to those with whom he has nothing to do; to fellow-citizens and foreigners; to people differing in no slight or ordinary degree in nature or age? For we have to talk in one way to an old man, in another to a young one, and again in one way to a man of importance and in another to an insignificant person, and so with rich and poor, official and non-official, servant and master, woman and man, skilled and unskilled. What need to make a list of the innumerable sorts of persons, in our conversation with whom our talk varies, taking one shape at one time, another at another? For indeed the same thing is true of subjects of thought. Their several peculiarities mould our language in conformity with their characteristic aspects; for it would not set forth great things and little, many and few, private and public, sacred and profane, ancient and modern, in the same style, but in the style suited to their respective number or importance or greatness; at one time rising to a lofty tone, at another restraining and holding itself in. Nor is it only persons and matters dealt with that occasion our speech to vary its form, but the causes too of the things that happen, and the ways in which they happen, and besides these, times and places which enter into all things. Right well then is Jubal, the man who alters the tone and trend of speech, spoken of as the father of psaltery and harp, that is of music, the part being used for the whole, as has been made evident.

XXXIII. We have now described the progeny of Ada and who she herself is. Let us contemplate Lamech's other wife Sella (Zillah) and her offspring.

Σελλὰ τοίνυν ἑρμηνεύεται σκιά, τῶν περὶ σῶμα καὶ ἐκτὸς ἀγαθῶν, ἃ τῷ ὄντι σκιᾶς οὐδὲν διαφέρει, σύμβολον. ἢ κάλλος οὐχὶ σκιά, ὃ πρὸς βραχὺν ἀνθῆσαν χρόνον ἀφανίζεται, ἰσχὺς δὲ καὶ εὐτονία σώματος, ἃς ἡ τυχοῦσα νόσος ἐξέλυσεν, αἰσθητήρια δὲ καὶ ἡ περὶ ταῦτα ἀκρίβεια, ἣν ῥεῦμα δυσῶδες ἐνέφραξεν ἢ γῆρας, ἡ ἀναγκαία καὶ κοινὴ πάντων νόσος, ἐπήρωσεν; ἔτι δ' οὐχὶ πλοῦτοι καὶ δόξαι καὶ ἀρχαὶ καὶ τιμαὶ καὶ ὅσα

113 τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀγαθὰ νενόμισται | σκιὰ πάντα; χρὴ

[247] δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν ὡς δι' ἀναβαθμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς ἐπάγειν ἀρχήν. εἰς Δελφοὺς γεγόνασιν ἄνθρωποι τῶν λεγομένων ἐνδόξων, οἳ τοὺς εὐδαίμονας βίους ἐκεῖσε ἀνατεθείκασι. καθάπερ οὖν ἐξίτηλοι γραφαί, οὐ χρόνου μήκει μόνον [οὐ] διερρύησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ καιρῶν ὀξείαις μεταβολαῖς ἐκπεπνεύκασιν, εἰσὶ δ' οὓς οἷα χειμάρρου φορὰ πλημμύροντος ἐξαίφνης ἐπικλύσασα ἠφάνισεν.

114 Ἐκ ταύτης τῆς σκιᾶς καὶ τῶν ἀβεβαίων ὀνειράτων ἀποκυεῖται υἱός,[1] ὃν ὠνόμασεν Θοβέλ (Gen. iv. 22)· ἑρμηνεύεται δὲ σύμπασα. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι οἱ τὸ παρὰ πολλοῖς ᾀδόμενον ἀγαθὸν σύνθετον πλουθυγείαν κτησάμενοι μικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ

115 πάνθ' ἁπλῶς ἀνῆφθαι δοκοῦσιν. εἰ δὲ καὶ παραγένοιτό τις αὐτεξούσιος ἡγεμονία, φυσηθέντες καὶ μετεωρισθέντες ὑπὸ κούφης ἐννοίας, ἐκλαθόμενοι ἑαυτῶν καὶ ὕλης φθαρτῆς ἐξ ἧς γεγόνασι, μείζονος ἢ κατ' ἀνθρωπίνην σύστασιν οἰηθέντες φύσεως

[1] υἱός from conjecture for υἱωνός, with Heinemann.

[a] See App. p. 500.
[b] See App. pp. 500, 501.

Well, "Sella" means "a shadow," and is a figure of bodily and external goods, which in reality differ not a whit from a shadow. Is not beauty a shadow, which after a short-lived bloom withers away? What else is strength and vigour of body, which any chance illness breaks up? What else are the organs of sense with all their accuracy, which a noisome rheum can impair, or old age, the disease to which all of us in common must submit, reduces to inefficiency? And, to look further, are not large incomes and high reputations, and magistracies, and honours, and whatever external things are reckoned advantages, a shadow one and all? It behoves us to lead our mind by easy stages [a] to the principle from which the whole matter starts. Men belonging to the number of those who are called distinguished have in former times gone up to Delphi [b] and dedicated there records of their prosperous lives. These then, like evanescent paintings, have not only faded away by lapse of time, but have even breathed their last amid sharp reverses of fortune, or some of them have been swept away suddenly as by the rush of a torrent in spate and have been seen no more.

Of this shadow and its fleeting dreams a son is born, to whom was given the name of Thobel (Gen. iv. 22), meaning "all together." For it is a fact that those who have obtained health and wealth, the compound which is proverbial, think that they have secured absolutely all things. And should a governorship conferring independent authority fall to their lot, puffed up by self-conceit and treading air, they forget themselves and the perishable stuff out of which they were made. They imagine that they have received a nature whose constitution is some-

ἐπιλαχεῖν ταῖς τιμαῖς αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ μεγαλαυχίας ἀποσεμνύναντες ἐξεθείωσαν. ἤδη γοῦν τινες ἐπετόλμησαν τὸν ἀληθῆ θεὸν φάναι μὴ εἰδέναι (Exod. v. 2), τῆς περὶ αὐτοὺς ἀνθρωπότητος ἐκλαθόμενοι, διὰ τὴν τῶν περὶ σῶμα καὶ ἐκτὸς ἀμετρίαν.

116 XXXIV. Ἀκριβῶς τούτων ἕκαστον χαρακτηρίζων εἶτά[1] φησιν ὅτι "οὗτος ἦν σφυροκόπος χαλκεὺς χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου" (Gen. iv. 22). τοῦ γὰρ σεσοβημένου περὶ τὰς ἢ σωματικὰς ἡδονὰς [ἢ τὰς ἡδονὰς] ἢ τὰς ἐκτὸς ὕλας ἡ ψυχὴ καθάπερ ἐπ' ἄκμονος σφυρηλατεῖται κατὰ τὰς τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν μακρὰς καὶ διωλυγίους ἐκτάσεις ἐλαυνομένη. τοὺς μέν γε φιλοσωμάτους ἴδοις ἂν ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ λίνα καὶ πάγας πρὸς τῶν ὧν ὀρέγονται θήραν τιθέντας, τοὺς δ' αὖ φιλαργύρους καὶ φιλοδόξους τὸν περὶ ταῦτα οἶστρον καὶ ἵμερον ἐπὶ τὰ πέρατα γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀποστέλλοντας καὶ ὥσπερ δικτύοις ταῖς ἀορίστοις αὐτῶν ὀρέξεσιν ἐπισπωμένους τὰ πανταχόθεν, μέχρις ἂν ὑπὸ βίας ἡ σφοδρὰ τάσις ῥῆξιν λαβοῦσα καὶ τοὺς ἕλκοντας
117 ἀντεπισπωμένη πρηνεῖς καταβάλλῃ. δημιουργοὶ δ' εἰσὶ πάντες οὗτοι πολέμου, παρὸ σίδηρον καὶ χαλκὸν ἐργάζεσθαι λέγονται, δι' ὧν οἱ πόλεμοι |
[218] συνίστανται. τὰς μὲν γὰρ μεγίστας καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἰδίᾳ καὶ πόλεων κοινῇ διαφορὰς εὕροι τις ἂν σκοπῶν καὶ πάλαι γεγενημένας καὶ νῦν ὑπαρχούσας καὶ ἐσομένας αὖθις ἢ εὐμορφίας γυναικὸς εἵνεκα ἢ χρημάτων ἢ δόξης ἢ τιμῆς ἢ ἀρχῆς ἢ

[1] The punctuation and wording from ἀμετρίαν to εἶτα somewhat differ from Wendland's text.

thing more than human, and boastfully exalting themselves on their honours they deify themselves outright. An instance of this attitude is afforded by certain persons who have dared before now to say that they did not know the true God (Exod. v. 2), forgetting in their excessive enjoyment of bodily and outward things that they were but men.

XXXIV. Accurately characterizing each one of these he goes on to say : " This man was a wielder of the hammer, a smith in brass and iron work " (Gen. iv. 22). For the soul that is vehemently concerned about bodily pleasures or the materials of outward things, is being ever hammered on an anvil, beaten out by the blows of his desires with their long swoop and reach. Always and everywhere you may see those who care for their bodies more than anything else setting lines and snares to catch the things they long for. You may see lovers of money and fame dispatching on expeditions to the ends of the earth and beyond the sea the frenzied craving for these things. They draw to them the produce of every region of the globe, using their unlimited lusts as nets for the purpose, until at last the violence of their excessive effort makes them give way, and the counter pull throws down headlong those who are tugging. All these people are war-makers, and that is why they are said to be workers in iron and bronze, and these are the instruments with which wars are waged. For any who are looking into the matter would find, that the greatest quarrels both of men individually and of states corporately, have arisen in the past, and are going on now, and will take place in the future, either for a woman's beauty, or for money, or glory or honour or dominion, or to acquire some-

κτήσεως ἢ συνόλως ὅσα σώματος καὶ τῶν ἐκτός
118 ἐστι πλεονεκτήματα· παιδείας δὲ καὶ ἀρετῆς χάριν, ἃ τοῦ κρατίστου τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀγαθὰ διανοίας ἐστίν, οὔτε ξενικὸς οὔτ' ἐμφύλιος πώποτε κατέσχε πόλεμος· εἰρηναῖα γὰρ φύσει ταῦτα, ἐφ' ὧν εὐνομία καὶ εὐστάθεια καὶ ὅσα περικαλλέστατα εἴδη τοῖς ψυχῆς ὀξυδερκεστάτοις ὄμμασιν, οὐχὶ τοῖς σώματος ἀμυδροῖς, θεωρεῖται· ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ τὰς ἐκτὸς ἐπιφανείας μόνον ὁρᾷ, ὁ δὲ τῆς διανοίας ὀφθαλμὸς εἴσω προελθὼν καὶ βαθύνας τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς σπλάγχνοις ἐγκεκρυμμένα κατεῖδε.

119 Γίνονται δ' αἱ ταραχαὶ ἢ αἱ στάσεις πᾶσαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀεὶ σχεδὸν περὶ μὲν οὐδενὸς ἄλλου, περὶ δὲ τῆς πρὸς ἀλήθειαν σκιᾶς. τὸν γὰρ δημιουργὸν τῶν πολεμιστηρίων ὅπλων, χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου, Θοβὲλ υἱὸν Σελλᾶς τῆς σκιᾶς ὠνόμασεν, οὐ λόγων τέχναις, ἀλλὰ νοημάτων ὑπερβάλλοντι κάλλει φιλοσοφῶν. ἔγνω γὰρ ὅτι πᾶς ἢ ναυτικὸς ἢ πεζὸς στρατὸς τοὺς μεγίστους αἱρεῖται κινδύνους ἕνεκα σωματικῶν ἡδονῶν ἢ χάριν περιουσίας τῶν ἐκτός, ὧν οὐδὲν βέβαιον ἢ πάγιον ὑπὸ τοῦ πάντα ἐξελέγχοντος αἰῶνος μαρτυρεῖται· σκιαγραφίαις γὰρ ἐπιπολαίοις ἐξ ἑαυτῶν διαρρεούσαις ἔοικε.

120 XXXV. Τοῦ δὲ Θοβὲλ ἀδελφὴν εἶναί φησι Νοεμάν (Gen. iv. 22), ἧς ἑρμηνεία πιότης· ἀκολουθεῖ γὰρ τοῖς εὐπάθειαν σώματος καὶ ἃς εἶπον ὕλας μεταδιώκουσιν, ὅταν τινὸς ὧν ὀρέγονται λάχωσι, πιαίνεσθαι. τὴν δὲ τοιαύτην πιότητα οὐκ ἰσχύν, ἀλλ' ἀσθένειαν ἔγωγε τίθεμαι· διδάσκει

thing, or, in a word, to gain advantages pertaining to the body and outward things. But for the sake of culture and virtue, which are goods of the mind, the noblest part of our being, no war either foreign or civil has ever yet broken out ; for these things are by nature peaceful ; and when they prevail, a settled condition of society, and the reign of law, and all things fairest to behold, meet, not the body's dim-eyed vision, but the keen sight of the soul. For while the bodily eyes see only the outward surface, the eye of the mind penetrates within, and going deep gets a clear view of all that is hidden up in the very heart.

It is an invariable rule that broils and factions arise among men scarcely ever about anything else than what is in reality a shadow. For the lawgiver named the manufacturer of weapons of war, of brass and iron, Thobel son of Sella the shadow, and his philosophy depends not on verbal artifices, but on surpassing beauty of conception. For he was aware that every naval or land force chooses the greatest dangers for the sake of bodily pleasures or to gain a superabundance of things outward, no one of which is proved sure and stable by all-testing time ; for those things resemble pictures that are mere superficial delineations of solid objects, and fade away of themselves.

XXXV. We are told that the sister of Thobel was Noeman (Gen. iv. 22), meaning "fatness" ; for when those, who make bodily comfort and the material things of which I have spoken their object, succeed in getting something which they crave after, the consequence is that they grow fat. Such fatness I for my part set down not as strength but as weakness,

γὰρ ἀφίστασθαι θεοῦ τιμῆς, ἣ πρώτη καὶ ἀρίστη
121 ψυχῆς ἐστι δύναμις. μάρτυς δ' ὁ νόμος ἐν ᾠδῇ μείζονι λέγων οὕτως· "ἐλιπάνθη, ἐπαχύνθη, ἐπλατύνθη, καὶ ἐγκατέλιπε θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτόν, καὶ ἐπελάθετο θεοῦ σωτῆρος αὐτοῦ" (Deut. xxxii. 15). ὄντως γὰρ οὐκέτι μέμνηνται τοῦ αἰωνίου, οἷς πρὸς καιρὸν ὁ βίος ἤνθησε· νομίζουσι
122 γοῦν τὸν καιρὸν θεόν. διὸ καὶ Μωυσῆς μαρτυρεῖ προτρέπων πολεμεῖν ταῖς ἐναντίαις δόξαις· λέγει γάρ· "ἀφέστηκεν ὁ καιρὸς ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ὁ δὲ
[249] κύριος ἐν ἡμῖν" (Num. xiv. 9)· ὥσθ' | οἷς μὲν ὁ ψυχῆς βίος τετίμηται, λόγος θεῖος ἐνοικεῖ καὶ ἐμπεριπατεῖ, οἷς δ' ὁ τῶν ἡδονῶν, ἐφήμερον καὶ κατεψευσμένην ἔχουσιν εὐκαιρίαν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ διαρρεούσης πιότητός τε καὶ τέρψεως ἐπὶ πλέον οἰδήσαντες καὶ περιταθέντες ἐξερράγησαν· οἱ δὲ τῇ τρεφούσῃ τὰς φιλαρέτους ψυχὰς σοφίᾳ πιαινόμενοι βέβαιον καὶ ἀκράδαντον ἴσχουσι δύναμιν, ἧς ὑπόδειγμα τὸ ὁλοκαυτούμενον ἀπὸ παντὸς
123 ἱερείου στέαρ. λέγει γὰρ Μωυσῆς· "πᾶν στέαρ τῷ κυρίῳ νόμιμον αἰώνιον" (Lev. iii. 16, 17), ὡς τῆς κατὰ μὲν διάνοιαν πιότητος ἀναφερομένης ἐπὶ θεὸν καὶ οἰκειουμένης αὐτῷ, διόπερ ἀπαθανατίζεται, τῆς δὲ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς ἀναφερομένης ἐπὶ τὸν ἀντίθεον καιρόν, διὸ καὶ τάχιστα παρήκμασεν.

124 XXXVI. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν Λάμεχ γυναικῶν τε καὶ ἐκγόνων ἱκανῶς οἶμαι δεδηλῶσθαι· τὴν δ' ὥσπερ παλιγγενεσίαν Ἄβελ τοῦ δολοφονηθέντος

for it teaches us to neglect to pay honour to God, which is the chiefest and best power of the soul. The Law testifies to this by what it says in the greater song, "he became sleek, he grew thick, he broadened out, and forsook God which made him, and was unmindful of God his Saviour" (Deut. xxxii. 15). For indeed those for whom life has burst into bloom in the sunshine of the moment, no longer remember the Eternal, taking the lucky moment to be a god. Wherefore Moses also bears his witness by exhorting to warfare against opposing doctrines; for he says "the fair moment has departed from them, but the Lord is among us" (Numb. xiv. 9). From this we see that the Divine word dwells and walks among those for whom the soul's life is an object of honour, while those who value the life given to its pleasures, experience good times that are transient and fictitious. These, suffering from the effects of fatness and enjoyment spreading increasingly, swell out and become distended till they burst; but those who are fattened by wisdom which feeds souls that are lovers of virtue, acquire a firm and settled vigour, of which the fat taken from every sacrifice to be offered with the whole burnt offering is a sign. For Moses says "all the fat is a due for ever to the Lord" (Lev. iii. 16 f.), showing that richness of mind is recognized as God's gift and appropriated to Him, and thus attains to immortality; while that of the body and outward things is ascribed to the fair moment that usurps the place of God, and for this reason quickly has passed its prime.

XXXVI. The subject of Lamech and his wives and progeny has, I think, been adequately dealt with. Let us consider what may be called the new birth of

σκεψώμεθα. "ἔγνω" φησίν "Ἀδὰμ τὴν γυναῖκα
αὐτοῦ Εὔαν, καὶ συλλαβοῦσα ἔτεκεν υἱόν, καὶ
ἐπωνόμασε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Σὴθ <λέγουσα>·
ἐξανέστησε γάρ μοι ὁ θεὸς σπέρμα ἕτερον ἀντὶ
Ἄβελ, ὃν ἀπέκτεινε Κάιν" (Gen. iv. 25). Σὴθ
125 ἑρμηνεύεται ποτισμός. ὥσπερ οὖν τὰ κατὰ γῆν
σπέρματα καὶ φυτὰ ποτιζόμενα αὔξεται καὶ βλα-
στάνει καὶ πρὸς καρπῶν γενέσεις εὐτοκεῖ, στερό-
μενα δὲ ἐπιρροῆς ἀφαναίνεται, οὕτως ἡ ψυχή,
καθάπερ φαίνεται, ὅταν νάματι ποτίμῳ σοφίας
ἄρδηται, βλαστάνει τε καὶ ἐπιδίδωσι πρὸς τὸ
126 βέλτιον. ποτισμὸς δὲ ὁ μέν ἐστι ποτίζοντος, ὁ δ'
αὖ ποτιζομένου. ἢ οὐκ ἂν εἴποι τις τῶν αἰσθή-
σεων ἑκάστην ὥσπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς τοῦ νοῦ ποτί-
ζεσθαι τὰς δυνάμεις καθάπερ ὀχετοὺς ἀνευρύνοντός
τε καὶ τείνοντος; οὐδεὶς γοῦν εὖ φρονῶν εἴποι
ἂν ὀφθαλμοὺς ὁρᾶν, ἀλλὰ νοῦν δι' ὀφθαλμῶν, οὐδ'
ὦτα ἀκούειν, ἀλλὰ δι' ὤτων ἐκεῖνον, οὐδὲ μυκτῆρας
ὀσφραίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ διὰ μυκτήρων τὸ ἡγεμονικόν.
127 XXXVII. Διὸ καὶ ἐν Γενέσει λέγεται· "πηγὴ
δὲ ἀνέβαινεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐπότιζε πᾶν τὸ πρόσ-
ωπον τῆς γῆς" (Gen. ii. 6). ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὅλου
τοῦ σώματος μέρος ἐξαίρετον ἔνειμεν ἡ φύσις τὸ
πρόσωπον αἰσθήσεσιν, ἡ ἀνιοῦσ' ἀφ' ἡγεμονικοῦ
πηγὴ σχιζομένη πολλαχῇ καθάπερ τινὰς ὑδρορρόας
ἀναστείλασα μέχρι προσώπου, δι' αὐτῶν τὰς
δυνάμεις ἐφ' ἕκαστον ἄγει τῶν αἰσθητικῶν ὀργάνων.
[250] οὕτως μέντοι καὶ ὁ θεοῦ λόγος | ποτίζει τὰς
ἀρετάς· ἀρχὴ γὰρ καὶ πηγὴ καλῶν πράξεων
128 οὗτος. δηλοῖ δ' ὁ νομοθέτης φάσκων· "ποταμὸς
δ' ἐκπορεύεται ἐξ Ἐδὲμ ποτίζειν τὸν παράδεισον.
ἐκεῖθεν ἀφορίζεται εἰς τέσσαρας ἀρχάς" (Gen.

the murdered Abel. "Adam," it says, "knew Eve his wife, and she conceived and bare a son, and called his name Seth (saying): God hath raised up to me another seed in the place of Abel, whom Cain slew" (Gen. iv. 25). "Seth" means "watering." As, then, the seeds and plants in the earth, when watered, grow and sprout and are prolific in producing fruit, but, if no water be poured on them, wither away, so the soul, as is evident, when it is fostered with a fresh sweet stream of wisdom shoots up and improves. Watering is either the act of one watering, or the experience of one being watered. Would not everyone say that each of the senses is watered from the mind as from a spring, and that it broadens and extends their powers as water does channels? For instance, nobody of sound sense would say that eyes see, but mind by means of eyes, nor that ears hear, but mind by their agency, nor that noses smell, but the ruling faculty by using them.

XXXVII. This is the reason for what is said in Genesis, "A spring went up out of the earth and watered all the face of the earth" (Gen. ii. 6). For since Nature allotted the face to the senses as the choicest portion of the whole body, the spring that rises from the dominant faculty, dividing itself in many directions, sends up conduits, so to speak, as far as the face, and by them conveys the powers they need to each of the organs of sense. It is in this way that the word of God waters the virtues; for the word of God is the source and spring of noble conduct. The lawgiver intimates as much by the words: "A river goeth out of Eden to water the garden. From thence it is parted into four heads" (Gen. ii. 10). For there

ii. 10). γενικαὶ μὲν γάρ εἰσιν ἀρεταὶ τέσσαρες, φρόνησις, ἀνδρεία, σωφροσύνη, δικαιοσύνη· τούτων δ' ἡγεμονὶς ἑκάστη καὶ βασιλίς ἐστι, καὶ ὁ κτησάμενος αὐτὰς ἄρχων καὶ βασιλεὺς εὐθέως, κἂν
129 μηδεμιᾶς ὕλης εὐπορῇ. τὸ γὰρ "ἀφορίζεται εἰς τέσσαρας ἀρχὰς" οὐ τούτων διάστασιν, ἀλλ' ἀρετῶν ἡγεμονίαν ἐμφαίνει καὶ κράτος. αὗται δὲ καθάπερ ἐκ μιᾶς ῥίζης ἐκπεφύκασι τοῦ θείου λόγου, ὃν εἰκάζει ποταμῷ διὰ τὴν ἀέναον καὶ συνεχῆ φορὰν ποτίμων λόγων καὶ δογμάτων, οἷς τὰς φιλοθέους τρέφει καὶ συναύξει ψυχάς.

130 XXXVIII. Ποῖαι δ' αὗται, κατ' ὀλίγον ἐπάγων ἐκδιδάσκει, ποιούμενος ἀπὸ τῶν φύσει τὴν ὑφήγησιν τεχνῶν. εἰσάγει γὰρ τὴν Ἄγαρ πληροῦσαν ἀσκὸν ὕδατος καὶ τὸ παιδίον ποτίζουσαν—ἔστι <δ' ἡ> Ἄγαρ θεραπαινὶς Σάρρας, τῆς τελείας ἀρετῆς [καὶ] μέση παιδεία—φυσικώτατα· ἐπειδὰν οὖν ἄχρι τοῦ βάθους ἔλθοῦσα τῆς ἐπιστήμης, ἣν ὀνομάζει φρέαρ, ἀρύσηται ὥσπερ εἰς ἄγγος τὴν ψυχὴν τά τε δόγματα καὶ θεωρήματα, ἃ μέτεισιν, οἷς τέθραπται, τούτοις τρέφειν τὸ παιδίον ἀξιοῖ.
131 παιδίον δὲ καλεῖ τὴν ἄρτι διδασκαλίας ὀρεγομένην ψυχὴν καὶ πρὸς τῷ μαθεῖν νυνὶ τρόπον τινὰ γεγενημένην, παρὸ καὶ ἀνδρωθεὶς ὁ παῖς γίνεται σοφιστής, ὃν προσαγορεύει τοξότην· ἐφ' ὃ γὰρ ἂν προθῆται κεφάλαιον ὥσπερ σκοπόν, εὐστόχως ἀποδείξεις ὥσπερ ὀϊστοὺς ἀφίησι.

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[a] For the inseparability of the virtues see *S.V.F.* iii. 295 ff.

[b] Philo frequently uses τέχναι of sciences in which philosophy finds scope. To show that he means here, not philosophic modes of thought or action, but those in which we do what everyday needs suggest, he inserts φύσει. We

are four main virtues, wisdom, courage, temperance, justice. Each one of these is a sovereign wielding authority, and the man that has acquired them is by the mere fact of doing so a ruling monarch, even if he be destitute of material resources. For the phrase "is parted into four heads" is not meant to indicate a dividing asunder,[a] but a sway and sovereignty belonging to virtues. These have sprung from the Divine word as from a single root; and that word is likened to a river by reason of the unbroken flow of the constant stream of words and doctrines ever sweet and fresh, by which it brings nourishment and growth to souls that love God.

XXXVIII. The quality of these souls he teaches very fully, leading us on by degrees, using the ordinary arts as the means of instruction.[b] For he shows us Hagar filling a water-skin and giving the child drink. Hagar represents imperfect training, being handmaid of Sarah who represents perfect virtue. The picture shown is perfectly true to principles. For when incomplete education having come to the depths of knowledge, which is called a well, draws from it into the soul as into a vessel the doctrines and speculations of which it is in quest, and thinks fit to feed the child with that on which it has itself been fed. "Child" is the name he gives to the soul just beginning to crave after instruction, and now become to some extent engaged in learning. It is in accordance with this that the boy, when grown to manhood, becomes a sophist, for which Moses' name is "archer." For whatever points he sets forth as a target, at this he discharges proofs like arrows, with sure aim.

do such things unprompted by philosophy. See Dean Robinson's Note on *Ephesians*, ii. 3 (τέκνα φύσει ὀργῆς), p. 50.

132 XXXIX. Ῥεβέκκα δ' οὐκέτι προκοπαῖς ἀλλὰ
τελειότητι ποτίζουσα τὸν μαθητὴν εὑρίσκεται.
πῶς δέ, αὐτὸς διδάξει ὁ νόμος. "ἡ γὰρ παρ-
θένος" φησίν "ἦν καλὴ τῇ ὄψει σφόδρα, παρθένος
ἦν, ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἔγνω αὐτήν. καταβᾶσα δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν
πηγὴν ἔπλησε τὴν ὑδρίαν καὶ ἀνέβη. προσέδραμε
δὲ ὁ παῖς εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτῇ καὶ εἶπε· Πότισόν
με δὴ μικρὸν ὕδωρ ἐκ τῆς ὑδρίας σου. ἡ δὲ εἶπε·
πίε, κύριε. καὶ σπεύσασα καθεῖλε τὴν ὑδρίαν ἐπὶ
τὸν βραχίονα αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπότισεν αὐτόν, ἕως
[251] ἐπαύσατο πίνων· | καὶ εἶπε· καὶ ταῖς καμήλοις
σου ὑδρεύσομαι, ἕως ἂν πᾶσαι πίωσι. καὶ σπεύ-
σασα ἐξεκένωσε τὴν ὑδρίαν εἰς τὸ ποτιστήριον,
καὶ δραμοῦσα ἐπὶ τὸ φρέαρ ὑδρεύσατο ταῖς καμή-
133 λοις" (Gen. xxiv. 16-20). τίς οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσειε
τὴν περὶ πάντα ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ νομοθέτου; παρ-
θένον εἶπε τὴν Ῥεβέκκαν, καὶ πάνυ καλὴν παρ-
θένον, ὅτι ἀμιγὴς καὶ ἄδολος καὶ ἀμίαντος ἡ
ἀρετῆς φύσις καὶ μόνη τῶν ἐν γενέσει καλή τε
καὶ ἀγαθή· ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τὸ στωικὸν ἐβλάστησε
134 δόγμα τὸ μόνον εἶναι τὸ καλὸν ἀγαθόν. XL. τῶν
δ' ἀρετῶν αἱ <μὲν> εἰσιν αἰεὶ παρθένοι, αἱ δὲ ἐκ
γυναικῶν εἰς παρθένους μετέβαλον, ὥσπερ ἡ
Σάρρα· "ἐξέλιπε γὰρ γίνεσθαι τὰ γυναικεῖα"
(Gen. xviii. 11), ὁπότε ἄρχεται τὸ εὔδαιμον
γένος κυοφορεῖν, Ἰσαάκ. ἡ δ' ἀεὶ παρθένος ὑπὸ
ἀνδρός, ᾗ φησι, συνόλως οὐ γινώσκεται. θνητῶν
γὰρ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὐδενὶ τὴν ἀδιάφθορον φύσιν
μιαίνειν ἐφεῖται, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἥτις ἐστὶν εἰλικρινῶς
εἰδέναι· ἐὰν μέντοι καὶ γνῶναι δυνηθῇ, μισῶν καὶ
135 προβεβλημένος οὐ παύεται. διὸ καὶ Λείαν φυσικῶς
εἰσάγει μισουμένην (Gen. xxix. 31)· οὓς γὰρ τὰ

XXXIX. Rebecca is discovered watering her pupil not with gradual progress, like Hagar, but with perfection. How, the Law itself shall show. "The damsel," it says, "was very fair to look upon: she was a virgin, no man had known her. And she went down to the spring and filled her pitcher and came up. And the servant ran to meet her, and said, Give me to drink, I pray thee, a little water out of thy pitcher. And she said, Drink, sir. And she hasted and let down her pitcher on to her arm, and gave him drink, until he ceased drinking. And she said, I will draw water for thy camels also, until they all have drunk. And she hasted and emptied her pitcher into the trough and ran to the well and drew water for the camels" (Gen. xxiv. 16-20). Who would not admire the lawgiver's accuracy in every detail? For he tells us that Rebecca was a virgin and a very beautiful virgin, because virtue is essentially free from alloy and false semblance and defilement, and alone among created things both beautiful and good. Indeed it was from virtue that the Stoic canon sprang that the morally beautiful alone is good. XL. But among the virtues some are ever virgin, some pass from womanhood to virginity, as Sarah did: for "it ceased to be with her after the manner of women" (Gen. xviii. 11), at the time when she first conceives Isaac, happiness personified. But the ever-virgin is, as he says, absolutely not known by a man. For in reality no mortal has been permitted to defile the incorruptible growth, nay not even to know clearly its nature; if he does gain power to know it, he never ceases to hate it and to be on his guard against it. For this reason, like a true philosopher, he represents Leah as hated (Gen. xxix. 31); for Leah, who is

φίλτρα τῶν κατὰ Ῥαχήλ, τὴν αἴσθησιν, ἡδονῶν ἐπάγεται, τούτους οὐκ ἀνέχεται ἡ ἐκτὸς τῶν παθῶν Λεία, διόπερ σκορακιζόμενοι μισοῦσιν αὐτήν· τῇ δὲ ἡ πρὸς τὸ γενητὸν ἀλλοτρίωσις πρὸς θεὸν οἰκείωσιν εἰργάσατο, παρ' οὗ τὰ φρονήσεως παραδεξαμένη σπέρματα ὠδίνει καὶ ἀποτίκτει καλὰς καὶ ἀξίας ἐννοίας τοῦ γεννήσαντος πατρός. ἐὰν οὖν καὶ σὺ μιμησαμένη Λείαν, ὦ ψυχή, <τὰ> θνητὰ ἀποστραφῇς, ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐπιστρέψει πρὸς τὸν ἄφθαρτον, ὃς ὅλας ἐπομβρήσει σοι τὰς τοῦ καλοῦ πηγάς.

136 XLI. Ἡ δὲ Ῥεβέκκα κατέβη, φησίν, ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν πλῆσαι τὴν ὑδρίαν, καὶ ἀνέβη. πόθεν γὰρ τὴν φρονήσεως διψῶσαν διάνοιαν εἰκός ἐστι πληροῦσθαι πλὴν ἀπὸ σοφίας θεοῦ, τῆς ἀνελλιποῦς πηγῆς, εἰς ἣν κατιοῦσα ἀναβαίνει κατά τι συγγενὲς σπουδαίου μαθητοῦ; τοὺς γὰρ ἀπ' οἰήσεως χαύνου κατελθόντας ὁ ἀρετῆς ἐκδεξάμενος καὶ ὑπολαβὼν δι' εὐκλείας εἰς ὕψος αἴρει λόγος. οὗ ἕνεκά μοι δοκεῖ καὶ Μωυσῇ διαλέγεσθαι· "βάδιζε, κατάβηθι, καὶ ἀνάβηθι" (Exod. xix. 24), ὡς
[252] παντὸς τοῦ τὴν ἴδιον | ταπεινότητα μετροῦντος ἐπικυδεστέρου παρὰ τοῖς ἀληθείας κριταῖς γινο-
137 μένου. παρατετηρημένως δὲ σφόδρα ἡ μὲν [γὰρ] Ἄγαρ ἀσκὸν πρὸς τὴν ὑδρείαν, Ῥεβέκκα δὲ ὑδρίαν ἐπιφέρεται, ὅτι τῇ μὲν τοῖς παιδεύμασι τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις <ἐγ>χορευούσῃ δεῖ καθάπερ τινῶν σωματικῶν τῆς αἰσθήσεως ἀγγείων, ὀφθαλμῶν, ὤτων, πρὸς τὴν τῶν θεωρημάτων ἀνάληψιν—ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ πολλὰ μὲν ἰδεῖν, πολλῶν δὲ ἐπακοῦσαι περιγίνεται τοῖς φιλομαθέσιν ἡ ἐξ ἐπιστήμης

above the passions, cannot tolerate those who are attracted by the spells of the pleasures that accord with Rachel, who is sense-perception ; wherefore, finding themselves treated with contempt by her they hate her. But for Leah, estrangement on the human side brings about fellowship with God, and from Him she receives the seed of wisdom, and is in birth-throes, and brings forth beautiful ideas worthy of the Father Who begat them. Then if thou too, O soul, follow Leah's example and turn away from mortal things, thou wilt of necessity turn to the Incorruptible One, Who will cause all the springs of moral beauty to pour their streams upon thee.

XLI. Rebecca, it says, went down to the spring to fill her pitcher, and came up again. For whence is it likely that a mind thirsting for sound sense should be filled save from the wisdom of God, that never-failing spring, its descent to which is an ascent in accordance with some innate characteristic of a true learner ? For the teaching of virtue awaits those who come down from empty self-conceit, and taking them in its arms carries them to the heights with fair fame. It is with a view to this, as it seems to me, that God says to Moses, " Go, get thee down, and come up " (Exod. xix. 24), implying that everyone who rightly gauges his own inferiority becomes more honourable in the estimation of those who can judge of reality. There is point in Hagar's bringing a skin to the place of drawing water, whereas Rebecca brings a pitcher. She who belongs to the band of devotees of school-learning needs, as it were, certain bodily vessels of sense-perception—eyes, ears—for the acquirement of the results of study ; for by those who love to learn the benefit of knowledge is gained

ὠφέλεια—τῇ δὲ ἀκράτου σοφίας πεπληρωμένῃ δερματίνου μὲν ὄγκου <τὸ> παράπαν οὐδενός—ἔμαθε γὰρ ἡ ἀσωμάτων ἐρῶσα ὅλον ἀποδύεσθαι λογισμῷ τὸν ἀσκόν, τὸ σῶμα—ὑδρίας δὲ αὐτὸ μόνον, ἣ σύμβολόν ἐστιν ἀγγείου τὸ πολύχουν ὕδατος τρόπον ἡγεμονικὸν κεχωρηκότος· ὅπερ εἴτε μήνιγγα εἴτε καρδίαν εἶναι συντέτευχεν, οἱ περὶ
138 ταῦτα δεινοὶ φιλοσοφείτωσαν. ὑδρευσαμένην οὖν ἀπὸ σοφίας, τῆς θείας πηγῆς, τὰς ἐπιστήμας ὁ φιλομαθὴς ἰδὼν ἐπιτρέχει καὶ ὑπαντιάσας ἱκέτης γίνεται, ὅπως τὴν τοῦ μαθεῖν δίψαν ἀκέσηται. ἡ δὲ τὸ πρεσβύτατον τῶν παιδευμάτων διδαχθεῖσα, τὸ ἀβάσκανον καὶ φιλόδωρον, εὐθὺς ὀρέγει τὸ σοφίας νᾶμα καὶ ἐμπιεῖν ἀθρόου παρακαλεῖ μετὰ τοῦ καὶ κύριον ὀνομάζειν τὸν οἰκέτην. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὸ δογματικώτατον, ὅτι ὁ σοφὸς μόνος ἐλεύθερός τε καὶ ἄρχων, κἂν μυρίους τοῦ σώματος
139 ἔχῃ δεσπότας. XLII. ὀρθότατα μέντοι φαμένου "πότισόν με μικρὸν ὕδωρ," οὐκ ἀποκρίνεται τὸν ἀκόλουθον τρόπον· ποτιῶ, ἀλλά φησι· "πίε." τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἐπιδεικνυμένης τὸν θεῖον ἦν πλοῦτον, ὃς ἅπασι τοῖς ἀξίοις καὶ δυναμένοις χρῆσθαι προκέχυται, ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἐπαγγελλομένης διδάξειν· οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν ἐξ ἐπαγγέλματος οἰκεῖον ἀρετῇ.

140 Τεχνικώτατα μέντοι χαρακτηρίζει τὴν τῆς διδασκούσης καὶ ὠφελούσης ὑφήγησιν· "σπεύσασα" γάρ φησι "καθεῖλε τὴν ὑδρίαν ἐπὶ τὸν βραχίονα

[a] See App. p. 501.

from seeing much and hearing much. She who is filled with unalloyed wisdom has absolutely no need of any bulky leathern vessel: she that is enamoured of spiritual objects has learned by use of reason to rid herself completely of the body, which the water-skin represents. All she needs is just a pitcher, which is a figure of a vessel containing the ruling faculty as it pours forth like water its copious streams. Whether this faculty be brain or heart, we will leave experts in these matters to discuss. The keen scholar on seeing that from wisdom, that Divine spring, she has drawn knowledge in its various forms, runs towards her, and, when he meets her, beseeches her to satisfy his thirst for instruction. She has been taught the chief of all lessons, ungrudging generosity, and at once holds out to him the water of wisdom, and bids him take a deep draught, calling the servant as she does this "Sir" or "Master." Here we have that highest of truths that only the wise man is free and a ruler,[a] albeit he may have ten thousand masters of his body. XLII. The man had said "Give me a little water to drink." She does not put her answer in a form corresponding to his request, and say "I will give thee to drink," but says "Drink." And she speaks quite correctly, For her saying "Drink" showed that she was making manifest the Divine abundance which has been poured forth for all to enjoy who are worthy and able to do so. To have said "I will give thee to drink" would have been to profess that she would teach him. And virtue eschews all that smacks of profession.[a]

He goes on to portray with great skill the method followed by the teacher who wants to do her pupils good. "She hastened," he says, "and let down the

αὐτῆς," διὰ μὲν τοῦ σπουδάσαι τῆς πρὸς τὸ
εὐεργετεῖν ἐμφαινομένης ὀξύτητος, ᾗ ἀπὸ γνώμης
συνίσταται, ἧς ὑπερόριος ἐκτετόξευται φθόνος,
διὰ δὲ τοῦ καθελεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν βραχίονα αὐτῆς <τῆς>
πρὸς τὸν μανθάνοντα τοῦ διδάσκοντος ἐπικλινοῦς
141 καὶ προσεχοῦς οἰκειώσεως. εὐήθεις γὰρ ὅσοι τῶν
διδασκάλων μὴ πρὸς τὴν τῶν γνωρίμων δύναμιν,
[253] ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ὑπερβάλλουσαν | ἕξιν ἐπι-
χειροῦσι ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ὑφηγήσεις, οὐκ εἰδότες ὡς
διδασκαλίας ἐπίδειξις μακρῷ διενήνοχεν. ὁ μὲν
γὰρ ἐπιδεικνύμενος τῇ τῆς παρούσης ἕξεως εὐφορίᾳ
καταχρώμενος ἀνεμποδίστως τὰ ἐν μακρῷ χρόνῳ
πονηθέντα οἴκοι καθάπερ γραφέων ἔργα ἢ πλαστῶν
εἰς τοὐμφανὲς προφέρει τὸν παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν
θηρώμενος ἔπαινον, ὁ δ' αὖ διδάσκειν ἐπιχειρῶν
οἷά τις ἰατρὸς ἀγαθὸς οὐ πρὸς τὸ τῆς τέχνης
μέγεθος ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θεραπευομένου δύναμιν
ἀφορῶν οὐχ ὅσα ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστήμης πεπόρικε—
ἀμύθητα γὰρ ταῦτά γε—ἀλλ' ὅσων τῷ κάμνοντι
δεῖ στοχαζόμενος τοῦ μετρίου προφέρων ἐπι-
δίδωσιν.

142 XLIII. Διὸ καὶ Μωυσῆς ἐν ἑτέροις φησί·
"δάνειον δανειεῖς τῷ χρῄζοντι ὅσον δεῖται, καθ'
ὃ δεῖται" (Deut. xv. 8), διὰ μὲν τοῦ δευτέρου
διδάσκων ὅτι οὐ πάντα πᾶσι χαριστέον, ἀλλὰ τὰ
οἰκεῖα τῇ τῶν δεομένων χρείᾳ· τὸ γὰρ ἄγκυραν
ἢ πλάτην ἢ πηδάλιον γεωπόνῳ ἢ ἄροτρα καὶ
σκαπάνην κυβερνήτῃ ἢ λύραν μὲν ἰατρῷ, μουσικῷ
δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν χειρουργίαν δωρεῖσθαι ὄργανα

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[a] See App. p. 501.

pitcher on to her arm." By the "hastening" her keenness to do a kindness is brought out, a keenness which comes of a disposition from which envy has been utterly expelled. By the "letting down" on to her arm we are shown how the teacher comes down to the learner and attentively studies him as one with whom he is intimately concerned. For teachers who when they set about giving their lessons keep in view their own great superiority and not the capacity of their pupils, are simpletons, who are not aware how vast is the difference between a lesson and a display. For the man who is giving a display uses to the full the rich yield of the mastery which he possesses, and without let or hindrance brings forward into the open the results of hours spent in labour by himself at home. Such are the works of artists and sculptors. In all this he is trying to gain the praise of the public. The man, on the other hand, who is setting out to teach, is like a good doctor, who with his eyes fixed not on the vastness of his science but on the strength of his patient, applies not all that he has ready[a] for use from the resources of his knowledge—for this is endless—but what the sick man needs, seeking to avoid both defect and excess.

XLIII. This is why Moses says elsewhere: "Thou shalt lend to him that needs (in quantity) as much as he needs (in kind) suitably to his need" (Deut. xv. 8), teaching by the latter clause that we must not grant everything to everybody, but what corresponds (in kind) to the need (or business) of those who wants something. For it is absurd to give an anchor or an oar or a rudder to a farmer, or a plough and a hoe to a pilot, or a lyre to a physician, while giving surgical instruments to a musician. This is as ridiculous as

καταγέλαστον, εἰ μὴ καὶ διψῶσι μὲν πολυτελῆ σιτία, πεινῶσι δὲ πολὺν ἄκρατον ἐπιφέρειν δεῖ πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν εὐπορίας τε ἅμα καὶ μισανθρωπίας, χλεύην τὰς ἑτέρων τύχας τιθεμένους.

Τὸ δὲ ποσὸν ἐν ταῖς χάρισιν αὐτῷ παρείληπται διὰ συμμετρίαν, πρᾶγμα ὠφελιμώτατον· μὴ γὰρ ὅσα δύνασαι χαρίζου, φησὶν ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος, ἀλλ'
143 ὅσα ἱκανὸς ὁ δεόμενός ἐστι δέξασθαι. ἢ οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἀναλογοῦντας τῷ μεγέθει τῆς αὑτοῦ τελειότητος χρησμοὺς ἀναφθέγγεται, πρὸς δὲ τὴν τῶν ὠφεληθησομένων ἀεὶ δύναμιν; ἐπεὶ καὶ τίς ἂν ἐχώρησε θεοῦ λόγων ἰσχὺν τῶν ἁπάσης κρειττόνων ἀκοῆς; ὃ ἀψευδέστατα δοκοῦσιν οἱ Μωυσῇ λέγοντες· "λάλησον σὺ ἡμῖν, καὶ μὴ λαλείτω πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός, μὴ ἀποθάνωμεν" (Exod. xx. 19)· ἔγνωσαν γὰρ ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔχουσι παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ἀξιόχρεων ὄργανον θεοῦ νομοθετοῦν-
144 τος ἐκκλησίαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ τὸν πλοῦτον ἐπιδείκνυσθαι βουληθείη τὸν ἑαυτοῦ, χωρήσαι ἂν ἠπειρωθείσης καὶ θαλάττης ἡ σύμπασα γῆ· εἰ μὴ νομίζομεν ὑετῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν κόσμῳ φορὰν κατὰ τεταγμένας καιρῶν περιόδους, ἀλλὰ μὴ συνεχῶς γίνεσθαι διὰ σπάνιν καὶ ἔνδειαν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἕνεκα προμηθείας τῶν χρῃζόντων, οὓς ἡ συνεχὴς τῶν ὁμοίων δωρεῶν ἀπόλαυσις
[254] βλάψειν | μᾶλλον ἔμελλεν ἢ ὠφελήσειν.

145 Διὸ τὰς πρώτας αἰεὶ χάριτας, πρὶν κορεσθέντας ἐξυβρίσαι τοὺς λαχόντας, ἐπισχὼν καὶ ταμιευσά-

[a] Supplying λέγειν from λέγοντες.

it is to bring costly viands to those who are athirst, and gallons of undiluted wine to those who are hungry, with a view to making known at the same time our wealth and our hatred of our fellow-men, by making sport of others' mishaps.

With the kind of help to be given has been joined the amount to be given. This is introduced for the sake of maintaining due proportion, a thing which has great advantages. "Do not," says right principle, "give all you can, but as much as the man in want is capable of receiving." Or do you fail to notice that even God imparts divine communications not in a way corresponding to the greatness of His own perfection, but to the ever-varying capacity of those whom He would benefit? Who could possibly have borne the force of the oracles of God which are too great for any power of hearing? This seems to be most truly expressed[a] by those who say to Moses: "Speak thou to us, and let not God speak to us, lest we die" (Exod. xx. 19); for they felt that they have in themselves no organ of hearing fit to be employed when God is giving laws to His congregation. Were He to choose to display His own riches, even the entire earth with the sea turned into dry land would not contain them. One might as well suppose that the rainfall and the supply of Nature's other boons takes place at seasons recurring at fixed intervals, and not uninterruptedly, owing to some dearth and scarcity of them, and not out of forethought for those who need them, who would be harmed rather than benefited by the unbroken enjoyment of like gifts.

Wherefore God ever causes His earliest gifts to cease before their recipients are glutted and wax insolent; and storing them up for the future gives

μενος εἰσαῦθις ἑτέρας ἀντ' ἐκείνων καὶ τρίτας ἀντὶ τῶν δευτέρων καὶ αἰεὶ νέας ἀντὶ παλαιοτέρων, τοτὲ μὲν διαφερούσας, τοτὲ δ' αὖ καὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἐπιδίδωσι. τὸ γὰρ γενητὸν οὐδέποτε μὲν ἀμοιρεῖ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χαρίτων—ἐπεὶ πάντως ἂν διέφθαρτο—φέρειν δὲ τὴν πολλὴν καὶ ἄφθονον αὐτῶν ῥύμην ἀδυνατεῖ. διὸ βουλόμενος ὄνησιν ἡμᾶς ἔχειν ὧν ἐπιδίδωσι πρὸς τὴν τῶν λαμβανόντων ἰσχὺν τὰ
146 διδόμενα σταθμᾶται. XLIV. ἐπαινετέον οὖν καὶ Ῥεβέκκαν, ἣ τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ἑπομένη διατάγμασιν ἀφ' ὑψηλοτέρου χωρίου καθελοῦσα τὸ σοφίας ἀγγεῖον ἐπὶ τὸν βραχίονα, τὴν ὑδρίαν [δὲ], ὀρέγει τῷ μαθητῇ ἃς ἱκανὸς ἐκεῖνός ἐστι δέξασθαι διδα-
147 σκαλίας. μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τὸ ἄφθονον αὐτῆς καταπέπληγμαι. μικρὸν γὰρ αἰτηθεῖσα πόμα πολὺ δίδωσιν, ἕως ὅλην τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ μανθάνοντος ποτίμων θεωρημάτων ἐπλήρωσεν. λέγει γάρ· "ἐπότισεν αὐτὸν ἕως ἐπαύσατο πίνων," πρὸς φιλανθρωπίαν δίδαγμα θαυμασιώτατον· ἐὰν γάρ τις πλειόνων μὲν τυγχάνῃ χρεῖος ὤν, ὀλίγα δὲ ὑπ' αἰδοῦς προσιὼν αἰτῇ, μὴ ταῦθ' ἅ φησι μόνα παρέχωμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἡσυχαζόμενα ἐκεῖνα, ὧν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἐνδεής ἐστιν.

148 Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπόχρη μόνον πρὸς τελείαν ἀπόλαυσιν τῷ γνωρίμῳ καταλαμβάνειν ὅσα ἂν ὁ διδάσκων ὑφηγῆται, εἰ μὴ προσγένοιτο καὶ μνήμη· διόπερ ἐπιδεικνυμένη τὸ φιλόδωρον, ὅτε αὐτὸν πληροῖ ποτίσασα, ὑπισχνεῖται καὶ ταῖς καμήλοις ὑδρεύσεσθαι, ἃς συμβολικῶς μνήμας εἶναί φαμεν· μη-

others in their stead, and a third supply to replace the second, and ever new in place of earlier boons, sometimes different in kind, sometimes the same. For creation is never left destitute of the gifts of God—had it been so left it would assuredly have perished—but it has no power to bear their full and abundant torrent. And so in His desire that we should enjoy benefit from the gifts which He bestows, God proportions the things which He gives to the strength of those who receive them. XLIV. Rebecca is therefore to be commended for following the ordinances of the Father (of all) and letting down from a higher position the vessel which contains wisdom, called the pitcher, on to her arm, and for holding out to the learner the teaching which he is able to receive. Among the other traits before which I stand in amazement is her lavishmess. Asked for a little to drink she gives much, until she has filled the whole soul of the learner with draughts of speculations. For we read, "She gave him to drink until he left off drinking," a piece of teaching on kindness to our fellow-men well worthy of our admiration. For, if a man chance to be in want of many things, and come to us and owing to shame ask for few things, let us not supply him with the things which he mentioned only, but also with those about which he was silent, of which he is really in need.

But for perfect enjoyment on the pupil's part, it is not enough that he should simply take in all the instructions given by the teacher. He needs the further boon of memory. Accordingly Rebecca exhibits her generosity by promising, when she gives the servant all he can drink, to water the camels also. These we take to be figures of memory, for the

ρυκᾶται γὰρ τὸ ζῷον τὴν τροφὴν ἐπιλεαῖνον, καὶ
ὅταν ὀκλάσαν δέξηται βαρύτατον φόρτον, μετὰ
149 πολλῆς ἄγαν εὐτονίας ἐγείρεται κούφως. οὕτως
δὲ καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ φιλομαθοῦς, ὅταν ἐπιφορηθῇ
τὸ τῶν θεωρημάτων ἄχθος, ταπεινοτέρα μὲν
οὐ γίνεται, διαναστᾶσα δὲ γέγηθεν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς
ἐπαναπολήσεως καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπιλεάνσεως τῆς πρῶτον
καταβληθείσης τροφῆς περιγίνεται μνήμη τῶν
150 θεωρημάτων. ἰδοῦσα δὲ εὐπαράδεκτον ἀρετῆς
<τὴν> τοῦ παιδὸς φύσιν ὅλην ἐξεκένωσε τὴν
ὑδρίαν εἰς τὸ ποτιστήριον, τουτέστι τὴν τοῦ
διδάσκοντος ἅπασαν ἐπιστήμην εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν
τοῦ μανθάνοντος. σοφισταὶ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ μισθαρ-
νίας ἅμα καὶ φθόνου τὰς τῶν γνωρίμων κολούον-
τες φύσεις πολλὰ τῶν ἃ χρὴ λέγειν ἡσυχάζουσι
ταμιευόμενοι τὸν ἀργυρισμὸν εἰσαῦθις ἑαυτοῖς·
151 ἄφθονον δὲ καὶ δωρητικὸν ἀρετὴ πρᾶγμα, ὡς, τὸ
[255] λεγόμενον, χειρὶ καὶ ποδὶ | καὶ πάσῃ δυνάμει μὴ
ὀκνεῖν ὠφελεῖν. ὅσα οὖν ἠπίστατο, καθάπερ εἰς
δεξαμενὴν τὴν τοῦ γνωρίμου προχέασα διάνοιαν
ἔρχεται πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ φρέαρ ἀντλῆσαι, ἐπὶ τὴν
ἀέναον τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίαν, ἵνα καὶ τὰ <παλαιὰ>
παγίως ὀχυρώσηται διὰ μνήμης καὶ ἄλλων καινο-
τέρων ἐπιστήμαις ποτισθῇ· ἀπερίγραφος γὰρ ὁ
σοφίας θεοῦ πλοῦτος καὶ νέα ἐπὶ παλαιοῖς ἐκ-
φέρων βλαστήματα, ὡς ἀνηβῶν τε καὶ ἐπακμάζων
152 μηδέποτε λήγειν. διὸ καὶ πάνυ εὐήθεις ὅσοι πρὸς
τὸ πέρας ἡστινοσοῦν ἐπιστήμης ἀφικέσθαι διενοή-
θησαν· τὸ γὰρ ἐγγὺς εἶναι δόξαν μακρὰν ἄγαν τοῦ

[a] See App. p. 501.

camel is a ruminating animal softening its food by chewing the cud. Moreover, when it has knelt and had a heavy load laid on it, it nimbly raises itself with astonishing agility. In the same way the soul [a] of the keen learner also, when it has been laden with the mass of speculations, does not stoop indeed, but springs up rejoicing, and through repetition and (so to speak) rumination of the original deposit of (mental) food, gains power to remember the things contemplated. When she saw how readily receptive of virtue the servant's nature was, she emptied all the contents of her pitcher into the drinking-trough, that is to say, she poured all the teacher's knowledge into the soul of the learner. For, whereas sophists, impelled at once by mercenary motives and by a grudging spirit, stunt the natures of their pupils by withholding much that they ought to tell them, carefully reserving for themselves against another day the opportunity of making money; virtue is an ungrudging thing, fond of making gifts, never hesitating to do good, as the saying is, with hand and foot and all her might. Well, after pouring forth all that she knew into her pupil's understanding as into a receptacle, she comes again to the well to draw, to the ever-flowing wisdom of God, that her pupil may, by means of memory, fix firmly what he has learned, and drink in draughts of knowledge of yet other fresh subjects; for the wealth of the wisdom of God is unbounded and puts forth new shoots after the old ones, so as never to leave off renewing its youth and reaching its prime. For this reason all who imagine that they have arrived at the limit of any science whatever are perfect simpletons; for that which seemed to be near the end is very far away from it;

τέλους ἀφέστηκεν, ἐπεὶ τέλειος τῶν γεγονότων οὐδεὶς πρὸς οὐδὲν μάθημα, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον ἐνδεῖ, ὅσον κομιδῇ νήπιος παῖς ἄρτι τοῦ μανθάνειν ἀρχόμενος πρὸς πολιὸν ἤδη διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἅμα καὶ τὴν τέχνην ὑφηγητήν.

153 XLV. Ἐρευνητέον δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν, δι' ἣν τὸν μὲν παῖδα ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς, τὰς δὲ καμήλους ἀπὸ τοῦ φρέατος ποτίζει. μήποτ' οὖν τὸ μὲν νᾶμα ταὐτόν, * * * ὁ τὰς ἐπιστήμας ἄρδων [ὁ] ἱερὸς λόγος, τὸ δὲ φρέαρ συγγενὲς μνήμης· ἃ γὰρ βύθια πέφηνεν[1] ἤδη, ταῦθ' ὥσπερ ἐκ φρέατος δι'
154 ὑπομνήσεως ἄγεται. τοὺς μὲν οὖν τοιούτους τῆς περὶ τὴν φύσιν εὐμοιρίας ἀποδεκτέον· εἰσὶ δέ τινες τῶν ἀσκητῶν, οἷς τὴν ἐπ' ἀρετὴν ἄγουσαν ὁδὸν τραχεῖαν καὶ δυσάντη καὶ χαλεπὴν νομισθεῖσαν τὸ πρῶτον λεωφόρον αὖθις ὁ τὰ πάντα εὐεργέτης ἀπέδειξε θεὸς εἰς γλυκύτητα τὸ πικρὸν τοῦ πόνου μεταβαλών. ὃν δὲ τρόπον μετέβαλε, σημανοῦμεν·
155 ὅτε ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, τῶν κατὰ τὸ σῶμα παθῶν, ἐξήγαγε, τὴν ἔρημον ἡδονῆς ἀτραπὸν ὁδεύοντες ἐν Μέρροις ἐστρατοπεδευόμεθα, χωρίῳ πότιμον μὲν οὐκ ἔχοντι νᾶμα, πικρὸν δὲ σύμπαν (Exod. xv. 23)· ἔτι γὰρ αἱ δι' ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ ὤτων γαστρός τε αὖ καὶ τῶν μετὰ γαστέρα τέρψεις ἔναυλοί τε ἦσαν καὶ σφόδρα ἐκήλουν ὑπ-
156 ηχοῦσαι. ὁπότ' οὖν διαποζεύγνυσθαι κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ἐθέλοιμεν, ἀνθεῖλκον ἐπαγόμεναι καὶ

[1] πέφηνεν is a conjecture for ἀπέφηνεν (Tr.); or perhaps for ἀπέφηνεν ἤδη read ἀπέφηνε λήθη (ἀποφαίνειν = "to make, render").

[a] An attempt has been made in the translation to render the passage as though no words were missing. But it is open to the objection that πηγή would naturally be dealt

for no one that has ever lived has been perfect in any subject of study, but falls as far short of perfection as a very young boy just beginning to learn compared with an instructor now grown grey, both as regards his age and his proficiency in his profession.

XLV. Again we must search for the reason why she gives the servant to drink from the spring, but the camels from the well. We should probably explain it in this way : the water is the same in each case, the sacred word supplying streams of knowledge.[a] But the well is particularly associated with memory ; for things which have appeared to be by this time in the depths and out of reach are drawn up as from a well by means of a reminder (from outside). Such men we must cordially approve for the excellent nature which has fallen to their lot. But there are some men of diligence and effort, who at first think the way leading to virtue rough and steep and difficult, but for whom later on the all-bountiful God renders it a highway, transforming the bitterness of their toil into sweetness. In what manner He transformed it we will point out. When He led us forth out of Egypt, that is out of our bodily passions, as we journeyed along the track barren of pleasure, we encamped in Marah, a spot having no water fit to drink, but water wholly bitter (Exod. xv. 23) ; for the delights that come by the way of eyes and ears and that of the appetite and sexual lusts bewitched us with their haunting music, ever ringing in our ears. And whenever we wished wholly to sever ourselves from them, they would pull against us, drawing us

with first: and the still graver objection that it treats *ἐπιστῆμαι* as *watered*, whereas in 138 they are the *water*.

We suggest that the text should be printed thus –*τὸ μὲν νᾶμα ταὐτὸν* <*αἱ ἐπιστῆμαι, ἡ δὲ πηγὴ*> *ὁ τὰς κτλ.*

περιπλεκόμεναι καὶ λιπαρῶς καταγοητεύουσαι, ὥστε πρὸς τὰς συνεχεῖς τιθασείας αὐτῶν ἐνδόντες πόνῳ μὲν ἠλλοτριούμεθα ὡς πικρῷ πάνυ καὶ δυσκόλῳ, παλινδρομεῖν δὲ εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐβουλευόμεθα, τὸν ἀσελγοῦς καὶ ἀκολάστου βίου ὑπόδρομον, εἰ μὴ θᾶττον ὁ σωτὴρ οἶκτον λαβὼν καθάπερ ἥδυσμα ξύλον γλυκαῖνον (cf. Exod. xv. 25) εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν ἐνέβαλε φιλοπονίαν ἀντὶ μισοπονίας ἐργασάμενος·
157 ᾔδει γάρ, ἅτε δημιουργὸς ὤν, ὅτι τῶν ὄντων
[256] οὐδενός, εἰ μὴ προσγένοιτο σφοδρὸς | ἔρως, ἔνεστι περιγενέσθαι. ὅσα οὖν ἐπιτηδεύουσιν ἄνθρωποι, δίχα μὲν οἰκειώσεως τῆς πρὸς αὐτὰ τὸ ἁρμόττον τέλος οὐ λαμβάνει, προσγενομένης δὲ φιλίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸ ποθούμενον συντήξεως ἄκρως κατορθοῦται.

158 XLVI. Αὕτη τροφὴ ψυχῆς ἀσκητικῆς, ἥδιστον ἀντὶ πικροῦ τὸ πονεῖν ὑπολαβεῖν, ἧς οὐχ ἅπασι κοινωνῆσαι θέμις, ἀλλ' οἷς ὁ χρυσοῦς μόσχος, τὸ Αἰγυπτίων ἀφίδρυμα, τὸ σῶμα, πυρωθὲν καὶ λεανθὲν σπείρεται καθ' ὕδατος. λέγεται γὰρ ἐν ἱεραῖς βίβλοις, ὅτι "λαβὼν Μωυσῆς τὸν μόσχον κατέκαυσε πυρὶ καὶ κατήλεσε λεπτὸν καὶ ἔσπειρεν ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἐπότισε τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραήλ"
159 (Exod. xxxii. 20). ὁ γὰρ φιλάρετος ὑπὸ τῆς αὐγοειδοῦς τοῦ καλοῦ φαντασίας πυρωθεὶς καταφλέγει τὰς σωματικὰς ἡδονάς, εἶτα κατακόπτει καὶ ἐπιλεαίνει τῷ ἀπὸ διαιρέσεως λόγῳ χρώμενος, καὶ διδάσκει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ὅτι τῶν σωματικῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐστιν ὑγίεια ἢ κάλλος ἢ ἡ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἀκρίβεια ἢ τὸ ὁλόκληρον μετὰ ἰσχύος καὶ ῥώμης

on and gripping us, and persistently casting their spells over us, so that, giving in to their unceasing efforts to subdue and tame us, we came to abhor labour as utterly bitter and repugnant, and we planned to retrace our course and return to Egypt, the refuge of a dissolute and licentious life ; and, we might have done so had not the Saviour, anticipating us, taken pity on us and cast into our soul a sweetening tree like a syrup, producing love of labour instead of hatred of labour (*cf.* Exod. xv. 25) ; for being the Creator He knew that it is impossible for us to rise superior to anything whatever, unless a vehement love of such effort be implanted in us. No pursuit that men engage in, where affection does not draw them, gains its fitting end. For complete success a sense of liking must be added, and the heart must be absorbed in the object of its desire.

XLVI. This is the food of the soul of an earnest striver, to deem labour not bitter but most sweet. Not for all is it lawful to partake of this food. Those only may do so in whose case the golden calf, the idol of the Egyptians, which is the body, is strewn upon the water, after having been burnt and ground. For it is said in the sacred books that " Moses took the calf and burned it up with fire and ground it fine and sowed it upon the water, and gave the Children of Israel to drink of it " (Exod. xxxii. 20). For the lover of virtue, set on fire by the brilliant appearance of the beautiful, burns up the pleasures of the body, and then chops and grinds them up, employing the principle of classification, and by this means teaches that health, or beauty, or precision of the senses, or complete soundness, including strength and muscular force, are among the bodily " good things," and yet

κρατερᾶς, ἅ γε πάντα καὶ τῶν ἐπαράτων καὶ ἐξαγίστων ἐστὶ κοινά, ὧν, εἴπερ ἦν ἀγαθά, φαῦλος
160 οὐδενὸς οὐδεὶς ἂν μετεῖχε. ἀλλ' οὗτοι μέν, εἰ καὶ παντάπασι μοχθηροί, ἀλλ' ἄνθρωποί γε ὄντες καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως τοῖς ἀστείοις κεκοινωνηκότες μετέχουσιν αὐτῶν. νυνὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν θηρίων τὰ ἀτιθασώτατα μᾶλλον τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τούτοις, εἰ δὴ ἀγαθὰ πρὸς ἀλήθειάν ἐστιν, ἢ οἱ λογικοὶ κέχρην-
161 ται. τίς γὰρ ἂν ἀθλητὴς πρὸς ταύρου δύναμιν ἢ ἐλέφαντος ἀλκὴν ἐξισωθείη; τίς δ' ἂν δρομεὺς πρὸς σκύλακος ἢ λαγωδαρίου ποδώκειαν; ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ὀξυδερκέστατος πρὸς ἱεράκων ἢ ἀετῶν ὄψιν ἀμβλυωπέστατος. ἀκοαῖς γε μὴν ἢ ὀσμαῖς πολλῷ τῷ περιόντι τὰ ἄλογα κεκράτηκεν, ὡς καὶ ὄνος μέν, τὸ δοκοῦν ἐν ζῴοις εἶναι νωθέστατον, κωφὴν ἂν ἀποδεῖξαι τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀκοὴν ἐλθὼν εἰς ἐπίκρισιν, κύων δὲ περιττὸν ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ μυκτῆρας μέρος δι' ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ περὶ τὰς ὀσμὰς τάχους· ἐξικνοῦνται γὰρ ἐπὶ μήκιστον,
162 ὡς ὀφθαλμῶν ἁμιλλᾶσθαι φορᾷ. XLVII. καὶ τί δεῖ περὶ ἑκάστου διεξιόντα μακρηγορεῖν; ἤδη γὰρ τοῦτο παρὰ τοῖς δοκιμωτάτοις τῶν πάλαι λογίων ὡμολόγηται, οἳ τῶν μὲν ἀλόγων μητέρα τὴν
[257] φύσιν, ἀνθρώπων δὲ μητρυιὰν | ἔφασαν εἶναι, τὴν κατὰ σῶμα τῶν μὲν ἀσθένειαν, τῶν δὲ ὑπερβάλλουσαν ἐν ἅπασιν ἰσχὺν κατανοήσαντες. εἰκότως οὖν κατήλεσε τὸν μόσχον ὁ τεχνίτης, τουτέστιν εἰς μέρη διελὼν τὰ οἷς σῶμα πλεονεκτεῖ πάντα

all these are shared with others by men abominable and accursed ; whereas, had they been good things, no bad man would have had part in any of them. But these men, even if utterly worthless, still, being human beings and of the same nature, have their share of these things in partnership with good men. As it is, moreover, even the most savage of wild beasts enjoy the advantage of these "good things," if good things they really are, in greater measure than those who are endowed with reason. For what athlete would be a match for the power of a bull or the strength of an elephant ? What runner could equal the swiftness of a hound or a hare ? The man of keenest eyesight is very shortsighted in comparison with the power of vision possessed by hawks or eagles. In hearing and scent the irrational creatures are greatly superior to us, for even an ass, regarded as the dullest among living creatures, were he to be tested with us, would make our hearing appear deafness ; while a dog with his great rapidity of scent, reaching as it does to such an enormous distance as to rival the range of the eyes, would prove a nose to be a superfluous part of the human frame. XLVII. And what need is there to be diffuse and go into each instance ? For this was long ago agreed upon among the most approved of the learned men of former days, who said that nature is the mother of the irrational creatures, but the step-mother of men. They said this when they took note of the bodily weakness of the latter, and of the invariably surpassing bodily strength of the former. It was reasonable, then, that the expert master should grind down the calf, that is to say, should divide it into parts and make it evident that all the advantages pertaining to the

τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἐπέδειξεν ἀγαθοῦ μακρὰν διεστῶτα καὶ μηδὲν τῶν ἐφ᾽ ὕδατος σπειρομένων
163 διαφέροντα. διὸ καὶ τὸν καταλεσθέντα μόσχον ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ λόγος κατέχει σπαρῆναι, τοῦ μηδὲν γνήσιον ἀγαθοῦ φυτὸν ἐν ὕλῃ φθαρτῇ ποτε δύνασθαι βλαστάνειν σύμβολον. ὡς γὰρ εἰς ποταμοῦ ῥεῦμα ἢ θαλάττης καταβληθὲν σπέρμα τὰς ἰδίους οὐκ ἂν ἐπιδείξαιτο δυνάμεις—ἀμήχανον γάρ, εἰ <μὴ> ῥίζαις ὥσπερ ἀγκύραις ἐχυροῦ τινος γῆς μέρους ἀπρὶξ[1] λαβόμενον ἱδρυθείη, ἢ ἔρνος ἀναβλαστῆσαι, καὶ εἰ μὴ περιμηκέστατον, ἀλλά τοι χαμαίζηλον, ἢ καρποὺς καθ᾽ ὥρας τὰς ἐτησίους ἐνεγκεῖν· φθάνει γὰρ τοὺς σπερματικοὺς ἅπαντας τόνους ἡ τοῦ ὕδατος πολλὴ καὶ βίαιος ἀποκλύσασα φορά—τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅσα τοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγγείου λέγεταί τε καὶ ᾄδεται πλεονεκτήματα πρὶν ὑποστῆναι φθείρεται τῆς σωματικῆς οὐσίας αἰεὶ
164 ῥεούσης. πῶς γὰρ νόσοι καὶ γῆρας καὶ παντελεῖς ἐπεγίνοντο φθοραί, εἰ μὴ συνεχὴς ἦν λόγῳ θεωρητῶν ῥευμάτων ἀπάντλησις; τούτοις οὖν ποτίζειν ἐπαξιοῖ[2] <ὁ> ἱεροφάντης τὴν διάνοιαν ἡμῶν τῷ καταφλέξαι τὰς ἡδονάς, τῷ τὸ σύστημα τῶν σωματικῶν ἀγαθῶν εἰς λεπτὸν καὶ ἀνωφελῆ χοῦν καταλέσαντας ἀναλῦσαι, τῷ ὑπολαβεῖν ὅτι ἐξ οὐδενὸς αὐτῶν ἐβλάστησέ ποτε καὶ ἤνθησε τὸ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν καλόν, ὥσπερ οὐδ᾽ ἐκ σπερμάτων ἃ σπείρεται καθ᾽ ὕδατος.

165 XLVIII. Ταῦροι δὲ καὶ κριοὶ καὶ τράγοι, οὓς Αἴγυπτος διὰ τιμῆς ἔχει, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα φθαρτῆς ὕλης ἀφιδρύματα, ἀκοῇ μόνον νομίζονται θεοί,

[1] ἀπρὶξ by conjecture for ἅπαξ.
[2] ἐπαξιοῖ substituted by conjecture for ἀπαξιοῖ.

body are far removed from that which is really good, and differ in no respect from what was sown upon the water. And this is why it has been placed on record that the calf when ground down was sown upon the water, as a sign that no genuine growth of good can ever sprout in perishable matter. A seed cast into the flow of a river or of the sea could never manifest its proper powers ; for unless it were to use its roots as anchors and fasten firmly on to some fixed spot of ground, and so get settled there, it would be impossible for it either to put forth a shoot, even one hardly rising above the ground, to say nothing of a good tall one, or to bear fruits as the seasons came round ; for the full and violent rush of the water washes it away and forestalls all the powers of expansion latent in the seed. Even so, before any of those advantages of the vessel of the soul, on which orators declaim and poets sing, can attain substantial shape, they are destroyed owing to the constant flow of bodily substance. For how did illnesses and old age and complete dissolution come upon men, if there was not a perpetual draining off of streams brought within our contemplation by reason ? Thus, then, the sacred Guide would have us refresh our understanding, namely by burning up our pleasures, by grinding down and breaking up the complex of bodily goods into thin and useless dust, by making up our minds that from none of them did there ever shoot forth and bloom that which is truly beautiful, any more than from seeds sown upon the waters.

XLVIII. Bulls and rams and goats, which Egypt honours, and all other objects of worship of perishable material as well, are held to be gods on hearsay only,

πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὐκ ὄντες, ψευδώνυμοι πάντες. ἁπαλαῖς γὰρ ἔτι ταῖς τῶν νέων ψυχαῖς οἱ τραγῳδίαν τὸν βίον τυφογερόντων[1] νομίζοντες κεκιβδηλευμένους χαρακτῆρας ἐναπομάττονται, διακόνοις ἀκοαῖς χρώμενοι, ὧν μυθικὸν λῆρον καταχέαντες καὶ μέχρι διανοίας αὐτῶν ἐντήξαντες θεοπλαστεῖν τοὺς τὰ φρονήματα ἄνδρας μὲν μηδέποτε γινομένους ἀεὶ δὲ θηλυδρίας ὄντας ἠνάγκασαν.

166 Ὁ γοῦν μόσχος οὐκ ἐξ ἅπαντος τοῦ γυναικείου κόσμου κατασκευάζεται, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἐνωτίων |
[258] αὐτὸ μόνον (Exod. xxxii. 2), διδάσκοντος ἡμᾶς τοῦ νομοθέτου ὅτι χειρόκμητος οὐδείς ἐστιν ὄψει καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν θεός, ἀλλ' ἀκοῇ καὶ τῷ νομίζεσθαι, καὶ ἀκοῇ μέντοι γυναικός, οὐκ ἀνδρός· ἐκνενευρισμένης γὰρ ἔργον καὶ ἐκτεθηλυμμένης τῷ ὄντι ψυχῆς τοὺς τοιούτους ὕθλους παρα-
167 δέχεσθαι. τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὂν οὐ δι' ὤτων μόνον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς διανοίας ὄμμασιν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὸν κόσμον δυνάμεων καὶ ἐκ τῆς συνεχοῦς καὶ ἀπαύστου τῶν ἀμυθήτων ἔργων φορᾶς κατανοεῖσθαί τε καὶ γνωρίζεσθαι συμβέβηκε. διόπερ ἐν ᾠδῇ μείζονι λέγεται ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ· "ἴδετε ἴδετε, ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι" (Deut. xxxii. 39), τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος ἐναργείᾳ μᾶλλον [ἀντι]καταλαμβανομένου ἢ λόγων ἀποδείξει συνισταμένου.
168 τὸ δ' ὁρατὸν εἶναι τὸ ὂν οὐ κυριολογεῖται, κατάχρησις δ' ἐστὶν ἐφ' ἑκάστην αὐτοῦ τῶν δυνάμεων ἀναφερομένου. καὶ γὰρ νῦν οὔ φησιν· ἴδετε ἐμέ—ἀμήχανον γὰρ τὸν κατὰ τὸ εἶναι θεὸν ὑπὸ γενέσεως τὸ παράπαν κατανοηθῆναι—ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐγώ

[1] τυφογερόντων is Tischendorf's conjecture.

not being really such, all falsely so called. For those who deem life a show got up for foolish dotards make counterfeit impressions in the yet tender souls of the young, employing their ears as their ministers, and filling them with the nonsense of myths. They instil it into their very minds, and force those who never become men in lofty spirit but are always womanish to fashion gods for themselves.

The calf, you observe, is not made out of all the things with which women deck themselves, but only their ear-rings (Exod. xxxii. 2), for the lawgiver is teaching us that no manufactured god is a God for sight and in reality, but for the ear to hear of, and vogue and custom to proclaim, and that too a woman's ear, not a man's, for to entertain such trash is the work of an effeminate and sinew-less soul. But the Being that in reality IS can be perceived and known, not only through the ears, but with the eyes of the understanding, from the powers that range the universe, and from the constant and ceaseless motion of His ineffable works. Wherefore in the great Song[a] there come these words as from the lips of God, "See, see that I AM" (Deut. xxxii. 39), showing that He that actually IS is apprehended by clear intuition rather than demonstrated by arguments carried on in words. When we say that the Existent One is visible, we are not using words in their literal sense, but it is an irregular use of the word by which it is referred to each one of His powers. In the passage just quoted He does not say "See Me," for it is impossible that the God who IS should be perceived at all by created beings. What he says is

[a] Deuteronomy xxxii. is called "The Greater Song" in distinction from that in Exod. xv. *Cf. L.A.* iii. 105.

εἰμι ἴδετε, τουτέστι τὴν ἐμὴν ὕπαρξιν θεάσασθε.
ἀνθρώπου γὰρ ἐξαρκεῖ λογισμῷ μέχρι τοῦ κατα-
μαθεῖν ὅτι ἔστι τε καὶ ὑπάρχει τὸ τῶν ὅλων αἴτιον
προελθεῖν· περαιτέρω δὲ σπουδάζειν τρέπεσθαι,
ὡς περὶ οὐσίας ἢ ποιότητος ζητεῖν, ὠγύγιός τις
169 ἠλιθιότης. οὐδὲ γὰρ Μωυσῇ τῷ πανσόφῳ κατ-
ένευσεν ὁ θεὸς τοῦτό γε, καίτοι γε μυρίας ποιη-
σαμένῳ δεήσεις, ἀλλὰ χρησμὸς ἐξέπεσεν αὐτῷ,
ὅτι "τὰ μὲν ὀπίσω θεάσῃ, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον οὐκ
ὄψει" (Exod. xxxiii. 23)· τοῦτο δ' ἦν· πάνθ' ὅσα
μετὰ τὸν θεὸν τῷ σπουδαίῳ καταληπτά, αὐτὸς δὲ
μόνος ἀκατάληπτος· ἀκατάληπτός γε ἐκ τῆς ἀντι-
κρὺς καὶ κατ' εὐθυωρίαν προσβολῆς—διὰ γὰρ
ταύτης οἷος ἦν ἐμηνύετ' ἄν—ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἑπομένων
καὶ ἀκολούθων δυνάμεων <καταληπτός>· αὗται
γὰρ οὐ τὴν οὐσίαν, τὴν δ' ὕπαρξιν ἐκ τῶν ἀπο-
τελουμένων αὐτῷ παριστᾶσι.
170 XLIX. Γεννήσας τοίνυν ὁ νοῦς ἀρχὴν σπου-
δαίας διαθέσεως καὶ ἀρετῆς τινα πρῶτον τρόπον
τὸν Σήθ, τὸν ποτισμόν, ἐπινεανιεύεται καλὴν καὶ
ὁσίαν νεανιείαν. φησὶ γάρ· "ἐξανέστησέ μοι ὁ
θεὸς σπέρμα ἕτερον ἀντὶ Ἄβελ, ὃν ἀπέκτεινε
Κάιν" (Gen. iv. 25). ἐξητασμένως γὰρ καὶ
περιττῶς εἴρηται τὸ μηδὲν τῶν θείων σπερμάτων
χαμαὶ πίπτειν, ἅπαντα δὲ εἰς τὸ ἄνω χωρεῖν ἀπὸ
171 τῶν περιγείων ἐξανιστάμενα. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ
τῶν θνητῶν καταβαλλόμενα σπέρματα πρὸς ζῴων |
[259] ἢ φυτῶν γένεσιν οὐ πάντα τελεσιουργεῖται, ἀγα-
πητὸν δ' εἰ μὴ τὰ φθειρόμενα πλείω τῶν δια-
μενόντων ἐστί· σπείρει δ' ὁ θεὸς ἐν ψυχαῖς ἀτελὲς

"See that I AM," that is "Behold My subsistence." For it is quite enough for a man's reasoning faculty to advance as far as to learn that the Cause of the Universe is and subsists. To be anxious to continue his course yet further, and inquire about essence or quality in God, is a folly fit for the world's childhood. Not even to Moses, the all-wise, did God accord this, albeit he had made countless requests, but a divine communication was issued to him, "Thou shalt behold that which is behind Me, but My Face thou shalt not see" (Exod. xxxiii. 23). This meant, that all that follows in the wake of God is within the good man's apprehension, while He Himself alone is beyond it, beyond, that is, in the line of straight and direct approach, a mode of approach by which (had it been possible) His quality would have been made known; but brought within ken by the powers that follow and attend Him; for these make evident not His essence but His subsistence from the things which He accomplishes.

XLIX. Well then, the mind, when it begets a beginning of good disposition and a kind of first pattern of virtue in Seth, which means "Watering," is audacious with a fine and holy audacity. For it says, "God raised up to me another seed in the place of Abel, whom Cain slew" (Gen. iv. 25). The statement that none of God's seeds fall to the ground, but all mount upwards rising from out of earthly surroundings, and leaving them behind, is a noticeable statement that can stand every test. For the seeds that mortals deposit for the production of living beings or plants do not all come to perfection; and we are well content if those that come to nothing do not outnumber those that hold on. But God sows

οὐδέν, ἀλλ' οὕτως καίρια καὶ τέλεια, ὡς εὐθὺς ἐπι-
φέρεσθαι τὴν τῶν ἰδίων καρπῶν πληθὺν ἕκαστον.
172 L. Τὸν δὲ Σὴθ σπέρμα ἕτερον εἰπὼν ἀναβλα-
στῆσαι, ὁποτέρου ἕτερον οὐ δεδήλωκε. ἆρά γε
τοῦ δολοφονηθέντος Ἄβελ ἢ τοῦ κτείναντος Κάιν;
ἀλλὰ μήποτε ἑκατέρου διαφέρει τὸ γέννημα, τοῦ
μὲν Κάιν ὡς ἐχθρόν—δίψα γὰρ ἀρετῆς αὐτο-
μολούσῃ κακίᾳ πολεμιώτατον—τοῦ δὲ Ἄβελ ὡς
φίλον καὶ συγγενές· ἕτερον γάρ, οὐ μὴν ἀλλότριον,
τὸ ἄρτι ἀρχόμενον τοῦ τελείου καὶ τὸ πρὸς γένεσιν
173 τοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἀγένητον. διὰ τοῦθ' ὁ μὲν Ἄβελ τὸ
θνητὸν ἀπολιπὼν πρὸς τὴν ἀμείνω φύσιν μετανα-
στὰς οἴχεται, ὁ δὲ Σὴθ ἅτε σπέρμα ὢν ἀνθρω-
πίνης ἀρετῆς οὐδέποτε τὸ ἀνθρώπων ἀπολείψει
γένος, ἀλλὰ πρώτην μὲν παραύξησιν ἄχρι δεκάδος
ἀριθμοῦ τελείου λήψεται, καθ' ἣν ὁ δίκαιος Νῶε
συνίσταται, δευτέραν δὲ καὶ ἀμείνω τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ
παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Σὴμ εἰς ἑτέραν δεκάδα τελευτῶσαν,
ἧς Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πιστὸς ἐπώνυμος, τρίτην δὲ καὶ
τελεωτέραν δεκάδος ἑβδομάδα ἀπὸ τούτου μέχρι
Μωυσῆ τοῦ πάντα σοφοῦ παρήκουσαν· ἕβδομος
γὰρ ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ οὗτός ἐστιν, οὐκέτι κατὰ τὸν
ἔξω τῶν ἁγίων κύκλον οἷα μύστης εἱλούμενος,
ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἱεροφάντης ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις ποιού-
174 μενος τὰς διατριβάς. LI. σκόπει δὲ τάς τε πρὸς
βελτίωσιν ἐπιδόσεις τῆς ἀπλήστου καὶ ἀκορέστου
τῶν καλῶν ψυχῆς καὶ τὸν ἀπερίγραφον τοῦ θεοῦ

[a] See App. p. 501.

in souls nothing futile, but seeds so successful and perfect in every case that each one immediately yields the full crop of the fruits appropriate to it.

L. When he says that Seth has sprung up as another seed, he does not indicate that in respect of which he is "another." Is it in respect of the murdered Abel, or of Cain who slew him? Probably the new offspring is different from each of them (in different ways); from Cain as one hostile to him, (since thirst for virtue is a thing utterly at war with wickedness that plays the part of a deserter); from Abel, as one that is friendly and akin to him; for it does not say "alien from him," but "different," as that which is but beginning differs from that which is full-grown, and that which is in communion with creation from that which is in communion with the uncreated. For this reason, while Abel has relinquished all that is mortal and removed and gone to the better existence, Seth, inasmuch as he is sprung from human virtue, will never relinquish the race of men, but will obtain enlargement. The first enlargement extends to the perfect number 10, when righteous Noah arises [a]; a second and yet better one from Shem, the son of Noah, up to a second "10," to which faithful Abraham gives his name; then a third, a "7" now more perfect than "10," reaching from Abraham to Moses, the man wise in all things. He, the seventh from Abraham, does not, like those before him, haunt the outer court of the Holy Place as one seeking initiation, but as a sacred Guide has his abode in the sanctuary. LI. Mark the advance to improvement made by the soul that has an insatiable desire to be filled with things that are beautiful, and the unlimited wealth of God, which has given as

πλοῦτον, ὃς ἄλλοις ἀρχὰς τὰ ἑτέρων δεδώρηται
τέλη. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πέρας τῆς κατὰ Σὴθ ἐπι-
στήμης ἀρχὴ τοῦ δικαίου γέγονε Νῶε, τὴν δὲ
τούτου τελείωσιν Ἀβραὰμ ἄρχεται παιδεύεσθαι, ἡ
δὲ ἀκροτάτη τοῦδε σοφία Μωυσέως ἐστὶν ἄσκη-
175 σις ἡ πρώτη. τοῦ δὲ ἀνωσμένου καὶ κλιθέντος
ὑπὸ ψυχῆς ἀσθενείας Λὼτ αἱ δύο θυγατέρες,
βουλὴ καὶ συγκατάθεσις, ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς
αὐτῶν ἐθέλουσι παιδοποιεῖσθαι (Gen. xix. 32),
μαχόμεναι τῷ λέγοντι· "ἐξανέστησέ μοι ὁ θεός."
ὃ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τὸ ὄν, τοῦθ᾽ αὐταῖς φασι τὸν νοῦν
περιποιεῖσθαι δύνασθαι, μεθυούσης καὶ παραφόρου
ψυχῆς δόγμα εἰσηγούμεναι· νήφοντος μὲν γὰρ
ἔργον λογισμοῦ καὶ <σώφρονος> τὸν θεὸν ὁμο-
λογεῖν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦ παντός, πίπτοντος
δ᾽ ὑπὸ μέθης καὶ παροινίας ἑαυτὸν ἑκάστου τῶν
176 ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων εἶναι δημιουργόν. πρό-
τερον οὖν αἱ κακαὶ γνῶμαι εἰς ὁμιλίαν οὐκ ἀφί-
ξονται τῷ πατρί, πρὶν ἐμφορῆσαι[1] τὸν ἀφροσύνης
πολὺν ἄκρατον καὶ εἴ τι συνετὸν ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ
[260] κατακλύσαι. γέγραπται | γὰρ ὅτι "ἐπότισαν τὸν
πατέρα οἶνον" (Gen. xix. 33)· ὥσθ᾽ ὁπότε μὴ πο-
τίζουσιν, ὑπὸ νήφοντος οὐδέποτε δέξονται σπορὰν
ἔννομον, ὅταν δ᾽ ὑποβεβρεγμένος κραιπαλᾷ, κυο-
φορήσουσι καὶ ἐπιμέμπτοις μὲν ὠδῖσιν, ἐπαράτοις
δὲ ταῖς γοναῖς χρήσονται.
177 LII. Διὸ καὶ Μωυσῆς τὴν ἀσεβῆ καὶ ἄναγνον
αὐτῶν σπορὰν συλλόγου θείου παντὸς ἀπεσχοίνισε·
λέγει γάρ· "Ἀμμανῖται καὶ Μωαβῖται οὐκ εἰσ-

[1] ἐμφορῆσαι read by conjecture for ἐπιφορῆσαι.

starting-points to others the goals reached by those before them. For the limit of the knowledge attained by Seth became the starting-point of righteous Noah; while Abraham begins his education with the consummation of Noah's; and the highest point of wisdom reached by Abraham is the initial course in Moses' training. Counsel and Consent, the two daughters of Lot, the man who, after having been impelled upwards, wavered and went downwards through weakness of soul, desire to have children by Mind their father (Gen. xix. 32), being at variance with him who says, "God hath raised up for me." For what He the Existent One did for him, they say that Mind can bring about for them, and so they advocate the doctrine of a drunken and frenzied soul; for it is the act of a sober and well-ordered reason to acknowledge God as the Maker and Father of the universe, but the assertion that he himself is the author of everything that concerns the life of man is that of one who is being ruined by drunkenness and sottishness. The evil intentions will not attain to intercourse with their father, until they have completely drenched him with the strong drink of folly, and have drowned any sense he had. For it is written "they gave their father wine to drink" (Gen. xix. 33). It follows that when they do not give him to drink, he will be sober and they will never receive from him lawful seed, but when he has become fairly soaked, and is under the fumes of his debauch, they will become pregnant, and there will be guilt in their travailing, and a curse upon their offspring.

LII. For this reason Moses shut out their impious and impure progeny from every holy assembly. For he says "Ammonites and Moabites shall not enter into

ἐλεύσονται εἰς ἐκκλησίαν κυρίου" (Deut. xxiii. 2). οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν ἔγγονοι τῶν Λὼτ θυγατέρων, ὑπολαβόντες ἐξ αἰσθήσεως καὶ νοῦ, ἄρρενός τε καὶ θήλεος, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς πάντα γεννᾶσθαι, τοῦτο πρὸς ἀλήθειαν γενέσεως αἴτιον
178 ὑπειληφότες. ἡμεῖς μέντοι καὶ ἐὰν δεξώμεθά ποτε τὴν τροπὴν ταύτην, ⌊καὶ⌋ ὥσπερ ἐκ κλύδωνος ἀνανηξάμενοι λαβώμεθα μετανοίας, ἐχυροῦ καὶ σωτηρίου πράγματος, καὶ μὴ πρότερον μεθώμεθα ἢ κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς τὸ κυμαῖνον πέλαγος, τὴν
179 φορὰν τῆς τροπῆς, διεκδῦναι. καθὰ καὶ Ῥαχὴλ πρότερον αἰτησαμένη τὸν νοῦν ὡς αἴτιον τοῦ ποιεῖν ἔκγονα καὶ ἀκούσασα· "μὴ ἀντὶ θεοῦ ἐγώ εἰμι;" (Gen. xxx. 2) προσέσχε τε τῷ λεχθέντι καὶ μαθοῦσα παλινῳδίαν ἱερωτάτην ἐποίησε· γέγραπται γὰρ Ῥαχὴλ παλινῳδία, θεοφιλὴς εὐχή· "προσθέτω μοι ὁ θεὸς υἱὸν ἕτερον" (Gen. xxx. 24), ἣν οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀφρόνων ἔξεστι ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἴδιον ἡδονὴν αὐτὸ μόνον θηρωμένων, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πλατὺν γέλωτα καὶ χλεύην νομιζόντων.

180 LIII. Χορηγὸς δ' ἐστὶ τούτου τοῦ δόγματος ὁ τοῦ δερματίνου Ἢρ συγγενὴς Αὐνάν. "γνοὺς" γάρ φησιν "οὗτος ὅτι οὐκ αὐτῷ ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα, ὅταν εἰσῆλθε πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, ἐξέχει τοῦτο ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν" (Gen. xxxviii. 9) φιλαυτίας καὶ φιληδονίας ὑπερβεβηκὼς τοὺς ὅρους.
181 οὐκοῦν, εἴποιμ' ἂν αὐτῷ, εἰ τὸ ἴδιον πορίζεις λυσιτελές, πάνθ' ὅσα ἄριστα καταλύσεις, ἐὰν μηδὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὠφεληθῇς, τιμὰς γονέων, ἐπιμέλειαν γυναικός, παίδων ἀγωγάς, χρήσεις ἀμέμ-

the congregation of the Lord" (Deut. xxiii. 2), and these are descendants of the daughters of Lot. They are people that suppose that sense-perception and mind, a male and a female, act as father and mother for the procreation of all things, and take this process to be in very truth the cause of creation. Let us, however, should we ever incur such a lapse, as men who have escaped by swimming out of a troubled sea, lay hold of repentance, a strong rock of safety, nor let us quit our hold of it till we have been completely delivered from the tossing sea, that is from the strong current of our lapse. It was so that Rachel, having before addressed her request to Mind, as though offspring came through its operation, and having received the reply "Am I in the place of God?" (Gen. xxx. 2), gave heed to what was said, and learned its lesson, and made a recantation breathing true holiness, for Rachel's recantation stands written in a prayer dear to God "Let God add to me another son" (Gen. xxx. 24), a prayer which none of those may make who in their folly pursue nothing whatever but their own pleasure, regarding all else as matter for loud laughter and ridicule.

LIII. The chief representative of this doctrine is Onan, kinsman of the leathern Er. For it says "this man knowing that the seed should not be for him, when he went in to his brother's wife, spilled it on the ground" (Gen. xxxviii. 9), going beyond all bounds in love of self and love of pleasure. I should therefore address him thus: "Will you not"—so I would say to him—"by providing only your individual profit, be doing away with all the best things in the world, unless you are to get some advantage from them, honour paid to parents, loving care of a wife, bringing

πτους οἰκετῶν, ἐπιτροπὴν οἰκίας, πόλεως προ-
στασίαν, βεβαίωσιν νόμων, φυλακὴν ἐθῶν, τὴν
πρὸς πρεσβυτέρους αἰδῶ, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τετε-
λευτηκότας εὐφημίαν, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας
κοινωνίαν, τὴν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις
εὐσέβειαν; ἀνατρέπεις γὰρ καὶ ἐκχεῖς πάντα
ταῦτα, σπείρων σεαυτῷ καὶ τιθηνούμενος τὴν |
[261] γάστριν καὶ ἀκόλαστον καὶ ἀρχὴν κακῶν ἁπάντων
182 ἡδονήν. LIV. ἀφ' ἧς ἐξαναστὰς ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ
θεραπευτὴς τοῦ μόνου καλοῦ Φινεές, ὁ τῶν
σωματικῶν στομίων καὶ τρημάτων δίοπος, ὡς
μηδὲν αὐτῶν διαμαρτάνον ἐξυβρίζειν—ἑρμηνεύεται
γὰρ στόματος φιμός—λαβὼν τὸν σειρομάστην,
τουτέστι μαστεύσας καὶ ἀναζητήσας τὴν τῶν
ὄντων φύσιν καὶ μηδὲν σεμνότερον ἀρετῆς
ἀνευρὼν κατεκέντει καὶ ἀνῄρει τῷ λόγῳ τὴν
μισάρετον καὶ φιλήδονον γένεσιν καὶ τοὺς τόπους,
ἐξ ὧν ἐβλάστησαν αἱ παράσημοι καὶ παράκοποι
183 χλιδαί τε καὶ θρύψεις. ὁ γὰρ νόμος <φησὶν> ὅτι
διὰ τῆς μήτρας ἐξεκέντησε τὴν γυναῖκα (Num.
xxv. 7, 8). οὕτως οὖν καταπαύσας μὲν τὴν ἐν
αὑτῷ στάσιν καὶ τὴν ἴδιον ἀποστραφεὶς ἡδονήν,
ζηλώσας τὸν θεοῦ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ μόνου ζῆλον,
ἄθλων τοῖς μεγίστοις δυσὶ τετίμηται καὶ κατ-
έστεπται, εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἱερωσύνῃ· τῇ μὲν ἱερωσύνῃ
ὅτι ἀδελφόν ἐστιν εἰρήνη καὶ ὄνομα καὶ ἔργον.
184 τὴν γὰρ ἱερωμένην διάνοιαν λειτουργὸν καὶ θερα-

[a] The word rendered "spear" is literally a "pit-searcher" or "probe" used by soldiers for testing ground in which the enemy might have dug pits.

up of children, happy and blameless relations with domestic servants, management of a house, leadership in a city, maintaining of laws, guardianship of usages, reverence towards elders, respect for the memory of the departed, fellowship with the living, piety in words and actions towards the Deity? For you are overturning and wasting all these, by breeding and nursing for yourself pleasure, the glutton and libertine, in whom all evil things have their origin. LIV. It was in abhorrence of pleasure that there uprose the priest and minister of Him Who alone is Beautiful, Phinehas the controller of the inlets and outlets of the body, who takes care that none of them act amiss and break out in insolence, his very name meaning "Mouth-muzzle." Seizing his spear,[a] that is exploring and inquiring into the nature of all existence, and discovering nothing more august than virtue, he thrust through and destroyed by reason the creature that hates virtue and loves pleasure, and the parts out of which grew those base counterfeits, softness and voluptuousness. For the Law says that he thrust the woman through, even through the womb (Numb. xxv. 7 f.). Having therefore on this wise put a stop to the revolt within himself and turned clean away from his own pleasure, having thus shown his zeal for God, the First and Only One, he was honoured and crowned with the two greatest rewards, peace and priesthood; with peace, because he put an end to the intestine war of lusts in the soul; with the priesthood, because in name [b] and in fact it is akin to peace. For the consecrated intelligence, being His minister and attendant, must needs do all

[b] The Greek words for "peace" and "priesthood" are somewhat alike in sound.

πεντρίδα οὖσαν αὐτοῦ πάνθ᾿ οἷς ὁ δεσπότης χαίρει
πράττειν ἀνάγκῃ· χαίρει δὲ εὐνομίας καὶ εὐ-
σταθείας βεβαιώσει, πολέμων δὲ καὶ στάσεων ἀνα-
τροπῇ, οὐχὶ τῶνδε μόνων οὓς αἱ πόλεις ποιοῦνται
πρὸς ἀλλήλας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν κατὰ ψυχήν· μείζονες
δ᾿ εἰσὶν οὗτοι καὶ χαλεπώτεροι, ἅτε καὶ τὸ θειό-
τερον τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν λογισμὸν[1] αἰκιζόμενοι, τῶν
ὅπλων ἄχρι τῆς σωμάτων καὶ χρημάτων ζημίας
προερχομένων, ψυχὴν δὲ ὑγιαίνουσαν μηδέποτε
185 βλάψαι δυναμένων. διόπερ ὀρθῶς ἂν αἱ πόλεις
ἐποίησαν, πρὶν ὅπλα καὶ μηχανήματα ἀντεπι-
φέρειν ἀλλήλαις ἐπ᾿ ἀνδραποδισμῷ καὶ ἀναστάσει
παντελεῖ, τῶν πολιτῶν ἕκαστον ἀναπείσασαι τὴν
ἐν αὐτῷ μεγάλην καὶ πολλὴν καὶ συνεχῆ στάσιν
καταλῦσαι· αὕτη μὲν γὰρ πολέμων, εἰ δεῖ τἀληθὲς
εἰπεῖν, ἁπάντων ἀρχέτυπόν ἐστιν, ἧς ἀναιρεθείσης
οὐδ᾿ οἱ κατὰ μίμησιν ἔτι συνιστάμενοι γενήσονται,
βαθείας δὲ εἰρήνης χρῆσιν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν σχήσει
τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος ὑπὸ νόμου φύσεως διδασκό-
μενον, ἀρετῆς, θεὸν τιμᾶν καὶ τῆς λειτουργίας
αὐτοῦ περιέχεσθαι· πηγὴ γὰρ εὐδαιμονίας καὶ
βίου μακραίωνος ἥδε.

those things in which her Master delighteth: He delights in the maintenance of a well-ordered state under good laws, in the abolishing of wars and factions, not only those which occur between cities, but also of those that arise in the soul; and these are greater and more serious than those, for they outrage reason, a more divine faculty than others within us. Weapons of war can go so far as to inflict bodily and monetary loss, but a healthy soul they can never harm. From this it appears that states would have done rightly if before bringing against one another arms and engines of war, with the enslavement and complete overthrow of the enemy in view, they had prevailed on their citizens one by one to put an end to the disorder which abounds within himself, and which is so great and unceasing. For, to be honest, this is the original of all wars. If this be abolished, neither will those occur which still break out in imitation of it, but the human race will attain to the experience and enjoyment of profound peace, taught by the law of nature, namely virtue, to honour God and to be occupied with His service, for this is the source of long life and happiness.

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[1] Mangey felt that the text here can hardly be right. It fails to make distinct the antithesis between inward and outward, on which the next sentence dwells. He suggested τὸ θειότατον, τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν λογισμόν. Other possible changes are τι θειότερον, τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν λογισμόν, or τὸ θειότατον τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν, λογισμόν.

ON THE GIANTS
(DE GIGANTIBUS)

ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

This short, but in many ways beautiful and more than usually Platonic treatise, is very closely connected, as the last words show, with the succeeding "Quod Deus," which will follow in Vol. III. of this translation. It is a dissertation on the words of Gen. vi. 1-4.

(*a*) And it came to pass when men began to become many upon the earth that daughters were born to them. (1)

(*b*) And the angels of God, seeing the daughters of men that they were fair, took to themselves wives from all, such as they chose. (2)

(*c*) And the Lord God said, "My spirit shall not abide in man for ever, because they are flesh; but their days shall be a hundred and twenty years. (3)

(*d*) And there were giants on earth in those days. (4)

(*a*) is dismissed shortly (1-5) with the remarks that the words "many" and "daughters" following on the mention of the birth of Noah, the just man, and his three sons (at the end of chap. v.) emphasize the truth that the unjust are many and the just few, and that the spiritual offspring of the latter are the masculine or higher qualities, while that of the former are the feminine or lower.

(*b*) The words are interpreted (6-18) in the sense that as angels, demons, and souls are really three

names for the same thing, "the angels of God," while including God's spiritual messengers, here indicate the wicked souls which woo the "daughters of men," *i.e.* the merely sensual pleasures. In the course of these sections we have a remarkable passage (12-15), in which Philo, with many echoes of Plato, speaks of the human soul as having descended from some higher region to be incarnate in the body.

The discussion of (*c*) (19-57) forms the bulk of the treatise. He first treats (19-27) of the nature of God's spirit, dwelling particularly on the thought that when it is given to men, it is not thereby diminished, and on the unworthiness of the fleshly life (28-31). This leads him on to a long digression on Lev. xviii. 6, "a man, a man shall not go near to any that is akin to his flesh, to uncover shame." This text, which of course is really a prohibition of incest, is worked by Philo into an elaborate allegory, in which every phrase is treated separately (32-47). The repetition of "a man, a man" indicates the "true man" (33). The words "go near" show us that while many earthly advantages, such as riches, though "akin to the flesh," must be accepted, if they come to us, and used for the best, we must not seek them (34-38). "Uncovering shame" means (39) that those who follow such things introduce a false and shameful philosophy. The final words, "I am the Lord," are an appeal to us to take our stand with God against pleasure (40-44), but the use of "Lord" rather than "God" emphasizes his attitude of sovereignty of which we are bidden to stand in awe (45-47). We now return to the thought of what is meant by God's spirit abiding. Such an abiding can only be the privilege

of those who lead the tranquil and contemplative life, which with the support of various texts he ascribes to Moses (47-55). The words "their days shall be an hundred and twenty years" are then touched on for a few lines (56), but dismissed with a promise of subsequent treatment, which if ever given has not come down to us (57).

(*d*) After a protest against regarding the story as a myth (58-59), we have a meditation (60-67) on the three classes of souls, the earth-born (who of course are the giants, γίγας being connected with γηγενής), the heaven-born, and the God-born. Of these the heaven-born are those who cultivate our heavenly part, the mind, and follow secular learning (60), and the God-born are those whose thoughts are fixed on God alone (61). These two are illustrated by Abram (before his change of name) and Abraham respectively (62-64). The earth-born, of course, are those who are given up to the fleshly life, and are typified by Nimrod (who in the LXX is called a giant) whose name signifying "desertion" marks the earth-born "giants" as deserters from the good (65-67).

ΠΕΡΙ ΓΙΓΑΝΤΩΝ

1 [262] I. “ Καὶ δὴ ἐγένετο, ἡνίκα ἤρξαντο οἱ ἄνθρωποι
πολλοὶ γίνεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ θυγατέρες ἐγεν-
νήθησαν αὐτοῖς ” (Gen. vi. 1). ἄξιον οἶμαι δια-
πορῆσαι, διὰ τί μετὰ τὴν Νῶε καὶ τῶν υἱῶν
αὐτοῦ γένεσιν εἰς πολυανθρωπίαν ἐπιδίδωσιν ἡμῶν
τὸ γένος. ἀλλ’ ἴσως οὐ χαλεπὸν ἀποδοῦναι τὴν
αἰτίαν· ἀεὶ γὰρ ἐπειδὰν τὸ σπάνιον φανῇ, πάμπολυ
2 τὸ ἐναντίον εὑρίσκεται. ἑνὸς οὖν εὐφυΐα τὴν περὶ
μυρίους διαδείκνυσιν ἀφυΐαν, καὶ τὰ τεχνικὰ μέντοι
καὶ ἐπιστημονικὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ καὶ καλὰ ὄντα ὀλίγα
τὴν τῶν ἀτέχνων καὶ ἀνεπιστημόνων καὶ ἀδίκων
καὶ συνόλως φαύλων ἄπειρον ὅσην[1] πληθὺν ἐπ-
3 εσκιασμένην ἀποφαίνει. οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῷ
παντὶ ἥλιος εἷς ὢν τὸ μυρίον καὶ βαθὺ σκότος κατὰ
γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν κεχυμένον ἐπιλάμψας
ἀνασκίδνησιν; εἰκότως οὖν καὶ ἡ τοῦ δικαίου Νῶε
γένεσις καὶ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἀδίκους πολλοὺς
διασυνίστησι· τῷ γὰρ ἐναντίῳ τὰ ἐναντία πέφυκέ
4 πως μάλιστα γνωρίζεσθαι. ἄδικος δὲ οὐδεὶς
ἄρρενα γενεὰν ἐν ψυχῇ σπείρει τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλὰ
θηλυγονοῦσιν ἐκ φύσεως ἄνανδροι καὶ κατεαγότες
καὶ θηλυδρίαι τὰ φρονήματα, δένδρον οὐδὲν
ἀρετῆς, οὗ καλοὺς καὶ γενναίους ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔδει

[1] mss. ὅσων.

ON THE GIANTS

I. " And it came to pass when men began to wax many on the earth and daughters were born unto them " (Gen. vi. 1). It is, I think, a problem worth full examination, why our race began to grow so numerous after the birth of Noah and his sons. Yet perhaps it is not difficult to render a reason. For when the rarity appears, its opposite always is found in abundance. And therefore the ability of the individual shows up the absence of ability in the crowd, and examples of skill in any of the arts and sciences, or of goodness and excellence through this rarity bring out of their obscurity into the light the vast multitude of the unskilled in the arts and sciences, and of the unjust and worthless in general. Mark that in the universe too the sun is but one, yet it scatters with its rays the manifold and profound darkness which wraps sea and land. And so it is only natural that the birth of just Noah and his sons should make evident the abundance of the unjust. That is the nature of opposites ; it is through the existence of the one that we chiefly recognize the existence of the other. Again, the spiritual offspring of the unjust is never in any case male : the offspring of men whose thoughts are unmanly, nerveless and emasculate by nature are female. Such do not plant a tree of virtue whose fruit must needs

τοὺς καρποὺς γενέσθαι, πάντα δὲ κακίας καὶ
παθῶν, ὧν γυναικώδεις αἱ βλάσται, φυτεύσαντες·
5 οὗ χάριν θυγατέρας οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι γεννῆσαι
λέγονται, υἱὸν δὲ οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ
δίκαιος ἀρρενογονεῖ Νῶε τέλειον καὶ ὀρθὸν λόγον
καὶ ἄρρενα ὄντως μετιών, θηλυτόκος ἡ κατὰ τοὺς
[263] πολλοὺς ἀδικία πάντως | ἀναφαίνεται· ἀμήχανον
γὰρ τὰ αὐτὰ πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὰ
ἐναντία πάλιν γενέσθαι.
6 II. "Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς
θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι καλαί εἰσιν, ἔλαβον
ἑαυτοῖς γυναῖκας ἀπὸ πασῶν, ὧν ἐξελέξαντο"
(Gen. vi. 2). οὓς ἄλλοι φιλόσοφοι δαίμονας,
ἀγγέλους Μωυσῆς εἴωθεν ὀνομάζειν· ψυχαὶ δ' εἰσὶ
7 κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα πετόμεναι. καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ
μῦθον εἶναι τὸ εἰρημένον· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ὅλον δι'
ὅλων τὸν κόσμον ἐψυχῶσθαι, τῶν πρώτων καὶ
στοιχειωδῶν μερῶν ἑκάστου τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ πρόσ-
φορα ζῷα περιέχοντος, γῆς μὲν τὰ χερσαῖα,
θαλάττης δὲ καὶ ποταμῶν τὰ ἔνυδρα, πυρὸς δὲ τὰ
πυρίγονα—λόγος δὲ ἔχει ταῦτα κατὰ Μακεδονίαν
μάλιστα γίνεσθαι—οὐρανοῦ δὲ τοὺς ἀστέρας.
8 καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι ψυχαὶ ὅλαι δι' ὅλων ἀκήρατοί τε καὶ
θεῖαι, παρὸ καὶ κύκλῳ κινοῦνται τὴν συγγενεστά-
την νῷ κίνησιν· νοῦς γὰρ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἀκραιφ-
νέστατος. ἔστιν οὖν ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τὸν
ἀέρα ζῴων πεπληρῶσθαι· ταῦτα δὲ ἡμῖν ἐστιν
ἀόρατα, ὅτιπερ καὶ αὐτὸς οὐχ ὁρατὸς αἰσθήσει.
9 ἀλλ' οὐ παρόσον ἀδύνατος ἡ ὄψις ψυχῶν φαν-

[a] *i.e.*, mere "offshoots" not reaching the stage of fruits.

be true-born and excellent, only trees of vice and passions, whose off-shoots [a] are feminine. This is why we are told that these men begat daughters, while none of them is said to have begotten a son. For since just Noah who follows the right, the perfect and truly masculine reason, begets males, the injustice of the multitude appears as the parent of females only. It cannot be that the same things should be born of opposite parents: the offspring must be opposite also.

II. "And when the angels of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair, they took to themselves wives from all, those whom they chose" (Gen. vi. 2). It is Moses' custom to give the name of angels to those whom other philosophers call demons (or spirits), souls that is which fly and hover in the air. And let no one suppose that what is here said is a myth. For the universe must needs be filled through and through with life, and each of its primary elementary divisions contains the forms of life which are akin and suited to it. The earth has the creatures of the land, the sea and the rivers those that live in water, fire the fire-born,[b] which are said to be found especially in Macedonia, and heaven has the stars. For the stars are souls divine [b] and without blemish throughout, and therefore as each of them is mind in its purest form, they move in the line most akin to mind—the circle.
And so the other element, the air, must needs be filled with living beings, though indeed they are invisible to us, since even the air itself is not visible to our senses. Yet the fact that our powers of vision are incapable of any perception of the forms of these

[b] See App. p. 502.

τασιωθῆναι τύπους, διὰ τοῦτ᾽ οὔκ εἰσιν ἐν ἀέρι
ψυχαί, καταλαμβάνεσθαι δ᾽ αὐτὰς ἀναγκαῖον ὑπὸ
νοῦ, ἵνα πρὸς τῶν ὁμοίων τὸ ὅμοιον θεωρῆται.
10 ἐπεὶ καὶ τί φήσομεν; πάνθ᾽ ὅσα χερσαῖα καὶ
ἔνυδρα οὐκ ἀέρι καὶ πνεύματι ζῇ; τί δέ; οὐκ
ἀέρος κακωθέντος τὰ λοιμικὰ συνίστασθαι παθή-
ματα φιλεῖ, ὡς ἂν αἰτίου τῆς ψυχώσεως ἑκάστοις;
τί δέ; ὁπότε ἀπήμων καὶ ἀβλαβὴς εἴη, ὁποῖον ἐν
ταῖς βορείοις μάλιστα αὔραις εἴωθε γίνεσθαι, οὐ
καθαρωτέρου σπῶντα τοῦ πνεύματος πρὸς πλείονα
11 καὶ κραταιοτέραν διαμονὴν ἐπιδίδωσιν; ἆρ᾽ οὖν
εἰκὸς δι᾽ οὗ τὰ ἄλλα, ἔνυδρά τε καὶ χερσαῖα,
ἐψύχωται, ἔρημον εἶναι ἢ ψυχῶν ἀμοιρεῖν; τοὐ-
ναντίον μὲν οὖν, εἰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ζῴων ἄγονα
ἦν, μόνος ἀὴρ ὤφειλε ζωοτοκῆσαι τὰ ψυχῆς κατ᾽
ἐξαίρετον χάριν παρὰ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ σπέρματα
λαβών.
12 III. Τῶν οὖν ψυχῶν αἱ μὲν πρὸς σώματα κατ-
[264] έβησαν, αἱ δὲ | οὐδενὶ τῶν γῆς μορίων ἠξίωσάν
ποτε συνενεχθῆναι. ταύταις ἀφιερωθείσαις καὶ τῆς
τοῦ πατρὸς θεραπείας περιεχομέναις ὑπηρέτισι καὶ
διακόνοις ὁ δημιουργὸς εἴωθε χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὴν
13 τῶν θνητῶν ἐπιστασίαν.[1] ἐκεῖναι δ᾽ ὥσπερ εἰς
ποταμὸν τὸ σῶμα καταβᾶσαι ποτὲ μὲν ὑπὸ συρμοῦ
δίνης βιαιοτάτης ἁρπασθεῖσαι κατεπόθησαν, ποτὲ
δὲ πρὸς τὴν φορὰν ἀντισχεῖν δυνηθεῖσαι τὸ μὲν
πρῶτον ἀνενήξαντο, εἶτα ὅθεν ὥρμησαν, ἐκεῖσε

[1] MSS. ἐπίστασιν.

[a] See App. p. 502.

souls is no reason why we should doubt that there are souls in the air, but they must be apprehended by the mind, that like may be discerned by like. Here is a further consideration. Do not all creatures of land and water live by air and breath? And is it not true, that when the air is plague-stricken, disastrous pestilences often arise, suggesting that air is the animating principle to all and each, while on the other hand, when it is free from taint and mischief, a state which is most often found when the north wind blows, these same creatures, inhaling as they do a purer atmosphere, tend ever to enjoy a more abundant and stronger vitality? Is it then reasonable to suppose that this element which has been the source of life to the others, the denizens of land and water, should itself be desert and destitute of living souls? Nay, on the contrary, if all the other elements produced no animal life, it were still the proper function of the air to do what none other did and bring forth living beings, since to it the seeds of vitality have been committed through the special bounty of the Creator.

III. Now some of the souls have descended into bodies, but others have never deigned to be brought into union with any of the parts of earth. They are consecrated and devoted to the service of the Father and Creator whose wont it is to employ them as ministers and helpers, to have charge and care of mortal man. But the others descending into the body as though into a stream [a] have sometimes been caught in the swirl of its rushing torrent and swallowed up thereby, at other times have been able to stem the current, have risen to the surface and then soared upwards back to the place from whence they came.

14 πάλιν ἀνέπτησαν. αὗται μὲν οὖν εἰσι ψυχαὶ τῶν ἀνόθως[1] φιλοσοφησάντων, ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους μελετῶσαι τὸν μετὰ σωμάτων ἀποθνήσκειν βίον, ἵνα τῆς ἀσωμάτου καὶ ἀφθάρτου παρὰ τῷ ἀγενήτῳ
15 καὶ ἀφθάρτῳ ζωῆς μεταλάχωσιν, αἱ δὲ καταποντωθεῖσαι τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ὅσοι σοφίας ἠλόγησαν ἐκδόντες ἀστάτοις καὶ τυχηροῖς πράγμασιν ἑαυτούς, ὧν οὐδὲν εἰς τὸ κράτιστον τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν, ψυχὴν ἢ νοῦν, ἀναφέρεται, πάντα δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν συμφυᾶ νεκρὸν ἡμῶν, τὸ σῶμα, ἢ ἐπὶ τὰ ἀψυχότερα τούτου, δόξαν λέγω καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ τιμὰς καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ὑπὸ τῶν μὴ τεθεαμένων τὰ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν καλὰ ἀπάτῃ ψευδοῦς δόξης ἀναπλάττεται ἢ ζωγραφεῖται.

16 IV. Ψυχὰς οὖν καὶ δαίμονας καὶ ἀγγέλους ὀνόματα μὲν διαφέροντα, ἓν δὲ καὶ ταὐτὸν ὑποκείμενον διανοηθεὶς ἄχθος βαρύτατον ἀποθήσῃ δεισιδαιμονίαν. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἀγαθοὺς δαίμονας καὶ κακοὺς λέγουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ψυχὰς ὁμοίως, οὕτως καὶ ἀγγέλους τοὺς μὲν τῆς προσρήσεως ἀξίους πρεσβευτάς τινας ἀνθρώπων πρὸς θεὸν καὶ θεοῦ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἱεροὺς καὶ ἀσύλους διὰ τὴν ἀνυπαίτιον καὶ παγκάλην ταύτην ὑπηρεσίαν, τοὺς δ' ἔμπαλιν ἀνιέρους καὶ ἀναξίους τῆς προσρήσεως καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπολαμβάνων οὐχ ἁμαρτήσει.
17 μαρτυρεῖ δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ τὸ παρὰ τῷ ὑμνογράφῳ εἰρημένον ἐν ᾄσματι τοῦτο[2]· "ἐξαπέστειλεν εἰς αὐτοὺς ὀργὴν θυμοῦ αὐτοῦ, θυμὸν καὶ ὀργὴν καὶ

[1] mss. ἄνωθέν πως *et alia*.
[2] τοῦτο conj. Mangey : mss. and Wendland τούτῳ.

[a] See App. p. 502.

These last, then, are the souls of those who have given themselves to genuine philosophy, who from first to last study to die to the life in the body,[a] that a higher existence immortal and incorporeal, in the presence of Him who is Himself immortal and uncreate, may be their portion. But the souls which have sunk beneath the stream, are the souls of the others who have held no count of wisdom. They have abandoned themselves to the unstable things of chance, none of which has aught to do with our noblest part, the soul or mind, but all are related to that dead thing which was our birth-fellow, the body, or to objects more lifeless still, glory, wealth, and offices, and honours, and all other illusions which like images or pictures are created through the deceit of false opinion by those who have never gazed upon true beauty.

IV. So if you realize that souls and demons and angels are but different names for the same one underlying object, you will cast from you that most grievous burden, the fear of demons or superstition. The common usage of men is to give the name of demon to bad and good demons alike, and the name of soul to good and bad souls. And so, too, you also will not go wrong if you reckon as angels, not only those who are worthy of the name, who are as ambassadors backwards and forwards[a] between men and God and are rendered sacred and inviolate by reason of that glorious and blameless ministry, but also those who are unholy and unworthy of the title.

I have as witness to my argument the words of the Psalmist, where in one of the psalms we read "He sent out upon them the anger of His wrath, wrath and anger and affliction, a mission by

θλῖψιν, ἀποστολὴν δι' ἀγγέλων πονηρῶν" (Psalm
[265] lxxvii. 49). οὗτοί | εἰσιν οἱ πονηροὶ τὸ ἀγγέλων ὄνομα ὑποδυόμενοι, τὰς μὲν ὀρθοῦ λόγου θυγατέρας, ἐπιστήμας καὶ ἀρετάς, οὐκ εἰδότες, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων θνητὰς θνητῶν ἀπογόνους ἡδονὰς μετερχόμενοι γνήσιον μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπιφερομένας κάλλος, ὃ διανοίᾳ μόνῃ θεωρεῖται, νόθον δὲ εὐμορ-
18 φίαν, δι' ἧς ἡ αἴσθησις ἀπατᾶται. λαμβάνουσι δὲ οὐ πάσας ἅπαντες τὰς θυγατέρας, ἀλλ' ἔνιοι ἐνίας ἐκ μυρίων ὅσων ἐπελέξαντο ἑαυτοῖς, οἱ μὲν τὰς δι' ὄψεως, ἕτεροι δὲ τὰς δι' ἀκοῆς, τὰς δ' αὖ διὰ γεύσεως καὶ γαστρὸς ἄλλοι, τινὲς δὲ τὰς μετὰ γαστέρα, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν πορρωτάτω διῳκισμένων ἀντελάβοντο[1] μηκίστας τὰς ἐν ἑαυτοῖς τείνοντες ἐπιθυμίας· ποικίλαι γὰρ ἐξ ἀνάγκης αἱ ποικίλων ἡδονῶν αἱρέσεις, ἄλλων ᾠκειωμένων ἄλλαις.
19 V. Ἐν δὴ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀμήχανον τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καταμεῖναι καὶ διαιωνίσαι πνεῦμα, ὡς δηλοῖ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ νομοθέτης. "εἶπε" γάρ φησι "κύριος ὁ θεός· οὐ καταμενεῖ τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς σάρκας"
20 (Gen. vi. 3). μένει μὲν γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε, καταμένει δ' οὐκ εἰσάπαν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡμῖν. τίς γὰρ οὕτως ἄλογος ἢ ἄψυχός ἐστιν, ὡς μηδέποτε ἔννοιαν τοῦ ἀρίστου μήθ' ἑκὼν μήτ' ἄκων λαβεῖν; ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τοῖς ἐξαγίστοις ἐπιποτᾶται πολλάκις αἰφνίδιος ἡ τοῦ καλοῦ φαντασία, συλλαβεῖν δ' αὐτὴν καὶ φυλάξαι παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ἀδυνατοῦσιν.
21 οἴχεται γὰρ εὐθέως μεταναστᾶσα, τοὺς προσεληλυ-

[1] MSS. ἀνελάβοντο.

evil angels" (Ps. lxxvii. 49).[a] These are the evil ones who, cloaking themselves under the name of angels, know not the daughters of right reason, the sciences and virtues, but court the pleasures which are born of men, pleasures mortal as their parents—pleasures endowed not with the true beauty, which the mind alone can discern, but with the false comeliness, by which the senses are deceived. They do not all take all the daughters, but some choose these, some those, out of the vast multitude. Some take the pleasures of sight, others those of hearing, others again those of the palate and the belly, or of sex, while many, setting no bound to their inward desires, seize upon the pleasures which lie furthest beyond the common range. For as pleasures are manifold, the choices of pleasures must needs be manifold also. One here, another there, they each have their affinities.

V. Among such as these then it is impossible that the spirit of God should dwell and make for ever its habitation, as also the Lawgiver himself shows clearly. For (so it runs) "the Lord God said, My spirit shall not abide for ever among men, because they are flesh" (Gen. vi. 3). The spirit sometimes stays awhile, but it does not abide for ever among us, the mass of men. Who indeed is so lacking in reason or soul that he never either with or without his will receives a conception of the best? Nay, even over the reprobate hovers often of a sudden the vision of the excellent, but to grasp it and keep it for their own they have not the strength. In a moment it is gone and passed

[a] Ps. lxxviii. in A.V.

θότας οἰκήτορας νόμον καὶ δίκην ἐκδεδιῃτημένους ἀποστραφεῖσα, πρὸς οὓς οὐδ' ἂν ποτε ἧκεν, εἰ μὴ τοῦ διελέγξαι χάριν τοὺς ἀντὶ καλῶν αἰσχρὰ
22 αἱρουμένους. λέγεται δὲ θεοῦ πνεῦμα καθ' ἕνα μὲν τρόπον ὁ ῥέων ἀὴρ ἀπὸ γῆς, τρίτον στοιχεῖον ἐποχούμενον ὕδατι—παρό φησιν ἐν τῇ κοσμοποιίᾳ· "πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος" (Gen. i. 2), ἐπειδήπερ ἐξαιρόμενος ὁ ἀὴρ κοῦφος ὢν ἄνω φέρεται ὕδατι βάσει χρώμενος—καθ' ἕτερον δὲ τρόπον ἡ ἀκήρατος ἐπιστήμη, ἧς πᾶς ὁ
23 σοφὸς εἰκότως μετέχει. δηλοῖ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ τῶν ἁγίων ἔργων δημιουργοῦ καὶ τεχνίτου φάσκων, ὅτι "ἀνεκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν Βεσελεὴλ καὶ ἐνέπλησεν αὐτὸν πνεύματος θείου, σοφίας, συνέσεως, ἐπιστήμης, ἐπὶ παντὶ ἔργῳ διανοεῖσθαι" (Exod. xxxi. 2, 3)· ὥστε τὸ τί ἐστι πνεῦμα θεῖον ὁρικῶς διὰ τῶν λεχθέντων ὑπογράφεσθαι.
24 VI. τοιοῦτόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ Μωυσέως πνεῦμα, ὃ ἐπιφοιτᾷ τοῖς ἑβδομήκοντα πρεσβυτέροις τοῦ
[266] διενεγκεῖν ἑτέρων καὶ βελτιωθῆναι χάριν· | οἷς οὐδὲ πρεσβυτέροις πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἔνεστι γενέσθαι μὴ μεταλαβοῦσι τοῦ πανσόφου πνεύματος ἐκείνου. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι "ἀφελῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἐπὶ σοὶ καὶ ἐπιθήσω ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα πρεσβυ-
25 τέρους" (Num. xi. 17). ἀλλὰ μὴ νομίσῃς οὕτως ἀφαίρεσιν κατὰ ἀποκοπὴν καὶ διάζευξιν γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' οἵα γένοιτ' ἂν ἀπὸ πυρός, ὅ, κἂν μυρίας δᾷδας ἐξάψῃ, μένει μηδ' ὁτιοῦν ἐλαττωθὲν ἐν ὁμοίῳ. τοιαύτη τίς ἐστι καὶ τῆς ἐπιστήμης ἡ φύσις· τοὺς

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[a] The word οἰκήτορας is difficult. Possibly the idea is that such persons are as householders who invite the heavenly visitor to be their tenant.

to some other place, and from the habitation [a] of those who have come into its presence after wandering from the life of law and justice it turns away its steps. Nay, never would it have come to them save to convict those who choose the base instead of the noble. Now the name of the "spirit of God" is used in one sense for the air which flows up from the land,[b] the third element which rides upon the water, and thus we find in the Creation-story "the spirit of God was moving above the water" (Gen. i. 2), since the air through its lightness is lifted and rises upwards, having the water for its base. In another sense it is the pure knowledge in which every wise man naturally shares. The prophet shows this in speaking of the craftsman and artificer of the sacred works. God called up Bezaleel, he says, and "filled him with the divine spirit, with wisdom, understanding, and knowledge to devise in every work" (Exod. xxxi. 2 f.). In these words we have suggested to us a definition of what the spirit of God is.

VI. Such a divine spirit, too, is that of Moses, which visits the seventy elders that they may excel others and be brought to something better—those seventy who cannot be in real truth even elders, if they have not received a portion of that spirit of perfect wisdom. For it is written, "I will take of the spirit that is on thee and lay it upon the seventy elders" (Numb. xi. 17). But think not that this taking of the spirit comes to pass as when men cut away a piece and sever it. Rather it is, as when they take fire from fire, for though the fire should kindle a thousand torches, it is still as it was and is diminished not a whit. Of such a sort also is the nature of knowledge.

[b] See App. p. 502.

γὰρ φοιτητὰς καὶ γνωρίμους ἀποφήνασα ἐμπείρους πάντας κατ᾽ οὐδὲν μέρος ἐλαττοῦται, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄμεινον ἐπιδίδωσιν, ὥσπερ φασὶ τὰς ἀπαντλουμένας πηγάς· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνας λόγος ἔχει
26 τότε μᾶλλον γλυκαίνεσθαι. αἱ γὰρ συνεχεῖς πρὸς ἑτέρους ὁμιλίαι μελέτην καὶ ἄσκησιν ἐμποιοῦσαι ὁλόκληρον τελειότητα ἐργάζονται. εἰ μὲν οὖν τὸ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ Μωυσέως πνεῦμα ἢ τινος ἄλλου γενητοῦ τοσούτῳ πλήθει γνωρίμων ἔμελλε διανέμεσθαι, κἂν κατακερματισθὲν εἰς μοίρας τοσαύ-
27 τας ἐμειοῦτο. νῦν δὲ τὸ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ πνεῦμά ἐστι τὸ σοφόν, τὸ θεῖον, τὸ ἄτμητον, τὸ ἀδιαίρετον, τὸ ἀστεῖον, τὸ πάντῃ δι᾽ ὅλων ἐκπεπληρωμένον· ὅπερ ὠφελοῦν οὐ βλάπτεται οὐδὲ μεταδοθὲν ἑτέροις οὐδ᾽ αὖ προστεθὲν[1] ἐλαττοῦται τὴν σύνεσιν
28 καὶ ἐπιστήμην καὶ σοφίαν. VIII. διὸ δὴ πνεῦμα θεῖον μένειν μὲν δυνατὸν ἐν ψυχῇ, διαμένειν δὲ ἀδύνατον, ὡς εἴπομεν. καὶ τί θαυμάζομεν; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλου τὸ παράπαν οὐδενὸς ἐχυρὰ καὶ βέβαιος ἐγγίνεται κτῆσις ἀντιρρεπόντων καὶ πρὸς ἑκάτερα ταλαντευόντων τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων καὶ ἄλλοτε ἀλλοίας ἐνδεχομένων
29 μεταβολάς. αἴτιον δὲ τῆς ἀνεπιστημοσύνης μέγιστον ἡ σὰρξ καὶ ἡ πρὸς σάρκα οἰκείωσις· καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁμολογεῖ φάσκων "διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς σάρκας" μὴ δύνασθαι τὸ θεῖον πνεῦμα καταμεῖναι. καίτοι καὶ γάμος καὶ παιδοτροφία καὶ πορισμὸς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀδοξία τε μετὰ ἀχρηματίας καὶ πραγ-

[1] Or perhaps with Υ, προστιθοῦν, *i.e.* "when it adds understanding . . is not diminished."

[a] Or filled up in all its parts, so as to have no interstices and thus be indivisible = ἀδιαίρετον.

All those who resort to it and become its disciples, it makes into men of skill, yet no part of it is diminished. Nay, often knowledge improves thereby, just as springs (so they say) when we draw water from them. For when this is done, it is thought that the spring becomes sweeter. So the giving of instruction to others, constantly repeated, entails study and practice to the instructor and thus works the perfect consummation of knowledge. If, then, it were Moses' own spirit, or the spirit of some other created being, which was according to God's purpose to be distributed to that great number of disciples, it would indeed be shredded into so many pieces and thus lessened. But as it is, the spirit which is on him is the wise, the divine, the excellent spirit, susceptible of neither severance nor division, diffused in its fullness everywhere and through all things,[a] the spirit which helps, but suffers no hurt, which though it be shared with others or added to others suffers no diminution in understanding and knowledge and wisdom. VII. And so though the divine spirit may stay awhile in the soul it cannot abide there, as we have said. And why wonder at this? For there is nothing else of which we have secure and firm possession, since human things swing to and fro, sway now up, now down, as in a scale, and are subject to vicissitudes from hour to hour. But the chief cause of ignorance is the flesh, and the tie which binds us so closely to the flesh. And Moses himself affirms this when he says that "because they are flesh" the divine spirit cannot abide. It is true that marriage, and the rearing of children, and provision of necessities, and disrepute following in the wake of poverty, and the business of private and

ματεῖαι, ὧν αἱ μὲν ἴδιαι αἱ δὲ κοιναί, καὶ μυρία
30 ἄλλα, πρὶν σοφίαν ἀνθῆσαι, κατεμάραναν. ἀλλ'
οὐδὲν οὕτως ἐμπόδιον πρὸς αὔξησιν αὐτῆς, ὡς ἡ
σαρκῶν φύσις. αὕτη γὰρ καθάπερ τις θεμέλιος
ἀγνοίας καὶ ἀμαθίας πρῶτος καὶ μέγιστος ὑπο-
βέβληται, ᾧ τῶν εἰρημένων ἕκαστον ἐποικοδο-
31 μεῖται. ψυχαὶ μὲν γὰρ ἄσαρκοι καὶ ἀσώματοι ἐν
τῷ τοῦ παντὸς θεάτρῳ διημερεύουσαι θεαμάτων
[267] καὶ ἀκουσμάτων θείων, | ὧν ἄπληστος αὐτὰς
εἰσεληλύθεν ἔρως, μηδενὸς κωλυσιεργοῦντος ἀπο-
λαύουσιν. ὅσαι δὲ τὸν σαρκῶν φόρτον ἀχθοφοροῦσι,
βαρυνόμεναι καὶ πιεζόμεναι ἄνω μὲν βλέπειν εἰς
τὰς οὐρανίους περιόδους ἀδυνατοῦσι, κάτω δὲ
ἑλκυσθεῖσαι τὸν αὐχένα βιαίως δίκην τετραπόδων
γῇ προσερρίζωνται.
32 VIII. Παρὸ καὶ τὰς ἐκνόμους καὶ ἐκθέσμους
ὁμιλίας τε καὶ μίξεις ἐγνωκὼς ὁ νομοθέτης
ἀναιρεῖν προοιμιάζεται τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· " ἄν-
θρωπος ἄνθρωπος πρὸς πάντα οἰκεῖον σαρκὸς
αὐτοῦ οὐ προσελεύσεται ἀποκαλύψαι ἀσχημοσύνην·
ἐγὼ κύριος " (Lev. xviii. 6). πῶς ἄν τις προ-
τρέψαιτο μᾶλλον σαρκὸς καὶ τῶν σαρκὸς οἰκείων
33 καταφρονεῖν ἢ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον; καίτοι οὐκ
ἀποτρέπει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παγίως ἀποφαίνεται,
ὅτι ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἄνθρωπος οὐ προσελεύσεταί
ποτε ἑκὼν ταῖς φίλαις καὶ συγγενέσι σώματος
ἡδοναῖς, ἀλλοτρίωσιν δὲ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὰς ἀεὶ
34 μελετήσει. τὸ μὲν οὖν μὴ ἅπαξ ἀλλὰ δὶς φάναι
" ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος " σημεῖόν ἐστι τοῦ μὴ τὸν
ἐκ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀρετῇ κεχρη-
μένον δηλοῦσθαι. ὄντως γὰρ ὁ ἀληθινὸς οὗτός

public life, and a multitude of other things wither the flower of wisdom before it blooms. But nothing thwarts its growth so much as our fleshly nature. For on it ignorance and scorn of learning rest. It is ready laid for them as a first and main foundation; each one of the qualities named rises on it like a building. For souls that are free from flesh and body spend their days in the theatre of the universe and with a joy that none can hinder see and hear things divine, which they have desired with love insatiable. But those which bear the burden of the flesh, oppressed by the grievous load, cannot look up to the heavens as they revolve, but with necks bowed downwards are constrained to stand rooted to the ground like four-footed beasts.

VIII. For the same cause the lawgiver, when he is minded to do away with all lawless and disorderly intercourse and union, prefaces his command thus, "a man, a man shall not go near to any that is akin to his flesh to uncover their shame. I am the Lord" (Lev. xviii. 6). How could the command to spurn the flesh and what pertains to flesh be better given than in this form? And indeed he does not only forbid, but positively affirms that the man who is truly a man will not of his own free will go near to the pleasures which are the friends and kin of the body, but will always exercise himself in the lesson of estrangement from them. The repeated word, "a man, a man,"[a] instead of the single word, is a sign that he means not the man who is compounded of soul and body, but the man whose life is one of virtue. For he indeed is the true man, and it was

[a] No such repetition is in the Hebrew.

ἐστιν, ὃν καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν λύχνον τις μεσημβρίας
ἁψάμενος πρὸς τοὺς πυνθανομένους ἄνθρωπον ἔφη
ζητεῖν. τὸ δὲ μὴ πρὸς πάντα οἰκεῖον προσ-
έρχεσθαι τῆς σαρκὸς ἔχει λόγον ἀναγκαῖον. ἔνια
γὰρ προσετέον, οἷον αὐτὰ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, οἷς
χρώμενοι ζῆν ἀνόσως καὶ ὑγιεινῶς δυνησόμεθα,
τὰ δὲ περιττὰ σκορακιστέον, ὑφ᾽ ὧν ἐξαπτόμεναι
αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι τὰ σπουδαῖα πάντα ῥύμῃ μιᾷ κατα-
35 φλέγουσι. μὴ πρὸς πάντα οὖν τὰ τῇ σαρκὶ φίλα
αἱ ὀρέξεις ἀνηρεθίσθωσαν· ἡδοναὶ γὰρ αἱ ἀτίθασοι
πολλάκις, ὅταν κυνῶν τρόπον προσσαίνωσιν, ἐξ
ὑποστροφῆς ἀνίατα ἔδακον. ὥστε τὴν ἀρετῆς
φίλην ὀλιγοδεΐαν πρὸ τῶν σώματος οἰκείων ἀσπα-
ζόμενοι τὸν πολὺν καὶ ἀνήνυτον ὄχλον ἀσπόνδων
ἐχθρῶν καταλύωμεν. ἐὰν δέ πού τις καιρὸς
βιάζηται πλείω τῶν μετρίων καὶ ἱκανῶν λαμ-
βάνειν, αὐτοὶ μὴ προσερχώμεθα· λέγει γάρ· "οὐ
προσελεύσεται αὐτὸς ἀποκαλύψαι ἀσχημοσύνην."
36 IX. τί δὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν, ἄξιον ἀνα-
πτύξαι· πολλάκις οὐ γενόμενοί τινες πορισταὶ
χρημάτων ἄφθονον ἔσχον περιουσίαν, ἕτεροι δὲ
δόξαν οὐκ ἐπιτηδεύσαντες ἐπαίνων δημοσίᾳ καὶ
τιμῶν ἠξιώθησαν, τοῖς δὲ οὐδὲ μικρὰν ἰσχὺν
37 ἐλπίσασι μεγίστη προσεγένετο εὐτονία. μαθέτω-
σαν δὴ πάντες οὗτοι μηδενὶ προσέρχεσθαι γνώμῃ
τῶν εἰρημένων, τοῦτο δέ ἐστι μὴ θαυμάζειν αὐτὰ
καὶ ἀποδέχεσθαι πλέον τοῦ μετρίου κρίνοντας

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[a] *i.e.*, Diogenes the Cynic, see Diog. Laert. vi. 41.

[b] The contrast is between προσέρχεσθαι (approach voluntarily) and προσετέον (admit passively) not between ἔνια and πάντα, which here as elsewhere in this meditation on Lev. xviii. 6 means "any" not "every."

of him that one of the ancients [a] spoke, when he lit a candle at midday and told them who asked his meaning that he was seeking a man. Again, there is a cogent reason for his saying that a man is not to *go near* to anyone pertaining to his flesh. For there are some things which we must *admit*, [b] as, for instance, the actual necessities of life, the use of which will enable us to live in health and free from sickness. But we must reject with scorn the superfluities which kindle the lusts that with a single flameburst consume every good thing. Let not our appetites, then, be whetted and incited towards anything that is dear to the flesh. The undisciplined pleasures are often as dogs; they fawn on us, then turn against us and their bite is fatal. Therefore let us embrace that spirit of frugal contentment which is the friend of virtue rather than the things which belong to the body, and thus let us subdue the vast and countless host of her deadly foes. But if some chance occasion force us to receive more than a moderate sufficiency, let us not of our own accord go near to it. For he says, "he shall not of himself go near to uncover shame." IX.

The meaning of these words it would be well to explain. Men have often possessed an unlimited profusion of wealth, without engaging in lucrative trade, and others have not pursued glory and yet been held worthy to receive civic eulogies and honours. Others, again, who had no expectation of even a little bodily strength have found themselves most abundantly endowed with muscle and vigour. Let all such learn not to "go near" with deliberate purpose to any of these gifts, that is, not to regard them with admiration or undue satisfaction, judging

[268] ἕκαστον αὐτῶν οὐ μόνον οὐκ | ἀγαθόν,[1] ἀλλὰ καὶ
μέγιστον κακόν, τὰ χρήματα, τὴν δόξαν, τὴν
σωμάτων δύναμιν. φιλαργύροις μὲν γὰρ ἡ πρὸς
ἀργύριον, φιλοδόξοις δὲ ἡ πρὸς δόξαν, φιλ-
άθλοις δὲ καὶ φιλογυμνασταῖς ἡ πρὸς ἰσχὺν πρόσ-
οδος οἰκεία· τὸ γὰρ ἄμεινον, ψυχήν, τοῖς
38 χείροσιν ἐκδεδώκασιν, ἀψύχοις. ὅσοι δὲ ἐντὸς
ἑαυτῶν εἰσι, τὰς λαμπρὰς καὶ περιμαχήτους
εὐπραγίας ὑπηκόους ἀποφαίνουσιν ὡς ἡγεμόνι τῷ
νῷ, προσιούσας μὲν δεχόμενοι πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν,
μακρὰν δὲ ἀφεστηκυίαις οὐ προσερχόμενοι, ὡς
39 καὶ δίχα αὐτῶν δυνηθέντες ἂν εὐδαιμονῆσαι. ὁ δὲ
μετιὼν καὶ κατ᾽ ἴχνος βαίνειν ἐθέλων αἰσχρᾶς
ἀναπίμπλησι δόξης φιλοσοφίαν· οὗ χάριν λέγεται
"ἀποκαλύψαι τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην." πῶς γὰρ οὐκ
ἐναργῆ καὶ πρόδηλα τὰ ὀνείδη τῶν λεγόντων μὲν
εἶναι σοφῶν, πωλούντων δὲ σοφίαν καὶ ἐπευωνι-
ζόντων, ὥσπερ φασὶ τοὺς ἐν ἀγορᾷ τὰ ὤνια
προκηρύττοντας, τοτὲ μὲν μικροῦ λήμματος, τοτὲ
δὲ ἡδέος καὶ εὐπαραγώγου λόγου, τοτὲ δὲ ἀβεβαίου
ἐλπίδος ἀπὸ μηδενὸς ἠρτημένης ἐχυροῦ, ἔστι δ᾽ ὅτε
καὶ ὑποσχέσεων, αἳ διαφέρουσιν ὀνειράτων οὐδέν;
40 X. Τὸ δὲ ἐπιφερόμενον "ἐγὼ κύριος" παγ-
κάλως καὶ σφόδρα παιδευτικῶς εἴρηται. ἀντίθες
γάρ, φησίν, ὦ γενναῖε, τὸ σαρκὸς ἀγαθὸν τῷ τῆς
ψυχῆς καὶ τῷ τοῦ παντὸς ἀγαθῷ· οὐκοῦν τὸ μὲν
σαρκός ἐστιν ἄλογος ἡδονή, τὸ δὲ ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ
41 παντὸς ὁ νοῦς τῶν ὅλων, ὁ θεός. ἐφάμιλλός γε[2]

[1] Conj. Wendland: mss. οὐκ ἀγαθὸν μόνον: Ed. οὐκ ἀγαθὸν [μόνον].
[2] mss. τε.

that each of them is not only no true blessing, but actually a grievous evil, whether it be money, or glory, or bodily strength. For it is the lovers of these things in each case who make the "approach," money-lovers to money, glory-lovers to glory, lovers of athletics and gymnastics to bodily strength. To these such "approach" is natural. They have abandoned the better to the worse, the soul to the soulless. The sane man brings the dazzling and coveted gifts of fortune in subjection to the mind as to a captain. If they come to him,[a] he accepts them to use them for improvement of life, but if they remain afar off, he does not go to them, judging that without them happiness might still be quite possible. He who makes them his quest and would follow in their track infects philosophy with the baseness of mere opinion and therefore is said to "uncover shame." For manifest surely and clear is the disgrace of those who say that they are wise, yet barter their wisdom for what they can get,[b] as men say is the way of the pedlars who hawk their goods in the market. And sometimes the price is just a trifling gain, sometimes a soft seductive speech, sometimes a hope ungrounded and ill secured, sometimes again promises idle as any dream.

X. The words that follow, "I (am) the Lord," are full of beauty and fraught with much instruction. Weigh, friend, he says, the good as the flesh sees it against the good as it exists in the soul and in the All. The first is irrational pleasure, the second is the mind of the universe, even God. The comparison

[a] See App. pp. 502, 503.
[b] See App. p. 486, note on ἐπευωνίζων *De Cher.* 123.

ἡ ἀσυγκρίτων[1] σύγκρισις, ὡς παρὰ τὴν ἐγγὺς ὁμοιότητα ἀπατηθῆναι· εἰ μὴ καὶ τὰ ἔμψυχα ἀψύχοις ἐρεῖ τις καὶ τὰ λογικὰ ἀλόγοις καὶ ἡρμοσμένα ἀναρμόστοις καὶ περιττοῖς ἄρτια καὶ φωτὶ σκότος καὶ ἡμέραν νυκτὶ καὶ πάντα τἀναντία
42 τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὰ αὐτὰ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εἶναι. καίτοι καὶ εἰ ταῦτα τῷ γένεσιν ἐνδεδέχθαι κοινωνίαν τινὰ ἔχει καὶ συγγένειαν, ἀλλά γε ὁ θεὸς οὐδὲ τῷ ἀρίστῳ τῶν φύντων ὅμοιος, ὅτιπερ τὸ μὲν γέγονέ τε καὶ πείσεται, ὁ δ' ἐστὶν ἀγένητός τε καὶ ποιῶν
43 ἀεί. καλὸν δὲ μὴ λιποτακτῆσαι μὲν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ τάξεως, ἐν ᾗ τοὺς τεταγμένους πάντας ἀριστεύειν ἀνάγκη, αὐτομολῆσαι δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἄνανδρον καὶ κεκλασμένην ἡδονήν, ἣ βλάπτει μὲν τοὺς φίλους, ὠφελεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἐχθρούς. καινοτάτη γάρ τις αὐτῆς ἡ φύσις· οἷς μὲν ἂν ἐθελήσῃ τῶν ἰδίων ἀγαθῶν μεταδοῦναι, τούτους εὐθὺς ἐζημίωσεν, οὓς δ' ἂν ἀφελέσθαι, τὰ μέγιστα ὤνησε. βλάπτει μὲν γὰρ ὅταν διδῷ, χαρίζεται δὲ ὅταν
44 ἀφαιρῆται. ἐὰν οὖν, ὦ ψυχή, προσκαλῆταί σέ τι τῶν ἡδονῆς φίλτρων, μετάκλινε σεαυτὴν καὶ ἀντιπεριάγουσα τὴν ὄψιν κάτιδε τὸ γνήσιον ἀρετῆς κάλλος καὶ ὁρῶσα ἐπίμεινον, ἄχρις ἂν ἵμερος ἐντακῇ σοι καὶ ὡς σιδηρῖτις λίθος ἐπισπάσηταί σε καὶ ἐγγὺς ἀγάγῃ καὶ ἐξαρτήσῃ τοῦ ποθουμένου.

45 XI. Τὸ δὲ "ἐγὼ | κύριος" ἀκουστέον οὐ μόνον
[269] ἐν ἴσῳ τῷ "ἐγὼ τὸ τέλειον καὶ ἄφθαρτον καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθόν," οὗ περιεχόμενός τις τὸ ἀτελὲς καὶ φθαρτὸν καὶ σαρκῶν ἠρτημένον ἀπο-

[1] ἀσυγκρίτων conj. Wendland: mss. ἡ ἀσύγκριτος σύγκρισις (so also Ed.), *et alia*, see App. p. 503.

of these two incomparables is so balanced a matter, you think, that their close resemblance may lead to deception! Well, in that case you must say that all opposites are really identical, living identical with lifeless, reasoning with unreasoning, ordered with disordered, odd with even, light with darkness, day with night. And indeed within these pairs, because they have been the subject of creation, we do find fellowship and kinship of each with its opposite, but God has no likeness even to what is noblest of things born. That was created in the past, it will be passive in the future, but God is uncreated and ever active.

Honour bids you not steal away from that rank in God's array where they that are so posted must all seek to be the bravest, nor desert to pleasure, the cowardly and invertebrate, pleasure who harms her friends and helps her enemies. Her nature is a paradox indeed. On those to whom she would fain impart of the boons which she has to give she inflicts loss in the very act. On those from whom she would take away, she bestows the greatest blessings. She harms when she gives, she benefits when she takes. Therefore, my soul, if any of the love-lures of pleasure invite thee, turn thyself aside, let thine eyes look else-whither. Look rather on the genuine beauty of virtue, gaze on her continually, till yearning sink into thy marrow, till like the magnet it draw thee on and bring thee nigh and bind thee fast to the object of thy desire.

XI. Again the words "I am the Lord" must not be understood merely as meaning "I am the perfect, the imperishable, the truly good existence," which whoso embraces will turn away from the imperfect, the perishable, the element which is dependent on

στραφήσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ " ἐγὼ ὁ ἄρχων
46 καὶ [ὁ] βασιλεὺς καὶ δεσπότης." οὔτε δὲ ὑπη-
κόοις παρόντων ἡγεμόνων οὔτε δούλοις δεσποτῶν
ἀδικεῖν ἀσφαλές· ἐγγὺς γὰρ ὅταν ὦσιν οἱ κολασταί,
φόβῳ σωφρονίζονται οἱ ἐξ ἑαυτῶν μὴ πεφυκότες
47 νουθετεῖσθαι. πάντα γὰρ πεπληρωκὼς ὁ θεὸς
ἐγγύς ἐστιν, ὥστε ἐφορῶντος καὶ πλησίον ὄντος
μάλιστα μὲν αἰδεσθέντες, εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο, εὐλαβη-
θέντες γοῦν τὸ ἀνίκητον τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ κράτος
καὶ τὸ φοβερὸν καὶ ἀπαραίτητον ἐν ταῖς τιμωρίαις,
ὁπότε τῇ κολαστηρίῳ χρῆσθαι δυνάμει διανοηθείη,
ἠρεμήσωμεν ἀδικοῦντες, ἵνα καὶ τὸ σοφίας πνεῦμα
θεῖον μὴ ῥᾳδίως μεταναστὰν οἴχηται, πάμπολυν
δὲ χρόνον καταμείνῃ παρ' ἡμῖν, ἐπεὶ καὶ παρὰ
48 Μωυσεῖ τῷ σοφῷ· χρῆται γὰρ οὗτος ταῖς εἰρηνικω-
τάταις σχέσεσιν ἢ ὡς ἑστὼς ἢ ὡς καθεζόμενος,
ἥκιστα τρέπεσθαι καὶ μεταβολαῖς χρῆσθαι πε-
φυκώς· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι " Μωυσῆς καὶ ἡ κιβωτὸς
οὐκ ἐκινήθησαν " (Num. xiv. 44), ἤτοι παρόσον
ὁ σοφὸς ἀχώριστος ἀρετῆς ἢ παρόσον οὔτε ἀρετὴ
κινητὸν οὔτε σπουδαῖος μεταβλητόν, ἀλλ' ἑκάτερον
ὀρθοῦ λόγου βεβαιότητι ἱδρυμένον· καὶ πάλιν ἐν
49 ἑτέροις· " σὺ δὲ αὐτοῦ στῆθι μετ' ἐμοῦ " (Deut.
v. 31). λόγιόν ἐστι τοῦτο χρησθὲν τῷ προφήτῃ·
στάσις τε καὶ ἠρεμία ἀκλινὴς ἡ παρὰ τὸν ἀκλινῶς
ἑστῶτα ἀεὶ θεόν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ὑγιεῖ κανόνι τὰ
50 παρατιθέμενα εὐθύνεσθαι. διὰ τοῦτό μοι

[a] Or taking ἐξ ἑαυτῶν with νουθετεῖσθαι "those whose nature is such that they do not reprove themselves."

[b] *i.e.*, Moses is the wise man, the ark virtue. Philo's first interpretation lays stress on their remaining together, the second on the fact that neither of them moved.

the flesh. They mean also "I am the sovereign and king and master." When the subject is in the presence of the ruler, or the slave of his master, wrongdoing is perilous. For when the ministers of punishment are near, those who of their own nature have no ears for reproof [a] are chastened and controlled by fear. God, since His fullness is everywhere, is near us, and since His eye beholds us, since He is close beside us, let us refrain from evil-doing. It were best that our motive should be reverence, but if not, let us at least tremble to think of the power of His sovereignty, how invincible it is, how terrible and inexorable in vengeance, when He is minded to use His power of chastisement. Thus may the divine spirit of wisdom not lightly shift His dwelling and be gone, but long, long abide with us, since He did thus abide with Moses the wise. For the posture and carriage of Moses whether he stand or sit is ever of the most tranquil and serene, and his nature averse to change and mutability. For we read "Moses and the ark were not moved" (Numb. xiv. 44). The reason may be either that the wise man cannot be parted from virtue, or that neither is virtue subject to movement nor the good man to change, but both are stayed on the firm foundation of right reason.[b] Again in another place we have "stand thou here with Me" [c] (Deut. v. 31). Here we have an oracle vouchsafed to the prophet; true stability and immutable tranquillity is that which we experience at the side of God, who Himself stands always immutable. For when the measuring-line is true all that is set beside must needs be made straight. This,

[c] Or "stand thou with Me Myself"; see on *De Sacr.* 8.

δοκεῖ καὶ ὁ περισσὸς τῦφος, ἐπίκλησιν Ἰοθόρ, καταπλαγεὶς τὴν ἀρρεπῆ καὶ ἰσαιτάτην καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχουσαν προαίρεσιν τοῦ σοφοῦ σχετλιάζειν καὶ ἀναπυνθάνεσθαι τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· "διὰ τί σὺ κάθησαι μόνος;" (Exod.
51 xviii. 14) ἰδὼν γάρ τις τὸν ἐν εἰρήνῃ συνεχῆ πόλεμον ἀνθρώπων οὐ κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ χώρας καὶ πόλεις αὐτὸ μόνον συνιστάμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' οἰκίαν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ καθ' ἕνα ἄνδρα ἕκαστον, καὶ τὸν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἄλεκτον καὶ βαρὺν χειμῶνα, ὃς ὑπὸ βιαιοτάτης φορᾶς τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πραγμάτων ἀναρριπίζεται, τεθαύμακεν εἰκότως, εἴ τις ἐν χειμῶνι εὐδίαν ἢ ἐν κλύδωνι κυμαινούσης θαλάττης
52 γαλήνην ἄγειν δύναται. ὁρᾷς ὅτι οὐδὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς λόγος ἐνδιατρίβειν ἀεὶ καὶ ἐνσχολάζειν τοῖς ἁγίοις δόγμασι δυνάμενος ἄδειαν ἔσχηκεν
[270] ἀνὰ πάντα καιρὸν πρὸς | αὐτὰ φοιτᾶν, ἀλλ' ἅπαξ δι' ἐνιαυτοῦ μόλις; (Lev. xvi. 2, 34) τὸ μὲν γὰρ μετὰ λόγου τοῦ κατὰ προφορὰν οὐ βέβαιον, ὅτι δυάς, τὸ δ' ἄνευ φωνῆς μόνῃ ψυχῇ τὸ ὂν θεωρεῖν ἐχυρώτατον, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἀδιαίρετον ἵσταται μονάδα.

53 XII. Ὥστε οὖν ἐν μὲν τοῖς πολλοῖς, τουτέστι τοῖς πολλὰ τοῦ βίου τέλη προτεθειμένοις, οὐ καταμένει τὸ θεῖον πνεῦμα, κἂν πρὸς ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀναστραφῇ, μόνῳ δὲ ἀνθρώπων εἴδει ἑνὶ παραγίνεται, ὃ πάντα ἀπαμφιασάμενον τὰ ἐν γενέσει καὶ τὸ ἐσωτάτω καταπέτασμα καὶ προκάλυμμα τῆς δόξης ἀνειμένῃ καὶ γυμνῇ τῇ διανοίᾳ πρὸς
54 θεὸν ἀφίξεται. οὕτως καὶ Μωυσῆς ἔξω τῆς

[a] See on *De Sacr.* 50, App. p. 490. [b] See App. p. 503.
[c] A somewhat strange case of ἀνειμένῃ. Possibly read ἀνείμονι, a rare Homeric word (*Od.* iii. 348) which Philo uses

I think, is why worldly-wise vanity [a] called Jethro, struck with amazement before the wise man's rule of life, which never swerves from its absolute consistency, never changes its tenor or its character, begins to scold and ply him with questions thus. "Why dost thou sit alone?" (Exod. xviii. 14). For indeed one who sees the perpetual war-in-peace of men, how it rages not only between nations and countries and cities, but also in the household and still more in each individual man—the fierce mysterious storm in the soul, whipped into fury by the wild blast of life and its cares—can well wonder that another should find fair weather in the storm, or calm amid the surges of the tempestuous sea.
Mark you that not even the high-priest Reason, though he has the power to dwell in unbroken leisure amid the sacred doctrines, has received free licence to resort to them at every season, but barely once a year (Lev. xvi. 2 and 34). For when we have reason (or thought) in the form of utterance [b] we have no constancy, because it is twofold. But when without speech and within the soul alone we contemplate the Existent, there is perfect stability, because such contemplation is based on the Indivisible Unity.

XII. Thus it is that in the many, those, that is, who have set before them many ends in life, the divine spirit does not abide, even though it sojourn there for a while. One sort of men only does it aid with its presence, even those who, having disrobed themselves of all created things and of the innermost veil and wrapping of mere opinion, with mind unhampered [c] and naked will come to God. So too

in *De Somn.* i. 99, though in a different context from this. See also App. p. 503.

παρεμβολῆς καὶ τοῦ σωματικοῦ παντὸς στρατο-
πέδου πήξας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκηνήν (Exod. xxxiii. 7),
τουτέστι τὴν γνώμην ἱδρυσάμενος ἀκλινῆ, προσ-
κυνεῖν τὸν θεὸν ἄρχεται καὶ εἰς τὸν γνόφον, τὸν
ἀειδῆ χῶρον, εἰσελθὼν αὐτοῦ καταμένει τελού-
μενος τὰς ἱερωτάτας τελετάς. γίνεται δὲ οὐ
μόνον μύστης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱεροφάντης ὀργίων καὶ
διδάσκαλος θείων, ἃ τοῖς ὦτα κεκαθαρμένοις
55 ὑφηγήσεται. τούτῳ μὲν οὖν τὸ θεῖον
ἀεὶ παρίσταται πνεῦμα πάσης ὀρθῆς ἀφηγούμενον
ὁδοῦ, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων, ὡς ἔφην, τάχιστα δια-
ζεύγνυται, ὧν καὶ τὸν βίον ἐν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν
ἐτῶν ἀριθμῷ πεπλήρωκε· λέγει γάρ· "ἔσονται αἱ
ἡμέραι αὐτῶν ἔτη ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν" (Gen. vi. 3).
56 ἀλλὰ καὶ Μωυσῆς τῶν ἴσων γενόμενος ἐτῶν
τοῦ θνητοῦ βίου μετανίσταται (Deut. xxxiv. 7).
πῶς οὖν εἰκὸς ἰσοχρονίους εἶναι τοὺς ὑπαιτίους
τῷ πανσόφῳ καὶ προφήτῃ; εἰς μὲν οὖν τὸ παρὸν
ἀρκέσει τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τὰ ὁμώνυμα οὐ πάντως
ἔσθ' ὅμοια, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ὅλῳ γένει διέζευκται,
καὶ ὅτι τὸ φαῦλον τῷ σπουδαίῳ δύναται μὲν καὶ
ἀριθμοὺς καὶ χρόνους ἔχειν τοὺς ἴσους, ἐπεὶ καὶ
δίδυμον εἰσάγεται, ἀπηρτημένας δὲ καὶ μακρὰν
57 ἀλλήλων διῳκισμένας δυνάμεις. τὸν δὲ ἀκριβῆ
λόγον τῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐτῶν ὑπερθησόμεθα
εἰς τὴν τοῦ προφητικοῦ βίου παντὸς ἐξέτασιν,
ὅταν αὐτὸν ἱκανοὶ γενώμεθα μυεῖσθαι, νυνὶ δὲ τὰ
ἑξῆς λέγωμεν.
58 XIII. "Οἱ δὲ γίγαντες ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐν

[a] Or "leading him in every right way."
[b] See App. pp. 503, 504.

Moses pitched his own tent outside the camp (Exod. xxxiii. 7) and the whole array of bodily things, that is, he set up his judgement where it should not be removed. Then only does he begin to worship God and entering the darkness, the invisible region, abides there while he learns the secrets of the most holy mysteries. There he becomes not only one of the congregation of the initiated, but also the hierophant and teacher of divine rites, which he will impart to those whose ears are purified.

He then has ever the divine spirit at his side, taking the lead in every journey of righteousness,[a] but from those others, as I have said, it quickly separates itself, from these to whose span of life he has also set a term of a hundred and twenty years, for he says "their days shall be a hundred and twenty years" (Gen. vi. 3). Yet Moses also departs from mortal life, just when he has reached that number of years (Deut. xxxiv. 7). How then can it be reasonable that the years of the guilty should match those of the sage and prophet? Well, for the present it will be enough to say that things which bear the same name are not in all cases alike, often indeed differ altogether in kind, and that the bad and the good, since they come before us knit in a twin existence,[b] may be equally matched in times and numbers, and yet their powers may be widely different and far apart from each other. But the closer discussion of this matter of a hundred and twenty years we will postpone till we inquire into the prophet's life as a whole, when we have become fit to learn its mystery. Now let us speak of the words which follow next.

XIII. "Now the giants were on the earth in

ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις" (Gen. vi. 4). ἴσως τις
τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς μεμυθευμένα περὶ τῶν
γιγάντων οἴεται τὸν νομοθέτην αἰνίττεσθαι πλεῖ-
στον ὅσον διεστηκότα τοῦ μυθοπλαστεῖν καὶ τοῖς
59 ἀληθείας ἴχνεσιν αὐτῆς ἐπιβαίνειν ἀξιοῦντα. παρὸ
καὶ εὐδοκίμους καὶ γλαφυρὰς τέχνας, ζωγραφίαν
καὶ ἀνδριαντοποιίαν, ἐκ τῆς καθ᾿ αὑτὸν πολιτείας
[271] | ἐξήλασεν, ὅτι τὴν τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ψευδόμεναι φύσιν
ἀπάτας καὶ σοφίσματα δι᾿ ὀφθαλμῶν ψυχαῖς
60 εὐπαραγώγοις τεχνιτεύουσι. μῦθον μὲν οὖν οὐ-
δένα περὶ γιγάντων εἰσηγεῖται τὸ παράπαν,
βούλεται δὲ ἐκεῖνό σοι παραστῆσαι, ὅτι οἱ μὲν
γῆς, οἱ δὲ οὐρανοῦ, οἱ δὲ θεοῦ γεγόνασιν ἄνθρωποι·
γῆς μὲν οἱ θηρευτικοὶ τῶν σώματος ἡδονῶν ἀπό-
λαυσίν τε καὶ χρῆσιν ἐπιτηδεύοντες αὐτῶν καὶ
πορισταὶ τῶν συντεινόντων εἰς ἑκάστην, οὐρανοῦ
δὲ ὅσοι τεχνῖται καὶ ἐπιστήμονες καὶ φιλομαθεῖς—
τὸ γὰρ οὐράνιον τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ὁ νοῦς (νοῦς δὲ καὶ
τῶν κατ᾿ οὐρανὸν ἕκαστον) τὰ ἐγκύκλια καὶ τὰς
ἄλλας ἅπαξ ἁπάσας ἐπιτηδεύει τέχνας, παραθήγων
καὶ ἀκονῶν ἔτι τε γυμνάζων καὶ συγκροτῶν ἐν
61 τοῖς νοητοῖς αὐτόν—θεοῦ δὲ ἄνθρωποι ἱερεῖς
καὶ προφῆται, οἵτινες οὐκ ἠξίωσαν πολιτείας τῆς
παρὰ τῷ κόσμῳ τυχεῖν καὶ κοσμοπολῖται γενέσθαι,
τὸ δὲ αἰσθητὸν πᾶν ὑπερκύψαντες εἰς τὸν νοητὸν
κόσμον μετανέστησαν κἀκεῖθι ᾤκησαν ἐγγραφέν-
τες ἀφθάρτων <καὶ> ἀσωμάτων ἰδεῶν πολιτείᾳ.
62 XIV. Ὁ γοῦν Ἀβραὰμ μέχρι μὲν διατρίβων

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[a] See App. p. 504.

those days " (Gen. vi. 4). Some may think that the Lawgiver is alluding to the myths of the poets about the giants, but indeed myth-making is a thing most alien to him, and his mind is set on following in the steps of truth and nothing but truth. And therefore also he has banished from his own commonwealth [a] painting and sculpture, with all their high repute and charm of artistry, because their crafts belie the nature of truth and work deception and illusions through the eyes to souls that are ready to be seduced. So, then, it is no myth at all of giants that he sets before us; rather he wishes to show you that some men are earth-born, some heaven-born, and some God-born. The earth-born are those who take the pleasures of the body for their quarry, who make it their practice to indulge in them and enjoy them and provide the means by which each of them may be promoted. The heaven-born are the votaries of the arts and of knowledge, the lovers of learning. For the heavenly element in us is the mind, as the heavenly beings are each of them a mind. And it is the mind which pursues the learning of the schools and the other arts one and all, which sharpens and whets itself, aye and trains and drills itself solid in the contemplation of what is intelligible by mind. But the men of God are priests and prophets who have refused to accept membership in the commonwealth of the world and to become citizens therein, but have risen wholly above the sphere of sense-perception and have been translated into the world of the intelligible and dwell there registered as freemen of the commonwealth of Ideas, which are imperishable and incorporeal.

XIV. Thus Abraham, while he sojourned in the

ἦν ἐν τῇ Χαλδαίων γῇ τε καὶ δόξῃ, πρὶν μετονομασθῆναι, καλούμενος Ἀβρὰμ <ἦν> ἄνθρωπος οὐρανοῦ τήν τε μετάρσιον καὶ τὴν αἰθέριον φύσιν ἐρευνῶν καὶ τά τε συμβαίνοντα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ὁμοιότροπον φιλοσοφῶν—οὗ χάριν καὶ προσρήσεως οἷς ἐπετήδευσεν ἔτυχεν οἰκείας· Ἀβρὰμ γὰρ ἑρμηνευθεὶς πατήρ ἐστι μετέωρος, ὄνομα τοῦ τὰ μετέωρα καὶ ἐπουράνια περισκοπουμένου πάντα πάντῃ νοῦ πατρός, πατὴρ δὲ τοῦ συγκρίματος ὁ νοῦς ἐστιν ὁ ἄχρις αἰθέρος καὶ ἔτι
63 περαιτέρω μηκυνόμενος—· ὅταν δὲ βελτιωθεὶς μέλλῃ μετονομάζεσθαι, γίνεται ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ κατὰ τὸ χρησθὲν αὐτῷ λόγιον " ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ θεός σου· εὐαρέστει ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ, καὶ γίνου ἄμεμπτος "
64 (Gen. xvii. 1). εἰ δ' ὁ τοῦ κόσμου θεὸς καὶ μόνος ὢν θεὸς καὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ χάριν ἐξαίρετον ἰδίᾳ θεός, ἐξ ἀνάγκης δήπου καὶ αὐτὸς θεοῦ. καλεῖται γὰρ πατὴρ ἐκλεκτὸς ἠχοῦς ἑρμηνευθεὶς Ἀβραάμ, ὁ τοῦ σπουδαίου λογισμός· ἐξειλεγμένος τε γὰρ καὶ κεκαθαρμένος καὶ πατὴρ φωνῆς ᾗ συνηχοῦμεν. ὁ δὲ τοιοῦτος τῷ ἑνὶ μόνῳ προσκεκλήρωται θεῷ, οὗ γινόμενος ὀπαδὸς εὐθύνει τὴν ἀτραπὸν τοῦ παντὸς βίου βασιλικῇ τῷ ὄντι χρώμενος ὁδῷ τῇ τοῦ μόνου βασιλέως καὶ παντοκράτορος, ἐπὶ μηδέτερα ἀποκλίνων καὶ ἐκτρεπόμενος.
65 XV. Οἱ δὲ γῆς παῖδες τὸν νοῦν ἐκβιβάσαντες

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[a] Or "with which we express our accord with reason."
[b] Alluding to Num. xx. 17, *cf. Quod Deus* 159.

land of the Chaldeans—sojourned, that is, in mere opinion—and with his name as yet unchanged from Abram, was a "man of heaven." He searched into the nature of the supra-terrestrial and ethereal region, and his philosophy studied the events and changes which there occur, and their causes and the like. And therefore he received a name suitable to the studies which he pursued. For "Abram" being interpreted is the uplifted father, a name which signifies that mind which surveys on every side the whole compass of the upper world of heaven, called father-mind because this mind which reaches out to the ether and further still is the father of our compound being. But when he has risen to a better state and the time is at hand that his name should be changed, he becomes a man of God according to the oracle which was vouchsafed to him, "I am thy God: walk before Me according to My pleasure, and show thyself blameless" (Gen. xvii. 1). Now if the God of the Universe, the only God, is also his God in a special sense and by special grace, he surely must needs be himself a man of God. For he is called Abraham, by interpretation, "the elect father of sound," that is, "the good man's reasoning." Good, because it is elect and purified; reasoning, because reason is the father of the voice, through which comes the sound of speech common to us all.[a] Such a reasoning has the one and only God for its owner; it becomes God's companion and makes straight the path of its whole life, treading the true "King's way,"[b] the way of the one sole almighty king, swerving and turning aside neither to the right nor to the left. XV. But the sons of earth have turned the steps of the mind out of the

[272] τοῦ λογίζεσθαι καὶ | μεταλλοιώσαντες[1] εἰς τὴν ἄψυχον καὶ ἀκίνητον σαρκῶν φύσιν — “ ἐγένοντο γὰρ οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν,” ᾗ φησιν ὁ νομοθέτης (Gen. ii. 24) — τὸ ἄριστον ἐκιβδήλευσαν νόμισμα καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀμείνω καὶ οἰκείαν τάξιν ἔλιπον, πρὸς δὲ τὴν χείρω καὶ ἐναντίαν ηὐτομόλησαν ἄρξαντος
66 τοῦ ἔργου Νεβρώδ· λέγει γὰρ ὁ νομοθέτης, ὅτι “ οὗτος ἤρξατο εἶναι γίγας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ” (Gen. x. 8), ἑρμηνεύεται δὲ Νεβρὼδ αὐτομόλησις· οὐ γὰρ ἐξήρκεσε τῇ παναθλίᾳ ψυχῇ μετὰ μηδετέρων στῆναι, ἀλλὰ προσχωρήσασα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὅπλα κατὰ τῶν φίλων ἤρατο καὶ φανερῶς ἀνθεστῶσα αὐτοῖς ἐπολέμει. παρὸ καὶ ἀρχὴν τῷ Νεβρὼδ τῆς βασιλείας ὑπογράφει Βαβυλῶνα, μετάθεσις δὲ καλεῖται Βαβυλών, συγγενὲς αὐτομολίᾳ καὶ ὄνομα ὀνόματι καὶ ἔργον ἔργῳ· παντὸς γὰρ αὐτομολοῦντος προοίμια γνώμης μεταβολὴ καὶ μετάθεσις.
67 ἀκόλουθον <οὖν> ἂν εἴη λέγειν, ὅτι κατὰ τὸν ἱερώτατον Μωυσέα ὁ μὲν φαῦλος, ὥσπερ ἄοικος καὶ ἄπολις καὶ ἀνίδρυτος καὶ φυγάς, οὕτως καὶ αὐτόμολος, ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος βεβαιότατος σύμμαχος τοσαῦτα εἴς γε τὸ παρὸν ἀρκούντως περὶ τῶν γιγάντων εἰρηκότες ἐπὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα τοῦ λόγου τρεψώμεθα. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα·

[1] MSS. *μεταλλεύσαντες et alia.*

path of reason and transmuted it into the lifeless and inert nature of the flesh. For "the two became one flesh" as says the lawgiver (Gen. ii. 24). Thus they have debased the coin of truest metal and deserted from their post, left a place that was better for a worse, a place amid their own people for a place amid their foes. It was Nimrod who began this desertion. For the lawgiver says "he began to be a giant[a] on the earth" (Gen. x. 8), and his name means "desertion." To that most wretched of souls it was not enough to stand neutral, but he went over to the enemy, took up arms against his friends and withstood them in open war. And therefore to Nimrod Moses ascribes Babylon as the beginning of his kingdom. Now the name Babylon means alteration, a thought akin to desertion both in name and fact, for with every deserter change and alteration of purpose are the first steps. And so the conclusion would follow which Moses, holiest of men, lays down that, even as the wicked man is an exile without home or city or settlement, so also he is a deserter, while the good man is the staunchest of comrades. For the present sufficient has been said about the giants. Let us turn to the words which follow in the text.[b]

[a] In R.V. "mighty."

[b] These words, *i.e.* Gen. vi. 4, are discussed in the next treatise *Quod Deus*; see Analytical Introduction.

APPENDIX TO ON THE CHERUBIM

§ 6. *The stern and gloomy life*, etc. Philo seems to interpret this first flight of Hagar as the tendency of youth to shrink from the stern discipline of the school, the Encyclia being for the moment treated as "the mind which is trained in them," as in *De Cong.* 180.

§ 8. ἐπιλάμψῃ . . μεταδιώκων. The obvious way of taking this difficult and probably corrupt passage, namely to translate ἀποθανόντων τὰ πάθη χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης by "died to the passions (or 'feelings') of joy and gladness," must be wrong, for as Isaac is regularly regarded as embodying these qualities (*e.g. Leg. All.* iii. 218), it is impossible that his parents should be thought of as discarding them at his birth. Two lines of correction seem possible, (*a*) as adopted in the translation, to bring χαρᾶς and εὐφροσύνης into co-ordination with εὐδαιμονίας, (*b*) to co-ordinate them with παιδιάς by reading χαρὰς καὶ εὐφροσύνας. This in itself would still leave untouched the awkward gen. abs. ἐκλιπόντων and ἀποθανόντων, to say nothing of the difficulty involved in applying the phrase ἐκλιπεῖν τὰ γυναικεῖα (used of Sarah in Gen. xviii. 11) to Abraham also. These difficulties, however, might be removed by reading also ἐκλιπὸν . . . ἀποθανὸν (ἀπομαθὸν ?) . . . μεταδίωκον. (*a*) certainly as it stands leaves the sentence almost intolerable. Perhaps the least drastic correction would be to expel ὁ Ἰσαάκ as a gloss, put in its place καὶ τῶν and insert ὁ before καὶ παιδιάς. Thus the whole sentence will run, ἐπιλάμψῃ δὲ καὶ τὸ εὐδαιμονίας γένος καὶ τῶν ἐκλιπόντων τὰ γυναικεῖα καὶ ἀποθανόντων τὰ πάθη χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης, ὁ καὶ παιδιάς, etc. The participial genitives in this case though still clumsy are less unnatural, and the difficulty of the application of ἐκλιπεῖν, etc., to Abraham is avoided

as the phrase becomes a general statement. The obvious difficulty involved in (*b*) that it ascribes to Isaac what belongs to Sarah may be met by supposing that Philo equates Sarah's "ceasing from the manner of women" with the conception of Isaac (*cf. De Post.* 134).

[It would bring this passage into harmony with other passages, if what Philo wrote was *ἐκλιπὸν . . . ἀποθανὸν . . . μεταδιῶκον* (all in agreement with *γένος*), and *χαρὰς καὶ εὐφροσύνας*. It would seem not unlikely that a scribe, a little puzzled by the neuters *ἐκλιπὸν* and *ἀποθανόν*, and seeing *ἐκλιπόντ-* and *ἀποθανόντ-* before him, filled in the *-ων* in each word, producing *ἐκλιπόντων* and *ἀποθανόντων*. This led to the change of *χαρὰς καὶ εὐφροσύνας* into genitives singular. With *ἐκλιπόν* and *ἀποθανόν* restored, the construction is the same as that in *De Somniis*, i. 68 *ᾧ τὸ αὐτομαθὲς γένος, Ἰσαάκ, ἐνδιαιτᾶται, μηδέποτε* . . . ἀφιστάμενον. Our passage is also illustrated by *De Mut. Nom.* 1 *ᾗ τὸ αὐτομαθὲς ἐπέλαμψε γένος, Ἰσαάκ, εὐπαθειῶν ἀρίστη, χαρά*, and *Quod Det.* 46 *τὸ μόνον ἀπαθὲς εἶδος ἐν γενέσει τὸν Ἰσαάκ*, and *De Mut. Nom.* 261 *τέξεταί σοι ἡ ἀρετὴ υἱὸν γενναῖον ἄρρενα* (Gen. xvii. 19) παντὸς ἀπηλλαγμένον θήλεος πάθους.

To Philo the fact that Isaac was sprung from one "as good as dead" and "the deadness of Sarah's womb" carried with it his deadness to passions and his complete immunity from all that was weak and womanish.—G. H. W.]

τὰς παίδων. We have perhaps here an allusion to Gen. xxi. 9, where according to the A.V. Sarah saw Ishmael 'mocking.' The R.V. margin, however, has 'playing,' and the LXX. *παίζοντα*. The fact that it was this "playing of children" which led to Ishmael's expulsion, would lend additional point to the words here.

§ 15. The idea of the lawfulness of falsehood under the circumstances here described is perhaps taken from Plato, *Rep.* iii. 389 B.

§ 25. *The two hemispheres.* Empedocles said *εἶναι δύο ἡμισφαίρια, τὸ μὲν καθόλου πυρός, τὸ δὲ μικτὸν ἐξ ἀέρος καὶ ὀλίγου πυρός, ὅπερ οἴεται τὴν νύκτα εἶναι* (see Ritter and Preller, 170). "Thus there arose two hemispheres which together form the concave sphere of heaven: the one is bright and consists entirely of fire; the other is dark and consists of air with isolated masses of fire sprinkled in it" (Zeller). *Cf.* Plato, *Axiochus* 376 A. A theory is mentioned that *τοῦ πόλου ὄντος*

σφαιροειδοῦς . . . , τὸ μὲν ἕτερον ἡμισφαίριον οἱ θεοὶ ἔλαχον οἱ οὐράνιοι, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον οἱ ὑπένερθεν.

§ 26. *Named by men of old the standing-place.* *Cf.* Philolaus (*ap.* Stob. *Ecl.* i. 21. 8) τὸ πρᾶτον ἁρμοσθὲν τὸ ἓν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τᾶς σφαίρας ἑστία καλεῖται.

§ 28. Elsewhere, in *Quaestiones in Gen.* i. 58 (which only survives in the Armenian), Philo gives the same explanation of the Cherubim, but interprets the sword as "heaven."

§ 32. *Neither fights nor keeps the ranks.* Guilty, that is, of ἀστρατεία, shirking service, and λιποτάξιον, desertion in the field. Both these were punishable offences in Attic law.

§ 41. *Leah.* Leah (symbolizing virtue) is derived by Philo from the Hebrew words "lo" = not, and "lahah" = to be weary. The fool "says no" (ἀνανεύει) to her ἄσκησις which makes *herself* weary. Elsewhere (in *De Mut. Nom.* 254) the weariness is interpreted of the weariness whieh she *causes*, and again (*De Migr. Abr.* 145) of the weariness caused by the burden of wickedness which she has cast off. In ἀνανευομένη there is also a reference to Jacob's rejection of Leah in the actual story.

§ 42. *Who have no other standards*, etc. Cohn punctuates differently with a comma before τύφῳ and another after ἐθῶν, thus making ῥημάτων genitive after τύφῳ. But it seems unreasonable to break up the common collocation of ὀνόματα (nouns) with ῥήματα (verbs or phrases), the two together constantly standing for language as a whole.

τερθρείαις ἐθῶν, *i.e.* "mummeries of rituals." This is well illustrated by Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 19, where both the τῦφος and the τερθρεία μυθική of the rites of Cybele are denounced.

§ 45. *In her solitude.* Apparently a fanciful deduction from the fact that Abraham's presence is not mentioned in Gen. xxi. 1. In the cases that follow there is the same deduction from the absence of any mention of the husband.

§ 49. *His greater mysteries.* Philo borrows from the Eleusinian mysteries this idea of "greater" and "less." Here Moses is the greater and the Prophets the less. For another application of the distinction see *De Sacr.* 62.

Husband.—The LXX. in Jer. iii. 4, which differs wholly from the Hebrew, has ἀρχηγόν. As ἄνδρα is necessary to Philo's argument he may be quoting some earlier rendering.

§§ 53-66. The argument of these sections seems to be as

follows. Names do not ordinarily represent the thing named so absolutely that no further explanation is required. We should not know from the name Cain that he was first-born or male. But Moses' names are given on a different principle. To show what this is, in 57-64 Philo describes the primitive *τρόπος* (65) of the mind to think that it possesses all that it seems to have. Since the name "Possession" indicates this *τρόπος* clearly, Moses had no need to say anything more. Philo adopts partially the Stoic theory that names came originally *φύσει*, but restricts it to the names of the O.T.

§ 69. *Will-o'-the-wisps.* The following passage suggests strongly that the reading adopted by the translator rather than that of Cohn is right. Chrysippus (on the distinction between *φάντασμα*, *φανταστόν*, *φανταστικόν*) says: *φανταστικὸν δέ ἐστι διάκενος ἑλκυσμός, πάθος ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἀπ' οὐδενὸς φανταστοῦ γινόμενον, κάθαπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ σκιαμαχοῦντος καὶ κενοῖς ἐπιφέροντος τὰς χεῖρας . . . φάντασμα δέ ἐστιν ἐφ' ὃ ἑλκόμεθα κατὰ τὸν φανταστικὸν διάκενον ἑλκυσμόν. ταῦτα δὲ γίνεται ἐπὶ τῶν μελαγχολώντων καὶ μεμηνότων* (Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, ii. 54. *Cf. ibid.* 64).

§ 79. *Where there is reaction* (*ἀντιπεπονθός*). Philo here utilizes a piece of Stoic grammar. *Cf.* Diog. Laert. vii. 64: *ἀντιπεπονθότα δέ ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς ὑπτίοις, ἃ ὕπτια ὄντα ἐνεργήματά ἐστιν, οἷον Κείρεται· ἐμπεριέχει* (perhaps *ἐμπαρέχει*, see *παρέχων ἑαυτόν*, 79) *γὰρ ἑαυτὸν ὁ κειρόμενος*. *i.e.* the *ἀντιπεπονθότα* are those among the passives which though passive (in form) represent actions, as *κείρεται*. The application of the term in these sections of Philo suggests that the grammatical meaning of the term was not so much that of the ordinary middle (I shave myself) as that of the causative middle "I get myself shaved." The term thus describes "having something done to us in response to something we have done ourselves."

A sheep or a fleece. *δέρμα* and *κῴδιον* might possibly be taken as accusatives, but the phraseology in the parallel passage, *L.A.* iii. 201 *κείρεις ἑτέρως μὲν ἄνθρωπον ἑτέρως δὲ τὸ κῴδιον*, suggests that they are nominatives. The translator is unable to make any suggestion as to the distinction between the two nouns, or why *τὸ λεγόμενον* is added.

§ 84. "*All things*," *He says*, "*are mine.*" The phrase does not occur in the O.T. Perhaps print *ὅλα* "*μου*," *φησίν*,

ἐστίν, and refer "He says" to the threefold "mine" in Numb. xxviii. 2. *Cf. L.A.* iii. 176.

§ 105. *Grammar or literature.* γραμματική always included the study of the poets and historians as well as what we call grammar, and in Philo's time this literary side was by far the most important.

By the means of fine music. The text implies that music is part of "geometry," a view which is very unusual, if not unprecedented, though the two, since geometry included arithmetic, were closely connected. The change of the nominatives γραμματική, etc., to -κῇ (datives), suggested by Cohn, would obviate this, but to represent knowledge as *e.g.* studying history *by means of* γραμματική is very harsh. Cohn confessed that his emendation did not satisfy him.

Rhetoric, etc. The allusion in this sentence is (*a*) to the regular division of rhetoric into (1) "invention" (εὕρεσις including τάξις), (2) style or expression (ἑρμηνεία), (3) delivery (ὑπόκρισις); and (*b*) to the expression of the gentler emotions (ἤθη) and that of the stronger emotions (πάθη).

§§ 109-112. For the sense of this and the preceding sections *cf.* Epictetus, *Diss.* i. 12. 16 διέταξε δὲ θέρος εἶναι καὶ χειμῶνα καὶ φορὰν καὶ ἀφορίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν καὶ κακίαν καὶ πάσας τὰς τοιαύτας ἐναντιότητας ὑπὲρ συμφωνίας τῶν ὅλων.

§ 114. *The other gradations.* Of the five gradations left untranslated ἡβῶν perhaps = age of puberty, while πρωτογένειος speaks for itself, and the other three fall of course between the limits thus indicated.

Rebirth. Cf. a passage in *Quaest. in Ex.* ii. 46, where, according to the Latin version of the Armenian, the calling of Moses to the Mount is said to typify the "secunda nativitas sive regeneratio priore melior." If we are to suppose that this "regeneration" is absorption in the Divine and occurs at death, the correction to ἀσύγκριτοι ἄποιοι, which is also wanted for the balance of the two clauses, seems necessary. But it is possible that Philo is following the Stoic doctrine, according to which the souls (of the good at any rate) survived the general conflagration (ἐκπύρωσις) which was to be followed by the "reconstruction" (παλιγγενεσία); see Arnim, *l.c.* ii. 802-822. In this case Cohn's reading might stand; for the soul through this interregnum, though ἀσώματος, would still be σύγκριτος (of fire and air) and ποιός.

§ 115. Philo adapts from the Attic orators the technical language used of a wife who formally claimed divorce or separation from her husband. If the husband did not agree, an ἀπολείψεως δίκη had to be brought before the Archon (πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα) (see *Dict. of Ant.*, art. "Divortium"). *Cf. Quod Det.* 143, where also we have the phrase (apparently in general use: see Bekker, *Anecd.* 430. 30) χρηματίζειν ἀπόλειψιν.

§ 121. *Licence of language.* κατάχρησις (*abusio*) is the name used by the grammarians for the figure of speech involved in such a phrase as the "aedificare equum" of Virgil (*aedificare* being properly to build a house only).

The land shall not be sold at all. Philo is still quoting Lev. xxv. 23. which he cited correctly in 108. Here, however, he substitutes πράσει for εἰς βεβαίωσιν, probably from a reminiscence of Deut. xxi. 14, where the phrase πράσει οὐ πραθήσεται is used. The alteration, though it makes a considerable difference in the meaning of the text, hardly affects the argument.

§ 123. *Hawking his goods.* Properly speaking the word ἐπευωνίζων means "selling cheap," and this shade of meaning makes good sense in *De Gig.* 32. On the other hand here and elsewhere there is no special point in the cheapness, and probably the word merely conveys some measure of contempt. If, however, the ἑαυτοῦ is to be pressed, the idea might be "pressing his own goods upon the purchaser and thus underselling his competitors."

§ 125. πρὸς γὰρ τὴν γένεσιν, etc. Philo's four causes are evidently based on Aristotle's four, (1) the οὐσία or τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι (formal cause), (2) the ὕλη or ἐξ οὗ (material cause), (3) the ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως or τὸ ποιοῦν (efficient cause), (4) τὸ οὗ ἕνεκα or ἀγαθόν (final cause). But for the "formal cause" he substitutes the "instrument," a view to which his theory of the λόγος naturally led. He repeats the first three of the causes in *Quaest. in Gen.* i. 58, and all four in *De Providentia* (also only extant in the Armenian). There, however, the "ad quid?" is answered by "ut sit argumentum," *i.e.* apparently, to give a proof of his goodness. Here there is an evident confusion of his treatment of the world as compared with his treatment of the house. The ἀγαθότης of God does not correspond with the σκέπη furnished by the house.

Philo is perhaps misled by Plato, *Timaeus* 29 E, where the question, "why did God make the world?" is answered in the first instance by ἀγαθὸς ἦν, but the true answer, namely that He wanted to make all things like Himself, follows directly.

APPENDIX TO THE SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN

§§ 5-7. In these sections we have a suggestion of the idea, to which Philo frequently recurs, of the "educational trinity," stated by Aristotle in the form *παιδεία δεῖν τριῶν, φύσεως, διδασκαλίας, ἀσκήσεως*. Philo takes as the typical examples of these three, Isaac, Abraham and Jacob, see particularly *De Abr.* 52 ff., where Isaac is *ὁ αὐτομαθοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἀξιωθείς*, Abraham represents *οἱ μαθήσει καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ προκόψαντες* (in *De Abr.* he is called the *σύμβολον διδασκαλικῆς ἀρετῆς*), while Jacob as usual is the *ἀσκητής*.

§ 9. Ex. vii. 1. Philo's treatment of this text here is worth comparing with his other explanations. In *Leg. All.* i. 40 the mind is the god of the unreasoning element, *cf. De Mut. Nom.* 19. In *De Migr. Abr.* 84, the inspired mind is addressed as god, while in *Quod Det.* 161 the fact that the wise man is called the "god" of the fool is used as an illustration of the difference between reality and "opinion"; for even the wise man cannot be God in reality. To argue, therefore, as he does here, that an attribute which is inconsistent with God must also be inconsistent with Moses is to give the text a meaning which he shrinks from elsewhere.

§ 10. *Such is the meaning*, etc. The translation assumes that Philo here sums up the general result of the first ten sections which have been a homily on Gen. iv. 2. It would be possible, however, to take it in closer connexion with the immediately preceding sentences, "even so it is when God adds," etc.

§ 12. Ex. iv. 10. The LXX. has *οὐκ ἱκανός* (some MSS. *εὔλογος*) *εἰμι πρὸ τῆς χθές, οὐδὲ πρὸ τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας, οὐδὲ ἀφ' οὗ ἤρξω λαλεῖν τῷ θεράποντί σου.* Our R.V. has "neither heretofore nor since thou hast spoken," *i.e.* neither at the earlier nor the later date, and presumably this was the

meaning of the LXX. Philo, however, by ignoring the second οὐδὲ takes it to convey the idea that Moses' contempt of τὸ εὔλογον only begins with his converse with God.

His use of εὔλογος here and in other quotations of the text shows clearly that he actually had that reading.

§ 13. *The fabulous inventions*, etc. Lit. "the conjectural and insecure myth-making of eloquence (or 'the eloquent')", or, taking εὐλόγων εἰκαστικήν together, "which guesses at probabilities" (ὁ ψευδῶν εἰκαστικός, *De Cher.* 116, is in favour of this). Philo often uses εὔλογος in the ordinary sense of "reasonably probable," but at other times, influenced perhaps by Ex. iv. 10, in the double sense of (*a*) fine language, (*b*) merely probable as opposed to certain. It is impossible in translation to reproduce this double sense. The best modern equivalent would be "rhetorical," were it not for the risk of confusion with the ancient technical use of "rhetoric" which is so common in Philo. There is a very similar phrasing in *Quod Det.* 38.

§§ 15-16. The thought of these sections is developed more fully in *Quis Rer. Div. Her.* 293-299, where four periods are indicated: (1) early childhood; (2) boyhood, the dangers of which are described in words very similar to our passage; (3) the stage in which the healing influences of philosophy are brought to bear upon the passions; (4) when the soul definitely turns away from sin to wisdom. He does not mean here that passion ordinarily ceases with youth, but that, in the case of the converted, conversion does not usually come till youth is past.

§ 17. *Named after his folly.* This is very far-fetched even for Philo. He interpreted the name of Esau from the Hebrew as (1) a thing made (ποίημα); (2) an oak or tree. In *De Cong.* 61 he says that the first signifies a fiction (πλάσμα) and the life of folly is of the nature of fiction, and that the second signifies a stubborn nature which takes folly for its counsellor.

§§ 21-33. On the reasons why these sections were omitted in earlier editions of the treatise see Anal. Introd. p. 93. This curious parable, which particularly in the list of nearly 150 vices goes far beyond anything else to be found in Philo, is obviously based on the famous fable of Xenophon, *Mem.* ii. 1, there ascribed to Prodicus, in which Vice and Virtue plead with Hercules when he stands at the crossways of life. There

are several definite reminiscences of this. It is also no doubt directly aimed at the doctrines of Epicurus.

§ 21. *Her eyebrows are smothered in paint.* Greek ladies sometimes painted their eyebrows with a preparation of soot (ἄσβολος) or of antimony (στίμμις), see *Dict. of Ant. s.v.* "fucus."

[ἐγκεκαλλυμμένη τὰς ὀφρῦς. Philo perhaps wrote ἐγκεκολαμμένη. There is ground for the belief that ὀφρυοκολάπτης may have been as familiar to Philo as δρυκολάπτης to Aristophanes (*Birds* 480, 979) or δρυοκολάπτης to Aristotle. A pair of tweezers is the ordinary implement for "eyebrow-shaping" (as it is called in Bond Street), but a razor is sometimes used, at all events in Germany. 'Carve' or 'chisel' is the *secondary* meaning of κολάπτω, 'I peck.'—G. H. W.]

§§ 35-41. This eulogy of πόνος is based on the similar one put into the mouth of Virtue in the Prodicean fable.

§ 37. *Severe harmony.* An adaptation of the Platonic idea of virtue as a harmony of the soul together with the Stoic view that moral evil is a relaxation of its τόνος (tension, muscular vigour).

Higher forms of art. The Stoics said (*e.g.* Stob. *Ecl.* ii. 6. 4) that virtue was a τέχνη περὶ ὅλον τὸν βίον and also (*ibid.*) that the chief virtues were both ἐπιστῆμαι and τέχναι. To judge from *De Cong.* 142 Philo would hardly have admitted the latter statement.

§ 45. *After hearing this.* These words show that the literary device of making Virtue discourse has been maintained up to this point, though not very skilfully in the last three sections. To put these O.T. illustrations into the mouth of the woman described in 26 is hardly appropriate.

§ 50. *Worldling.* Lit. "man of superfluity." Philo explains the epithet in several places. Jethro is the vanity which deals with the varying customs, unsanctioned by nature, and thus serves to deceive the true life (*De Agr.* 43); or the seeming wise who perpetually changes according to the groundless opinions of men (*De Ebr.* 37): or jeers at things equal and necessary to life and glorifies the inequalities of superfluous wealth (*De Mut. Nom.* 103). "Worldling" seems to the translator to combine these ideas better than any other word.

§ 51. *Earlier books.* No such passage in the earlier books

survives. But in *De Agr.* 21 ff. a "tiller of the soil" is explained as one who lives to satisfy the wants of the body.

§ 57. *Now the covenant*, etc. The argument seems to be: The covenant means God's gifts, God's gifts are perfect; virtue is perfect; therefore virtue is God's gift, and not man's merit.

§ 62. *Lesser mysteries.* See on *De Cher.* 49. The Passover represents the first stage of initiation in which the soul is escaping from the Egypt of passion and entering upon its life of practice. This is a lower stage than the "mysteries" described in 59-60, where the soul gains a perception of God.

§ 63. *She must grip . . . sandals.* The idea perhaps is that as the soul and body are bound together, the former must keep a tight hold of the latter. It thus corresponds to a foot which fits tightly into the sandal and does not allow it to slip.

§ 68. *Self-extension.* For the Stoic conception of "tension" (τόνος) including both expansion and condensation see Zeller, *Stoics* (Eng. trans.), p. 140.

§ 80. *It has the vigour.* In εὐτόνως we have again an allusion to the favourite Stoic idea of "tension" (see on 37). Here, however, the πάθη are conceived of as having their own τόνος, which is relaxed or weakened by the τόνος of reason. The same idea is no doubt present in the ἐκλύεται of 81.

§ 82. *Reason.* To preserve the continuity of the argument, this word has been retained in this and the following sections. But clearly Philo drifts away from the faculty of reason to its expression in definite thoughts and words.

§ 120. *Natural ability.* Reuben is several times taken as the type of εὐφυΐα. But it is strange to find this quality, which is elsewhere associated with φύσις and τὸ αὐτομαθές (Isaac) rather than with ἄσκησις (Jacob), taken here as the source of labour and progress of Jacob, and contrasted with the "inspired contemplation" of Israel.

§ 122. *The number sacred to education.* Philo seems to associate the "perfect" number ten (1 + 2 + 3 + 4) with education, partly at least because he found in Lev. xxvii. 32 that "every tenth which comes under the rod shall be holy" and he was convinced that the rod was παιδεία (*De Cong.* 94). Also he seems to have argued that the μέση παιδεία was the

minimum which God would accept, and that therefore the "ten" of Gen. xviii. 32, must refer to that. This view is developed in *De Mut.* 226 ff.

§ 123. *Due to the physician's neglect.* This translation involves giving a very unnatural meaning to *παρά* with the acc. So far as the use of *παρά* goes, it would be better to take it "through the indifference (of the relatives) caused by them" (*i.e.* the physicians whose non-attendance leads the relatives to think that things are going well). But this rendering is very harsh and unnatural. The Papyrus has for *παρ' αὐτοὺς* the unintelligible *αυη ου τως* which may perhaps conceal some illegible phrase = "apparent," which the MSS. tried to patch up.

§ 136. *The brain or the heart.* The Stoics for the most part decided on the heart. For Chrysippus's arguments see Arnim, *Stoic. Vet. Frag.* ii. 885 ff.; Zeller, *Stoics* (Eng. Trans.), p. 214. The opponents could appeal to Plato, who located τὸ λογιστικόν in the head.

Also in the lawgiver's words. Philo could find plenty of examples of "heart" *e.g.* Deut. v. 29. For "brain" or "head" he may have relied on Gen. iii. 15 LXX.

§ 137. *Nothing save the excrement and hide.* Philo's memory has played him false. There is no such exception ordered with regard to the *ὁλοκαυτώματα*. He is perhaps thinking of the directions about the "sin offering" in Lev. iv. 11, where, however, the hide and excrement are only mentioned with the head, legs, etc., to show that the whole animal must be burnt.

APPENDIX TO THE WORSE ATTACKS THE BETTER

§ 1. *And Cain said . . . plain.* These words are not in the Hebrew text.

§ 7. *The three kinds of good things.* This classification is frequently used both by Aristotle (*e.g. Eth. Nic.* i. 1098 b) and by the Stoics (*S.V.F.* iii. 136). The doctrine of the necessity of all three is found in Aristotle, though not with the implication here made that they are equally important; *e.g.* " It will not be denied that, as there are three classes, external goods, goods of the body, and goods of the soul, the happy man must possess all these " (*Politics* 1323 f., Welldon's translation).

§ 9. *Nothing is a good thing*, etc. For the Stoic doctrine that τὸ καλόν (" the morally beautiful," *honestum* in Cicero) is the only good see Index to *S.V.F.* No Greek passage, however, seems to reproduce the dogma exactly in this form. *Cf. De Post.* 133, where it is definitely called Stoic.

§ 16. δι᾿ ἀγωγῆς νομίμου ἢ καὶ παιδεύσεως ὀρθῆς. In the former clause both noun and adjective suggest practical obedience. For ἀγωγή is a leading along a path, and νόμιμος is one ἀκολουθητικὸς τῷ νόμῳ καὶ πρακτικὸς τῶν ὑπ᾿ αὐτοῦ προστασσομένων (*S.V.F.* iii. 613). In the second clause the word παίδευσις takes us into the school-room, the domain of the νομικός, who is ἐξηγητικὸς τοῦ νόμου (*ibid.*). Philo implies that practical training is the more effective way of instilling " healthy principles." He can hardly have used the words without thinking of God's leading of His people by the hand of Moses.

§ 34. *Training for dying.* This use of the Platonic phrase should be compared with that in *De Gig.* 14. Here in the mouth of the worldly it connotes the wretchedness of the

philosopher's life. There he is training to die to the life of the body in order to gain the higher life. Philo is probably thinking here of *Phaedo* 64 A, where, when Socrates uses the equivalent phrase ἐπιτηδεύει ἀποθνήσκειν, Simmias laughs and says "that is exactly what my unphilosophical countrymen would say of the philosophers." It is a good example of Philo's intimate knowledge of Plato.

§ 39. *All the qualities.* ἰδέαι is a technical word in rhetoric for the various qualities of ἑρμηνεία (= "style" or "expression"). Hermogenes Περὶ ἰδεῶν enumerates and treats of seven of these, the three chief of which are clearness, greatness, beauty.

§ 46. *The days of my father's mourning.* Philo to suit his allegorical interpretation takes this to mean "the days when my father will mourn."

§ 49. *Separate . . . not separate.* The Stoics classified material things (σώματα) as (*a*) διεστῶτα, *e.g.* an army, (*b*) συνημμένα, *e.g.* a house or ship, (*c*) ἡνωμένα, *e.g.* animals (*S.V.F.* ii. 366 f.).

§ 50. *Judgements*, or "opinions." In *De Post.* 79 and 112 the two wives are more or less identified respectively with Epicureanism and the Aristotelian (?) belief in the value of bodily and external things.

§ 57. *Inquiry . . . question.* πύσμα or πεῦσις is a question requiring an explanatory answer as "Where is Abel?" ἐρώτημα requires only "yes" or "no."

§ 64. *The number 50 is perfect.* Why so? In *De Vita Cont.* 65 it is said to be the holiest and most "natural" (φυσικώτατος) of numbers because it is formed from the hypotenuse (δύναμις) of the right-angled triangle, which is the beginning of the generation of all things. This reason seems to us absurd. We can dimly see that it applies to 5 (see *De Op.* 97), but we do not see on what principle it is extended to 50.

§§ 84 f. *Whose roots He caused*, etc. The thought and much of the diction of the sections is from *Timaeus* 90 A ff.: "As to the supreme form of soul that is within us, God has given it to each of us as a guiding genius, even that . . . which dwells in the summit of our body, and raises us from earth towards our celestial affinity, seeing that we are of no earthly, but of heavenly growth (οὐράνιον φυτόν), since to heaven, whence in the beginning was the birth of our soul,

the diviner part attaches the head or root (τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ ῥίζαν ἡμῶν ἀνακρεμαννὺν) and makes our whole body upright" (Archer-Hind's translation). He adds as a note to κεφαλὴν καὶ ῥίζαν "*i.e.* as a plant draws its sustenance through its roots from its native earth, so does the soul draw her spiritual sustenance from her native heavens."

§ 91. The point seems to be that *physical* suffering makes a direct appeal to God. Blood is the principle of our *physical* life. The *physical* sufferings of Israel in Egypt cried out to God. In neither case was the complaint conveyed by articulate speech, but in the one case by the blood spilt, in the other by groans. By each of these a meaning (νοῦς) was conveyed, and speech is, after all, only conveyance of a meaning. Why does Philo say that the appeal is sometimes voluntary, sometimes involuntary? Is the stress here on the *latter*? Does he mean that what we *feel* reaches God when we are not consciously praying?

§ 118. *Two cakes.* The idea is obtained by a combination of the descriptions of the Manna in Exod. xvi. 31 and Numb. xi. 8. In the first "its taste was as an ἔγκρις in honey": in the second "its pleasure was as an ἔγκρις from oil." The ἔγκρις is defined elsewhere as a sweetmeat made from honey *and* oil. Philo passes with bewildering rapidity through the different suggestions of oil, (*a*) as rushing in a stream, (*b*) as giving light, (*c*) as an element in food.

§ 120. *Corresponding states of blessedness.* εὐπάθειαι is used here not exactly in the Stoic sense. With them the three εὐπάθειαι are not the opposites of the πάθη, but reasonable forms of them. Thus χαρά "corresponds" not to λύπη as here, but to ἡδονή (as in *L.A.* iii. 107), while the εὐπάθεια corresponding to φόβος is not as here ἐλπίς (which is not one of the εὐπαθειαι) but εὐλάβεια ("caution"). So too the εὐπάθεια corresponding to ἐπιθυμία is βούλησις ("wishing"), while λύπη has no corresponding εὐπάθεια.

§ 124. *The poetry which God makes.* The transition to poetry, which sounds strange in English, is easy enough in Greek, where ποιητής is both "maker" and "poet."

§ 134. *Well governed city.* Philo means Sparta. See Plutarch's *Moralia* 41 B and 801 B.

§ 135. While the translators have not ventured to correct the text according to their suggestion of πολιτικοῦ (or πολιτικωτέρου) ἕτερον for πολιτικώτερον, they believe it to be very

probable, taking it in the sense of another lesson beside the above-mentioned which belongs rather to the civil sphere. The functions of the πολιτικός, though perfectly legitimate and often imperative for the Wise Man, both to Philo and the Stoics, stand to him on a somewhat lower plane than pure philosophy. Compare the contrast of πρὸς πολιτείαν and πρὸς ἀλήθειαν φιλοσοφῶν in § 7. The lesson that only the good man's advice can benefit the State is essentially "political," and this which follows is as clearly of the other type.

§ 141. *And of course rulers*, etc. Or "laws count as rulers." This would be an odd use of γράφονται (? ἐγγράφονται), but such a translation is naturally suggested by *De Vita Mosis* ii. 4, where we are told that "the King is a living law, and the Law a just King." The thought may have been suggested by Plato, *Symposium* 196 c οἱ πόλεως βασιλῆς νόμοι; *cf. Gorgias* 484 b, Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 3.

§ 145. *Apprentices . . . masters . . . craft.* Or "pupils . . . schoolmasters . . . arts," *i.e.* the Encyclia, particularly "grammar" and "rhetoric," regularly called "arts." The discipline of the "pedagogue," the school-teacher, and the parent or guardian, form three natural stages in the experience of the growing boy.

Appoints. Perhaps an allusion to the Attic law by which it was the duty of the Archon to appoint guardians, where the father's will left no instructions. (See *Dictionary of Antiquities*, *s.v.* Epitropus.) Philo's clear allusion to Attic law in 143 makes this the more probable.

§ 154. *The Creator had left nothing*, etc. Almost a quotation from *Timaeus* 32 c, where God is said to have used up the whole of the four elements in making the Universe, ἵνα τέλεον ἐκ τελέων τῶν μερῶν εἴη.

§ 157. *For the good things that are.* The words here put into Cain's mouth are intended to represent the teaching of the Epicureans, whose view that bodily pleasure was a *necessary* element in happiness easily lent itself to misrepresentation. See the words of Epicurus given by Diogenes Laertius (x. 6): "I know not how to conceive the good apart from the pleasures of taste, sexual pleasures, the pleasures of sound and the pleasures of beautiful form" (Hicks's translation). So too in the concluding words of the section we have a hit at the doctrine that we choose the virtues on account of pleasure and not for their own

sake, as we use the physician's art for the sake of health (Diog. Laert. x. 138).

§ 160. ἀναγκαίως. In *Timaeus* 69 D ἀναγκαίως is used of the way in which the inferior agents in the Creation performed their somewhat baffling tasks. It has been rendered there "as best they might" (L. & S. 1927). Moses is faced with a task more baffling even than theirs. It is to express in human speech the Name of God. He does it "as best he may."

§ 178. *Scylla.* The allusion is to *Odyssey* xii. 118 ἡ δέ τοι οὐ θνητή, ἀλλ' ἀθάνατον κακόν ἐστι.

APPENDIX TO
THE POSTERITY AND EXILE OF CAIN

§ 1. *Epicurus.* Philo as usual treats Epicureanism rather superficially. The Epicurean in Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* (i. 48), says, "hominis esse specie deos confitendum est," but continues, "nec tamen ea species corpus est, sed quasi corpus." For the whole subject see Zeller, *Epicureans*, Engl. Trans. pp. 440 f.

§ 5. *The loan which was lent*, etc. *Cf. Timaeus* 42 E, where the "young gods" in making the human body take from the four elements *δανειζόμενοι μόρια ὡς ἀποδοθησόμενα πάλιν.*

§ 16. *τὸ μέγιστον* (see crit. note) may be defended by Thucydides' use in iv. 70 *fin.*, ii. 65. 1, iii. 63. 2, viii. 76. 6 and 92. 6, iv. 108. 4. But the defence is shaky.

§ 57. *θησαυρίζονται.* This word is suggested by the "store-cities" of Exod. i. 11, and also perhaps by *βουνός* = a pile, from which the LXX. coined the verb *βουνίζω* = "I pile up," "accumulate." (See Ruth ii. 14, 16.)

Heliopolis. It is not certain whether this was the On, Rameses, or Beth Schemesch of the Hebrew Scriptures, for it has claims to be regarded as any one of them (*Dict. of Geography*). When Philo was born its ruins had nearly vanished (*ibid.*).

§ 59. By *τὸν βουνὸν τοῦτον* Philo means the mind or conscience. The scene of the covenant between Jacob and Laban was Mount Gilead, which signifies in Hebrew "Heap of Witness."

Some words seem to have dropped out before *πρὸ τούτων τῶν πόλεων*, such as *ὁ δὲ βουνὸς οὗτος* or *ἡ δὲ πόλις τῆς μαρτυρίας.* In 62 some such title is claimed for Hebron by the words *μνήμας ἐπιστήμης ⟨καὶ⟩ σοφίας θησαυροφυλακοῦσα.* To understand the argument we must note (1) that Zoan carries with it all the cities of Egypt, 62 ; (2) that Hebron

as interpreted in 62 is equated to the βουνός of 59, and therefore a text which states that Hebron was built before Zoan is equivalent to "the city of the good mind is built before (*i.e.* ranks above) all the cities of the body or foolish mind."

§ 62. *Command of evacuation.* For ἀπόκρισις = "discharge" (from the body) see *L.A.* i. 13. κακία is a thing to be expelled from the social system.

§ 70. *He shall set him alive*, etc. The allegory is worked out as follows. The ἄλογος βίος is evil tendencies still *alive* (which they are not in the case of those whose age or circumstances put them outside temptation). We must *atone* for them by fighting against them, and finally *banish* them.

§ 79. *Ada.* That Ada, the "witness," stands here for, or at least is exemplified by, the Epicurean school is proved beyond doubt by the use of Epicurean terms. λεία κίνησις comes from the Epicurean definition of pleasure (Usener, *Epicurea*, pp. 279, 280). ἐπιβολή, translated by Lucretius *animi iniectus*, is a very leading term for "the act of apprehension which the mind or senses must direct to the ἐνάργημα ('the clear or close view of phenomena') which may result in the ἐπιμαρτύρησις ('confirmation') or ἀντιμαρτύρησις ('refutation') of the δοξαζόμενα ('opinion formed by the mind on the data of sense-perception')" (C. Bailey). Philo gives an ethical twist to what properly belongs to the Epicurean theory of cognition.

§ 81. *Treating as alike things widely different.* Or "treating as things indifferent (in the Stoic sense) things which the wise man holds 'superior' and worthy of pursuit."

§§ 95 ff. *The ordinance is this.* The meaning of these difficult sections is perhaps as follows. Toil is unnecessary, when you have reached perfection; yet if you still continue to toil, you will have both the toil and the perfection and thus attain absolute holiness. Either without the other is not "absolutely holy," for that is stated in the text to have three necessary elements: (1) number, *i.e.* the first stage of virtue that can be "counted" as anything; (2) the rod, or discipline, which is toil; (3) the number 10 or perfection. That "exchanging" toil for perfection really means that you have both is not unintelligible; the effort is lost in success, but may be said to remain with us. The words rendered "While what is beautiful is a perfect good, toil is

an imperfect boon," may perhaps be paraphrased "The morally beautiful is a good thing to which it is essential to have attained its end; toil is a beneficial thing, whether it reach the goal or no." They are "of equal value" as being equally essential to the truest holiness.

§ 97. *Marshalled.* τάξαντι = "set us in a rank" corresponds with ἀριθμός above, as παιδεύσαντι corresponds with the "rod," and τελεσφορήσαντι with the "tenth."

§ 104. *So too with the ear.* Wendland in *Philologus* 57, p. 267, calls attention to the resemblance of this description of the ear's structure to that placed by Cicero in *De Nat. Deor.* ii. 159 in the mouth of a Stoic.

§ 108. *Speech . . . admits of endless variations.* Philo here and in the following sections adopts the rhetorical idea of the περιστάσεις (*circumstantiae*) which determined the nature of the speech required on each occasion. These, though sometimes made more numerous, were often reduced as here to six, persons, matters or subjects, causes, manners, times, places. In Latin and mediaeval rhetoric the six often appear as *quis*, *quid*, *cur*, *quomodo*, *quando*, *ubi*. As boys were regularly drilled in this classification in their early exercises (*progymnasmata*) it was very familiar to the general reader. See Ernesti's *Lexicon Rhetoricum*, *s.v.* περίστασις.

§ 109. οὐδὲ τὰς τυχούσας. Wendland would prefer, instead of this correction for the οὐδὲ τύχης of the mss., to read οὐδὲ τὰς τυχούσας · τύχης, on the ground that "fortune" is included in the *circumstantiae personarum* by the rhetoricians with "nature," "age," and others.

§ 113. *Easy stages.* The thought of this sentence evidently comes from Plato, *Cratylus* 211 c, where the process by which we arrive at first principles is described as using ἐπαναβασμοί. Its application here, however, is obscure. But it is worth noting that in 2 Kings xx. 9 ff. σκιά and ἀναβαθμοί (= "steps on the sundial") are four times repeated in close conjunction. Philo in the preceding section has dwelt on the word σκιά. Does he perchance mean that, as the shadows on the sundial are due to the sun, so all the shadowy goods of life are meant to lift our thoughts to what is substantial? Is Hezekiah's vainglorious display of his treasures to the envoys of the king of Babylon the link between the sundial of Ahaz and the inscriptions at Delphi?

Delphi. Perhaps Philo is thinking of the inscription set

up at Delphi by Pausanias, as related in Thuc. i. 132. As Thucydides traces the fall of Pausanias to some extent to this inscription, the incident might not unnaturally be regarded as a striking example of a great reverse of fortune. Philo may have known of other similar instances, but it would be quite in his manner to assume from Thucydides' story that other equally boastful inscriptions had been dedicated there.

§ 138. *The wise man is free and a ruler.* From the famous Stoic paradoxes. See *S.V.F.* iii. 589 ff., and Philo's treatise *Quod omnis probus liber sit.*

§ 139. *profession.* ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι, which latinized as *profiteri* has been the parent of our own *profession*, is the technical word for teaching any form of wisdom for pay. For this reason, and because of its association with the Sophists, Philo dislikes it.

§ 141. *His science . . . he has ready.* Or we might take τῆς τέχνης as = "the art of medicine," and make ἡ τέχνη understood the subject of πεπόρικε. The ἐπιστήμη in that case is the knowledge which the art forms into a compact body. Compare the favourite definition of art as "a system of concepts organized for some useful end." The doctor has an infinite τέχνη to draw from, but would Philo represent him as knowing it all? 152 suggests that he would not.

§ 149. *In the same way the soul*, etc. In the soul's case, there is no stooping to receive the load, nor depression due to its weight; but there is the glad springing up. ἐπιφορεῖσθαι is probably meant to suggest the more familiar ἐμφορεῖσθαι, for the soul's "burden" is *food.*

§ 173. *When righteous Noah arises.* Perhaps we may assign a more mystical meaning to καθ' ἣν συνίσταται. The Pythagorean numbers, like the Platonic Ideas, are the archetypes by participating in which things become what they are (*cf.* Aristotle, *Met.* i. 5).

APPENDIX TO ON THE GIANTS

§ 7. *Fire-born.* The fire-creatures are mentioned by Aristotle, *Hist. An.* v. 552 b, and by other writers. This supposed connexion with Macedonia, which recurs in *De Plant.* 12, does not appear elsewhere.

The stars are souls divine. *Cf. De Op.* 73. This belief was held not only by the Stoics but by Plato and Aristotle, see Zeller, *Stoics* (Eng. Trans.), p. 206.

§ 13. *As though into a stream,* etc. The idea is clearly derived from Plato, *Tim.* 43 A, while the thought of the fall of the soul is similar to that of *Phaedrus* 248 c.

§ 14. *Study to die to the life in the body.* From Plato, *Phaedo* 67 E οἱ ὀρθῶς φιλοσοφοῦντες ἀποθνήσκειν μελετῶσι, *cf. ibid.* 64 A οὐδὲν ἄλλο αὐτοὶ ἐπιτηδεύουσι ἢ ἀποθνήσκειν τε καὶ τεθνάναι. See on *Quod Det.* 34.

§ 16. *Ambassadors backwards and forwards.* *Cf.* Plato, *Symp.* 202 E καὶ γὰρ πᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον μεταξύ ἐστι θεοῦ τε καὶ θνητοῦ· τίνα δ', ἦν δ' ἐγώ, δύναμιν ἔχον; ἑρμηνεῦον καὶ διαπορθμεῦον θεοῖς τὰ παρ' ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀνθρώποις τὰ παρὰ θεῶν.

§ 22. *The air which flows up from the land.* This is explained in *De Somn.* i. 144, where Jacob's ladder which reached from earth to heaven is interpreted as the air, τὰς γὰρ ἀναδιδομένας ἐκ γῆς ἀναθυμιάσεις (rising vapours) λεπτυνομένας ἐξαεροῦσθαι συμβέβηκεν ὥστε βάσιν μὲν καὶ ῥίζαν ἀέρος εἶναι γῆν, κεφαλὴν δὲ οὐρανόν. The similar statement about the water which follows here is meant to explain Gen. i. 2, not to exclude the fact that earth also is a βάσις.

§ 38. *If they come to him,* etc. In this sentence Philo recedes somewhat from the view that these things are μέγιστον κακόν, and takes the Stoic position in more or less Stoic language. *Cf.* Diog. Laert. vii. 104, 105, where wealth, glory, health, and strength are preferable indifferents (ἀδιάφορα προηγμένα);

indifferent because καὶ χωρὶς τούτων εὐδαιμονεῖν ἐνδέχεται; preferable as having μέσην τινὰ δύναμιν ἢ χρείαν συμβαλλομένην πρὸς τὸν κατὰ φύσιν βίον. These last words suggest that by ἐπανόρθωσις Philo means moral improvement, not supplying material deficiencies.

§ 41. ἐφάμιλλός γε κτλ. While the general sense of this passage is clear, the form even with the corrections of τε to γε and ἀσυγκρίτος to ἀσυγκρίτων is far from satisfactory. εἰ μὴ in this sense should follow on a negative statement (so and so cannot be true, unless something which is clearly impossible is true also), not on a statement which, though ironically negative in sense, is affirmative in form.

The translator suggests the following reconstruction: οὔκουν <εἰ> τὸ μὲν σαρκός ἐστιν ἄλογος ἡδονή, τὸ δὲ ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ὁ νοῦς τῶν ὅλων, ὁ θεός, ἐφάμιλλος [τε] ἢ [ἀ]συγκρίτων ἡ σύγκρισις, εἰ μὴ κτλ., *i.e.* "then *if* the first is . . . . . and the second is . . . . the comparison is *not* an evenly balanced one or between two really comparables, unless we are prepared to admit," etc.

§ 52. *Reason in the form of utterance.* The Stoics laid great stress on the distinction between λόγος προφορικός (speech) and λόγος ἐνδιάθετος (thought). Aaron, who in Philo is regularly λόγος, stands sometimes for the one, sometimes for the other. But it is only as representing the ἐνδιάθετος that he is fitted to enter the most holy place, and so only through silent meditation can we obtain the ἠρεμία ἀκλινής of Moses.

[§ 53. τὸ ἐσωτάτω καταπέτασμα καὶ προκάλυμμα τῆς δόξης ἀνειμένῃ καὶ γυμνῇ τῇ διανοίᾳ, "with the understanding open and divested of the last and inmost veil of opinion." ἀνειμένῃ ('loosened,' 'unfastened') is a natural word to be used in connexion with καταπέτασμα and προκάλυμμα, and is probably Passive not Middle, as it is in agreement with διανοίᾳ, not like ἀπαμφιασάμενον with ὅ (εἶδος); *cf.* πύλαι ἀνειμέναι Dion. Hal. x. 14. The use of ἀνείμων in a literal sense with reference to the precept of Exod. xxii. 26 f. in *De Somniis* i. 99 goes very little way to make it a likely correction here. And the accusatives (καταπέτασμα and προκάλυμμα) almost require the participle (ἀνειμένῃ).—G. H. W.]

§ 56. *Knit in a twin existence.* Considering the number of Platonic reminiscences in this treatise, it seems likely that we

have an echo of Socrates' fable of pain and pleasure definitely mentioned in *De Ebr.* 8 (ἐκ μιᾶς κορυφῆς συνημμένω δύ' ὄντε), *Phaedo* 60 B.

§ 59. *From his own commonwealth.* Philo is probably suggesting a comparison between Moses' πολιτεία and that of Plato, from which some forms of poetry were banished for a similar reason.

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